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CONTENTS.

CHAP. I.

PAGE.

Domestic History. Prince Regent's Speech upon opening the Session of Parliament. Debates upon the Address. New Military Arrangements, - - - 3

CHAP. II.

Parliamentary Proceedings continued. Committee of Supply. Ways and Means, and Foreign Treaties and Subsidies. Adjournment of Parliament, - - 28

CHAP. III.

Parliamentary Proceedings continued. Bill to take away Corruption of Blood in Cases of Felony and High-Treason. Bill to make Freehold Estates liable for Payment of Simple Contract Debts. Apprentice Laws. Proposed Alteration in the Poor Laws, - - - - - - - - 49

CHAP. IV.

Discussions relating to the Speaker's Speech at the Close of the last Session. Proceedings respecting the Corn Laws. Bill for the better Preservation of the Peace in Ireland. Reflections on the Orange Associations. Debates as to the keeping up of the Militia Establishments in Time of Peace. Mr Serjeant Onslow's Bill for better securing the Liberty of the Subject, - - - - - - 66

CHAP. V.

Proceedings in Parliament relating to her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, 92

CHAP. VI.

Discussions in Parliament on the Slave Trade. On the Conduct of Great Britain towards Norway, - - - - - - - 118

CONTENTS.

CHAP. VII.

PAGE.

Army and Ordnance Estimates. Civil List. English and Irish Budgets. Vote of Credit. Speeches of the Prince Regent, and of the Speaker of the House of Commons, at the Close of the Session, - - - - - - 143

CHAP. VIII.

State of the French Armies. Decay of Discipline. Their Line of Defence on the Eastern Frontier. Immense Preparations of the Allied Powers,—Of England,—Of Russia,—Austria,—Prussia,—and of the German States. The Allied Sovereigns take the Field in Person. Enthusiasm of the Germans on approaching the Rhine. Buonaparte's Address to his Senate. The Allies transmit their Basis of Pacification, and a Treaty is commenced. Grand Council of War at Frankfort. Opening of the Campaign. The Austrians enter Switzerland, occupy Geneva, and advance into France. The Russians pass the Rhine near Rastadt, and Blucher crosses it in three Places. The Allies force the Defiles of the Vogesean Mountains. Take Langres and Nancy. Are repulsed from Lyons. But gain Possession of Dijon, and threaten ai mmediate Advance on Paris - - - - 166

CHAP. IX.

The Government of Buonaparte is unpopular. Report of the Legislative Body. Napoleon's indignant Reply. Negociations for Peace at Chatillon. Buonaparte recalls his Spanish Armies, and makes fresh Levies. His personal Behaviour. Fall of public Credit. Napoleon leaves Paris to join the Army. General View of his Plan of defensive Operations. Battle of Brienne. Battle of La Rothiere. The Allied Armies again separate. Buonaparte evacuates Troyes, and renews his Negociations for Peace. Moves suddenly to his Left against the Army of Silesia. Defeats Alsufieff, and Sacken, and compels Blucher to retire. Masterly Retreat of the Prussians. The Grand Allied Army advances, takes Nogent, and threatens Paris. Napoleon takes Monterau. Skirmish at Mery. Schwartzenberg evacuates Troyes. Execution of Gouault. Blucher advances to the Marne. Exhausted State of the Theatre of War, - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 182

CHAP. X.

Defection of Murat from Buonaparte, and Successes of the Allies. Augereau is defeated and Lyons taken. Conduct of the Crown Prince of Sweden. Campaign in Flanders. Battle of Merxen. Antwerp bombarded. Attempt on Bergen-op-Zoom. Advance of Winzengerode and Bulow from Flanders into France. Campaign of the South of France. Buonaparte enters into a Treaty with Ferdinand of Spain, but the Cortes and Regency refuse to ratify it. The French evacuate Catalonia, but not without Loss. Conspiracy of the Royalists in favour of the House of Bourbon. Intrigues of Talleyrand and the Constitutionalists. Hesitation of the Allies to recognize the Claims of Louis XVIII. Monsieur, with the Dukes of Angouleme and Berri, leave England for France. Monsieur favourably received in Franche Compté, but discountenanced by the Austrians. The Duke d'Angouleme arrives in Gascony, and communicates with La Roche Jaquelein. Wellington resolves to advance. Dislodges Soult from his fortified Camp at Bayonne, and defeats him at Orthes. The French again defeated near Acres. General Hope crosses the Adour. Field-Marshal Beresford is detached upon Bourdeaux. Received with Enthusiasm. The Mayor and Inhabitants declare for the Bourbons. Apprehensions on their Account in England, - - - - - - - - - 206

CHAP. XI.

PAGE.

Reasons for supposing Peace would have been made. Buonaparte nevertheless rejects the Preliminaries of the Allies. The Proposals for an Armistice are broken off. Blucher's Advance again reaches Meaux, but retreats when Buonaparte moves against it. Blucher retreats on Soissons, and finds it taken by Bulow and Winzengerode. Buonaparte attempts to storm it, but is repulsed. Battle of Laon. Buonaparte retreats. Second Battle of Bar-sur-Aube, fought between the Grand Allied Army and the Divisions of Victor and Oudinot. The French retreat and evacuate Troyes, which is again occupied by the Allies. Buonaparte's Project for Pacification is rejected, and the Conferences at Chatillon are broken off. Buonaparte endeavours to render the War national, and to draw together the Garrisons on the Rhine. He attacks and recovers Rheims. The Grand Allied Army again threaten to cross the Seine. Buonaparte marches against them, but is checked and in great personal Danger at Arcis-sur-Aube. He retreats to Vitry. The Prussians refuse to yield up the Place. He continues his Retreat to Saint Dizier, and determines to throw himself into the Rear of the Allies. His probable Reasons for this Movement. Augereau is defeated by the Austrians, and Lyons surrenders, - - - - - 230

CHAP. XII.

The allied Armies unite, and determine to march on Paris. Junction of the Grand Army with that of Silesia. Marmont and Mortier are intercepted in their March to join Buonaparte, and driven back with great Loss. A large French Convoy is cut off near La Fere Champenoise. Continued Retreat of Mortier and Marmont, and their Losses. Defeat of the French near Ferté la Jouarre. The French evacuate Meaux, and blow up the Magazine. The Allies come in Sight of Paris. Description of the Heights of Belleville, Romainville, and Montmartre. Line of Defence adopted there. Consternation in Paris. Exertions of the Police to conceal or disguise the Truth. Review of the Garrison and National Guard of Paris. Order of Assault adopted by the Allies. Battle of Paris. Interview of Captain Peyre with the Emperor Alexander. Joseph flies from Paris. An Armistice is proposed and granted. Terms of Capitulation are adjusted. The allied Troops bivouack on the Heights without the City. 252

CHAP. XIII.

State of Paris during the 30th March. Intrigues of the Agitators to influence the Populace. Councils of the Royalists. Various Groups traverse the Streets, proclaiming Louis XVIII. Their Success is at first doubtful, but becomes more decided. Interview of the Emperor Alexander with the Parisian Magistracy, and its Effects on the public Mind. The Allied Sovereigns enter the City. The Strength of their Armies. Their Reception by the Citizens. Movements of Buonaparte upon Lorraine. He defeats Winzengerode's Army of Observation. Menaces Vitry; and is recalled by News from Paris. Marches rapidly to Troyes. Outstrips his Army, and reaches La Cour de France, near Paris. Receives Intelligence of the Capitulation, and retires to Fontainbleau. The Royalists in Paris gain Ground. The Senate assembles, and decrees that Buonaparte has forfeited the Crown. Buonaparte harangues his Soldiers, and resolves to advance on Paris. His Marshals advise him to abdicate. He hesitates, and at length consents. Marmont with his Division adheres to the new Government, and passes within the Lines of the Allies. The Marshals make a Treaty for Buonaparte with the Allies. Its extraordinary Terms. Account of the Regency at Blois. Affairs at Bourdeaux. The Duke of Wellington defeats Soult before Torbes. Soult retreats on Tholouse, where he entrenches himself strongly. Battle of Tholouse. Lord Wellington enters Tholouse, which declares for the Bourbons. Sortie from Bayonne. Cessation of Hostilities, - - - - 264

CHAP. XIV. PAGE.

Adherences to the New Government.—Plan of a Constitution prepared by the Senate. Criticisms upon it. Entry of Monsieur into Paris. Buonaparte lingers at Fontainbleau. Takes leave of his Guard. Departs. Is ill received in the Southern Provinces. Embarks at Frejus and lands at Elba. Conduct of the Bourbons during their Exile. The Reception of Louis XVIII. in London, and in Paris. Reciprocal Sentiments of the French and Allies towards each other. Treaty of Peace. Treaty with England. Constitutional Charter. Remarks upon it by the Royalists and other Parties. Congress appointed to meet at Vienna, - - - - - - - 284

CHAP. XV.

Military Affairs in Germany. Blockade of Hamburgh. Evacuation of the Fortresses held by the French beyond the Limits of France. Cession of Norway. The Norwegians chuse Prince Christian for their King, and proclaim their Independence. Considerations respecting the Justice of their Cause. The Crown Prince invades Norway. Prince Christian resigns his Rights. A new Diet is assembled, and an Union with Sweden acquiesced in. State of Poland. The Duchy of Warsaw adjudged to Russia. Prussia to be indemnified by the Dismemberment of Saxony. Impolicy and Injustice of this Measure. Convocation of the States General of Hanover, and the Duke of Cambridge's Speech to them. Union of Belgium with Holland. New Constitution of Switzerland. Resisted by Bern, but finally acquiesced in. Geneva accedes to the Helvetic League. Reflections on the Mode in which these Revolutions were accomplished, - - - - - - - - - - 295

CHAP. XVI.

Military Events of the Year in Italy. Battle of Roverbello. Advance of Murat against Beauharnois. Convention with the Austrians. The English make an Attempt on Leghorn. Disembark an Army, and take Genoa after a Battle. Lord William Bentinck's Proclamation. Genoa united with Savoy. Reinstatement of the King of Sardinia in his Continental Dominions. Acquisitions of Austria. The Pope returns to Rome. His Measures. Re-establishment of the Jesuits. Sicily. Affairs of Spain. Fanaticism of the Royalists. Errors of the Liberalists. Character of the King, and Expectations formed upon it. Return of Ferdinand. Discord betwixt the King and Cortes. Ferdinand dissolves them by Proclamation. Takes Possession of Madrid, and imprisons several Members of the Cortes. Restores the Inquisition and other Abuses. Discontents among the People. Enterprize of Mina. Reflections on Ferdinand's Conduct, and on the Intercourse betwixt Britain and Spain. Spanish Colonies. The Flotilla of the Royalists defeated, and Monte Video taken. Pacification of Chili. Venezuela conquered by the Royalists, - - - - - - - 311

CHAP. XVII.

The American War. Impolicy of the War. Inferiority of the American Armies. America proposes Peace through the Mediation of Russia. Britain rejects the proposed Mediation, but agrees to enter into a direct Treaty. Naval Actions. Capture of the British Sloop Rein-deer. Engagement between the Wasp and the Avon. Capture of the Essex by the British Frigate Phœbe. Americans defeated near Buffaloe, and the Town burnt. Reflections on this Mode of Hostility. Retreat of General Wilkinson to Sackett's Harbour. The British destroy the American Fort Oswego. General Real worsted at Chippawa, and forced to retreat to Niagara. General Drummond advances to his Support. Battle of Niagara. The Americans retreat to Fort Erie. Unsuccessful Attempt to Storm that Fortress. Expedition up

PAGE.

the Patuxent. Destruction of the American Flotilla. Battle of Bladensburgh. Burning of the public Edifices at Washington. Policy and Justice of these Proceedings. Capitulation of Alexandria. Action before Baltimore, and Death of General Ross. The British retreat. Death of Sir Peter Parker. Capture of the Passmaquoddy Islands, and of Part of the Province of Mairie. Expedition of Sir George Prevost. Defeat of the British Flotilla before Plattsburgh, and Retreat of their Army. A Sortie from Fort Erie is repulsed. The Americans advance in Force to Chippawa, but retreat and evacuate Fort Erie. The Eastern States are dissatisfied with the War. They appoint a Convention to consider of the Provisions of the Union. Proceedings of the Commissioners of Ghent. Peace concluded. Its Terms. The West Indies. Tranquil State of the East Indies, - - 323

CHAP. XVIII.

Domestic Affairs of Britain. Fraud on the Stock-Exchange. Its Detection by the Committee. Trial of Lord Cochrane and others. Their Sentence. He is expelled the House of Commons, and again returned for Westminster. Visit of the Allied Sovereigns to Britain. Their enthusiastic Reception. Interest excited by Blucher. Their Visit to Oxford; and other Festivities. Remarks on this Visit. Arrival of the Duke of Wellington in the Capital. He takes his Seat in the House of Lords. Speech of the Chancellor. Reply of the Duke. National Provision for Support of his Dignity. Grants in favour of other distinguished Officers, - - 345

CHAP. XIX.

Domestic Affairs continued. Embarrassed State of Commerce and Credit. Causes of this Distress. Low Price of Corn, and Decline in the Value of Land. Origin of this Depreciation. Proceedings on the Corn-Laws. Disorders in Ireland. Justice Fletcher's Charge at Wexford. Division among the Catholics of Ireland. The Marriage Treaty broken off between the Hereditary Prince of Orange and the Princess Charlotte of Wales, - - - - - - - 358

Chronicle, containing brief Accounts of the various Public Occurrences of the Year, ... i—clxxvi
Summary of Remarkable Occurrences in 1814, . . clxxvii
Appendix I.—Gazettes clxxxiii
——— II.—State Papers, British, ... ccxcix
——— Ditto, Foreign, ... cccviii
Public Acts of the Year 1814, ... ccclxxvi
Public Accounts of Great Britain and Ireland, . . . ccclxxxix
List of Patents, ... ccccvi

ORIGINAL POETRY.

Extract from "The Poetic Mirror."—Guerilla.—Lord Byron, . ccccix
——— The Stranger.—Wordsworth, . ccccxiv
——— Isabelle.—S. T. Coleridge, . . ccccxxii
——— Peter of Barnet.—Southey, : ccccxxv
——— The Morning Star.—Wilson, . ccccxxix

PAGE.

The Dying Soldier's Prayer on the Field of Waterloo. Extracted from "The Field of Waterloo," an unpublished Poem, by JAMES HOGG, - - ccccxxxi
Sonnet I. To a Lady, - - - - - - - ccccxxxiii
——— II. Written after parting with a Friend going Abroad—Oct. 21, 1814, ccccxxxiv
——— III. On an important Change that was taking place in the Author's Views and Occupations, - - - - - - - ib.

The London General Bill of Mortality, - - - ccccxxxi
Lists of Births, Marriages, and Deaths, - - - - ccccxxxvii
List of Promotions, - - - - - - - cccclxix
New Publications for 1814, - - - - - *i
Index, - - - - - - - *xxix

THE

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

LIST OF THE PRINCE REGENT'S MINISTERS,

As it stood at the beginning of 1814.

CABINET MINISTERS.

Earl of Harrowby	Lord President of the Council.
Lord Eldon	Lord High Chancellor.
Earl of Westmorland	Lord Privy Seal.
Earl of Liverpool	First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister.)
Right Hon. Nicholas Vansittart	Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer.
Lord Viscount Melville	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Earl Mulgrave	Master General of the Ordnance.
Lord Viscount Sidmouth	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Lord Viscount Castlereagh	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Earl Bathurst	Secretary of State for the Department of War and the Colonies.
Earl of Buckinghamshire	President of the Board of Controul for the Affairs of India.
Right Hon. Charles Bathurst	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

NOT OF THE CABINET.

Right Hon. George Rose	Treasurer of the Navy.
Earl of Clancarty	President of the Board of Trade.
Right Hon. F. J. Robinson	Vice-President of the Board of Trade.
Right Hon. Charles Long Lord Charles Somerset	Joint Paymasters-General of the Forces.
Earl of Chichester Earl of Sandwich	Joint Postmasters-General.
Viscount Palmerston	Secretary at War.
Right Hon. Charles Arbuthnot Richard Wharton, Esq.	Secretaries of the Treasury.
Sir William Grant	Master of the Rolls.
Sir Thomas Plumer	Vice-Chancellor.
Sir William Garrow	Attorney-General.
Sir Robert Dallas	Solicitor-General.

PERSONS IN THE MINISTRY IN IRELAND.

Viscount Whitworth	Lord Lieutenant.
Lord Manners	Lord High Chancellor.
Right Hon. Robert Peel	Chief Secretary.
Right Hon. W. Fitzgerald	Chancellor of the Exchequer.

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

1814.

CHAP. I.

Domestic History.—Prince Regent's Speech upon opening the Session of Parliament.—Debates upon the Address.—New Military Arrangements.

THE Parliament met on the 4th of November, 1813. Events of the greatest importance had occurred since its prorogation, and a series of successes had been achieved far beyond the expectations even of the most sanguine. The fate of Europe seemed to be decided; and the overthrow of a *mad* ambition, which had threatened all nations with slavery, appeared to be almost accomplished. Never, surely, did the sovereign of these realms meet his parliament under circumstances more auspicious than those in which the Prince Regent was now placed. He was entitled to challenge the approbation of the legislature and of the country for a course of policy which had been followed by consequences at once so beneficial and so glorious; since it seemed impossible, even for the most peevish politician, to deny that the personal firmness of the Prince had, in very trying circumstances, materially contributed towards the great results which now filled the country with exultation. In such circumstances, it might be expected, that the public business would not be interrupted by much angry discussion, and that, while entire unanimity on the leading topics should prevail, a larger share of confidence would be reposed in the executive, than could, with any regard to the constitution, be bestowed in ordinary times. This confidence became the more necessary at the present moment, as the attention of the chief ministers of the crown was absorbed by affairs of the greatest weight, in which parliament could not with advantage directly interfere. The Prince and his ministers were aware, that, to merit this confidence, some pledge of their moderation in prosperity, no less than of their firmness in adversity, would be required; and they determined, therefore, to prove themselves not wanting in any of the qualifications which became their high offices, and which were imperiously demanded by the circumstances of the times. Of the qualities of temper and moderation so essential to the great crisis in which they were about to act, they gave a

solemn assurance in the speech which was delivered from the throne at the opening of the present session.

After alluding, with regret, to the king's indisposition, it was remarked, that "The great and splendid success with which it has pleased Divine Providence to bless his majesty's arms, and those of his allies, in the course of the present campaign, has been productive of the most important consequences to Europe. In Spain, the glorious and decisive victory obtained near Vittoria has been followed by the advance of the allied forces to the Pyrenees, by the repulse of the enemy in every attempt to regain the ground he had been compelled to abandon, by the reduction of the fortress of Saint Sebastian, and finally by the establishment of the allied army on the frontier of France. In this series of brilliant operations, you will have observed, with the highest satisfaction, the consummate skill and ability of the great commander Field Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, and the steadiness and unconquerable spirit which have been equally displayed by the troops of the three nations united under his command."

In allusion to the affairs of the North, it was observed, "The termination of the armistice in the north of Europe, and the declaration of war by the Emperor of Austria against France, have been most happily accompanied by a system of cordial union and concert amongst the allied powers. The effects of this union have even surpassed those expectations which it was calculated to excite. By the signal victories obtained over the French armies in Silesia, at Culm, and at Denevitz, the efforts of the enemy to penetrate into the heart of the Austrian and Prussian territories were completely frustrated."

After referring to the prosperous state of commerce, and other matters of domestic interest, the Prince observed, "I congratulate you on the decided conviction which now happily prevails throughout so large a portion of Europe, that the war in which the allied powers are engaged against the ruler of France is a war of necessity; and that his views of universal dominion can only be defeated by combined and determined resistance. The public spirit and national enthusiasm which have successively accomplished the deliverance of the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, and of the Russian empire, now equally animate the German people; and we may justly entertain the fullest confidence that the same perseverance on their part will ultimately lead to the same glorious result."

After making these remarks, his Royal Highness proceeded to unfold in general terms the views of policy entertained by the British government and its allies.—"I cannot but deplore most deeply," said he, "the continuance of this extended warfare, and of all those miseries which the insatiable ambition of the ruler of France has so long inflicted upon Europe. No disposition to require from France sacrifices of any description inconsistent with her honour or just pretensions as a nation will ever be on my part, or on that of his majesty's allies, an obstacle to peace. The restoration of that great blessing, upon principles of justice and equality, has never ceased to be my anxious wish; but I am fully convinced that it can only be obtained by a continuance of those efforts which have already delivered so large a part of Europe from the power of the enemy. To the firmness and perseverance of this country these advantages may, in a great measure, be ascribed. Let this consideration animate us to new exertions, and we shall thus, I trust, be enabled to bring this long and arduous contest to a conclu-

sion, which will be consistent with the independence of all the nations engaged in it, and with the general security of Europe."

The address was moved in the House of Lords by the Earl of Digby, and seconded by the Earl of Clare, who observed, "that the brilliant course of events, upon which he had now to congratulate their lordships, was sufficient to inspire the humblest individual, and cheer the most diffident and unassuming. Whichever way they turned their eyes, British valour shone conspicuous, and the British standard waved triumphant. When they saw that the firmness of this country, in continuing the conflict with France, had led the way to that spirit of resistance to French domination which had now triumphed over all the power and resources of the French ruler; when they saw the ports of Europe opened to the commerce of Britain; and when they saw the British standard waving triumphant upon the territory of France; surely these were events that justly gave cause for exultation at the proud eminence of glory which the British empire had attained. If one dark spot clouded the scene of glory, if the lamented continuance of his majesty's indisposition prevented him from participating in the joy and exultation of his people, they must reflect that perfect happiness was not the lot of man, and they might be assured that the people would not fail to recollect the benignant rule of their monarch who for fifty years had guided the helm of state with a steady and unerring hand; ever attentive to the interests of his subjects, and ever anxious to promote and increase their welfare. He sincerely congratulated their lordships upon the glorious events which now so justly formed the theme of exultation. To this country was Europe indebted for maintaining, with a firm and steady hand, the conflict with all the power of France; until in the peninsula, under the auspices of a great and illustrious commander, our military renown had rivalled the splendid atchievements of our navy, and the laurels wreathed round our military standards had vied with the triumphs of our fleets. There was that spirit which animated the Spaniards, cherished and maintained by British assistance and co-operation, till it communicated its inspiring feelings to the nations of Europe, and finally whelmed in destruction the army of the ruler of France. By her councils, Britain had animated the Spanish nation; by her arms, assisted them; and posterity would regard with admiration the arduous struggle that had been thus nobly maintained. That Spanish and Portuguese troops had fought in line with the British army, was to them no small praise; and it was due to them, to record the bravery with which they had sustained their military character. The great, the brilliant events that had now occurred, would be recorded in much more imperishable annals than in his fleeting and transient sentences. He would not, therefore, detain their lordships by dwelling upon them. He could not, however, refrain from noticing, in a rapid glance, some of those events which now presented so gratifying a picture of the state of Europe. Whichever way they turned their regards, they saw the success of the cause of the independence of Europe; they saw the gratifying progress of that spirit which had so admirably combatted the power of France; they saw the defection from the side of the French ruler of the Rhenish confederation, led by Bavaria —Bavaria, which had derived her power and her importance, and a solid acquisition of territory, from France; and yet they saw that these advantages were considered as nothing, in comparison with the mischiefs arising from the domination of France. Such was

the spirit that now animated the nations of Europe, and they had seen the glorious results to which it had led. Only a few years since, the power of France overshadowed Europe, and her troops were collected on her coast to be sent forth for the subjugation of Britain; now, her armies were every where defeated, the cause of Europe triumphed over the power of France; Spain was delivered from French aggression by British prowess, combined with the valour of the Spaniards and Portuguese; and the standards, which had been so often crowned with laurel in defeating French aggressions in the peninsula, now waved triumphant on the territory of France. Such was the cheering view of those great and glorious events which now pressed upon us in the full tide of success; such the opening of the new day that now dawned upon Europe, and promised to chase away the gloom that had so lately darkened its prospect."

The Marquis of Wellesley observed, that " he was anxious to take the earliest opportunity of expressing his satisfaction at the important events alluded to in his Royal Highness's speech, by which the destinies of Europe had been changed. He wished to state, before he sat down, why that satisfaction, which he felt in common with the country at large, was with him a principle, and not a sentiment. It was not so much because these events had raised the military reputation of this country and of our allies, or depressed that of the military despot to whom we were opposed, that they had the highest value in his eyes; but because they were the natural result of wise and cautious measures, executed with the greatest degree of vigour, and displaying a wisdom of combination, and prudence of plan, which could not fail, ultimately, to be rewarded with the success by which they were attended. He would not now dwell on the errors committed in former periods by this country, or by the allies; but he would not hesitate to say, that he was convinced the glorious successes which had lately crowned our arms in Spain, and the arms of our allies in the North of Europe, were to be traced to the long train of persevering councils persisted in by the government of this country. Though these councils had not always immediately produced the results which were expected by those who entertained them, they were not the less the cause of what had ultimately taken place. The long perseverance of this country showed, in the most convincing manner, the disposition which pervaded all ranks and conditions of its inhabitants. While we were endeavouring to catch the last breath of expiring opposition, and exerting ourselves in a struggle apparently hopeless, at that moment the public councils of this country were of the utmost importance to European liberty; for an opportunity was thus given to the rest of Europe to reconsider their former errors, and to learn that great lesson which the example of Britain afforded them. Nothing could be more true than the last words which that great statesman, Mr Pitt, ever delivered in public, " that England had saved herself by her firmness, and had saved other nations by her example." What a satisfactory and consoling reflection it was for us, that from this original fountain the sacred waters of gladness and glory had flowed, which at last overspread the greatest part of Europe; that to the persevering spirit of this country it was owing that other nations were at last animated to deeds worthy of the noble cause in which they were engaged, and of the great example which was set them."

Lord Grenville on this occasion made a very able speech. " I felt," said he, " from the moment the late glorious intelligence was received, a

most earnest anxiety to be present on this occasion, and to offer to parliament my warm congratulations upon the successes that have crowned the efforts of this country. I was desirous to attend in my place, not certainly expecting that any differences of opinion would arise upon the various interesting topics of the address; on the contrary, I anticipated what I have the satisfaction to find confirmed, the complete and cordial concurrence of this House in that point which justly formed the leading and capital feature of the speech from the throne. I am happy, however, in availing myself of this opportunity of stating, not merely my acquiescence in the general sentiment, but my entire approbation of the tone and language of the speech delivered this day by his Royal Highness to parliament. I think it but justice to say, that, in my opinion, there never were delivered from the throne sentiments better adapted for the occasion, couched in terms better selected for the purpose. It is to me a great gratification at all times to bear my humble testimony to the propriety of any proceeding; but it is more particularly welcome to me at a time like the present, because, although I come here to discharge a common duty, I come here at no common moment; the crisis is now arrived when the mighty object to which our wishes have been so long and so painfully directed, is near its accomplishment. From the moment when the inauspicious treaty of Basle was promulgated and known (I speak of an event that took place twenty years ago, the confederacy of the powers of Europe to resist France), those at the head of the diplomacy of the French empire have pursued, with undeviating perseverance, one fixed principle, which, in my judgment, contributed much more to her subsequent progress than any boasted or real military pre-eminence, however great it may occasionally have been. I speak of that uniform system of separation and disunion by which she but too successfully laboured to sever and alienate those powers which, had they rightly understood their mutual interests, ought to have been fastened together by one common bond, for the defence of their freedom and independence, against the unceasing and reiterated aggressions of France. I need scarcely remind you, my lords, (indeed the commemoration might by some be deemed a reproach) in detail of all the artifices of French diplomacy; I need not certainly recal to your recollections the unhappy success by which they were usually attended. It is unnecessary that I should shew how often, by the delusive prospect of some peculiar and separate advantage; by the vain hope of some spoliation of an unoffending neighbour; by the idle offer of a share in the territory of some defenceless state; by the seductive promise of a participation in the plunder of some weaker power, France has been able to withdraw from the general league, and even to enlist in her cause, those whose very existence (as experience has unfortunately shewn) depended upon a firm resistance to her insinuating encroachments. So painful must be the retrospection, that I would not now refer to it, were it not in the hope that an useful lesson may be drawn from the remembrance. I would not turn my eyes upon the dark and dreary prospects of the past, did it not brighten by contrast the gratifying views of the future, where we see all those powers, formerly the victims of French chicanery and imposition, who had been deprived of their security, having returned to a due sense of their mutual interests, revenging themselves upon their oppressors for the wrongs they had been by artifice compelled to endure. Now then, my lords, we may triumphantly ask, is this the peculiar

and separate cause of Great Britain?—No. Is this a contest merely respecting commercial prosperity, and the comparatively inferior concerns of trade?—No. We fight for that for which we always professed that we fought: We arm for that for which we always boasted that we armed: We have maintained the contest for those objects for which we always declared that we maintained it;—viz. as the only possible mode of asserting the independence of other states, and, through their independence, of supporting our own. The period has now arrived, when all Europe, with one voice, assents to the truth of our assertion; and though it be indeed late, yet, with the blessing of Heaven, it will not be too late for the full accomplishment of our great and benevolent design. Will then, my lords, this retrospection to the wily and too successful expedients of our enemy, create painful sensations in your minds?—Surely not. On the contrary, does it not add to the overflowing sentiments of exultation at the achievements of our allies, when we see Europe at length united, I hope indissolubly, in a steady perseverance in those means which alone can afford it security and peace? It has been to us long manifest, that it was only by continued resistance, by the sacrifice of all partial views and interests, by a determination to pursue just measures and common objects, that the mighty fabric of French power (which had been long augmented by the ruins of neighbouring states) was to be demolished, and reduced to such limits as were consistent with the security and tranquillity of the other kingdoms of Europe.

"There might, my lords, rationally exist difference of opinion as to the line of conduct which this country ought originally to have held; but I never heard the whisper of a difference of sentiment—I believe a doubt never entered the mind of man as to the steps she ought to take, now that the moment is arrived when the consummation of our wishes is at hand. Knowing, therefore, as all must necessarily be aware, that at this grand moment, when the fate of Europe is depending, the anxious eyes of so many nations are fixed upon the first deliberations of the British parliament: Knowing, too, that the enemies of this new and victorious confederation, if possible with still more painful expectation, are waiting to hear the opinions declared and the language employed here upon this day; I feel it to be the duty not merely of those who stand in the prominent situations of government, but of every man accustomed to take part in the debates of this House, to come forward and proclaim, distinctly and unequivocally, his sentiments upon this mighty subject: However humble his station, and however weak his sentiments, still they cannot, at this crisis, be a matter of indifference. As to arrangements of domestic policy, there may be conflicting sentiments; in a free country there must unavoidably exist personal predilections and political unions; but upon this grand question all party conflicts must be swallowed up and lost: It is the cause of no party, of no set of individuals, but of the whole nation, joined in sentiment and in action, to effect a great and glorious purpose. So long as the great powers of Europe confederated in this mighty cause (as has been well expressed in the speech from the throne) shall persevere with unshaken firmness, to the sacrifice of all partial views and separate interests, in attempting the full accomplishment of what appears so near its completion, it equally concerns the welfare and the interest of Great Britain to strain every nerve, and to call forth every energy. Upon this point the royal address is prudently guarded, and an

acquiescence in it pledges no opinion adverse to the re-establishment of peace. God forbid that, in applauding the policy pursued, and in recommending a vigorous perseverance in the system, I should be understood as uttering any sentiment hostile to the re-establishment of tranquillity. Peace is the dearest blessing that a government can bestow on a nation over which it presides. Internal tranquillity may be considered as the first, and external peace as the second blessing that any power under Heaven can confer upon a people. This assertion is not only correct at all times, but more particularly true in the present situation of Europe: After the miseries that it has recently endured; after the long series of calamities with which it has been afflicted by the insatiable ambition of the ruler of France, it would be more than ever welcome: In the history of this country, or of Europe, where can a period be named when the sufferings of the people more strenuously called for a restoration of tranquillity? To Great Britain, most assuredly, though bending under, yet cheerfully supporting, the unavoidable burdens of war; to our allies, whom no man will charge with too great precipitation in commencing hostilities, or with too extensive ambition in prosecuting them, no man will deny that peace will be inexpressibly grateful, provided it can be secured upon terms becoming the lofty and imposing attitude that recent exertions have enabled them to assume. Not even in the country of France do I believe that there exists more than one man who does not anxiously and earnestly desire the cessation of the horrors occasioned by a state of warfare. But I trust it is understood, that when we desire tranquillity, we expect the real blessing of peace, not the empty name, not the shadow, but the substance. Too long did deluded Europe, by temporary and partial truces, by concession following concession, purchase from the insatiable enemy a precarious quiet, a troubled sleep; furnishing to her foe the very means of his aggression, and of her own subjugation.

" The time, my lords, is now arrived (and I rejoice that I have lived to see the hour) when the walls of a British parliament may again re-echo a sound formerly held sacred in this country, and upon the observance of which, I will venture to assert, depends the hope of the restoration of peace to Europe: I allude to the old-fashioned term, now almost forgotten, of a balance of power in Europe; and I offer up my thanks, with humble gratitude, to the Supreme Disposer of Events, that, after so long a period, he has permitted me to behold my native land in such a commanding situation, as to be able again to pursue that which ought to be the only legitimate object of foreign policy; I mean the establishment and preservation of a balance of power in Europe. Often as the subject has been discussed and disputed, in my opinion, we ought not to consider the state and resources of another kingdom with any other view than this,—that such limits may be assigned to the power of a nation that it shall not be able to pursue any schemes of unjust aggrandisement which would destroy the equilibrium that ought invariably to be preserved. As to the debasement of the power or the degradation of the honour of any nation, that ought not to be our object; such a design would be a degradation to ourselves: we ought only to maintain that for which our ancestors shed their blood; which at former periods, and in the best times of English history, was held sacred, was never entirely abandoned, and only temporarily relinquished, because the then suppliant nations of the continent refused to unite for its maintenance. Now, how-

ever, the day-star of freedom once more dawns upon Europe—the night of ignorance and slavery is fast withdrawing, and a glorious day of liberty and happiness is promised to the awakening world. Now, then, let Great Britain resume her ancient policy: let her once more perceive that the only mode by which the independence of the great commonwealth of Europe can be secured, is not by perpetual peace, for that is the visionary dream of visionary men; but by the maintenance of the balance of power, by which even in war itself the weak will find refuge from their oppressors.—Such is, in my opinion, the true object for the attainment of which this country is now called upon to exert her energies; such is the object, for the attainment of which, in my judgment, no sacrifices will be too great: by that alone can domestic security be obtained; by that we shall firmly grasp the substance, instead of being idly deluded by the shadow, and shall, for ourselves and other nations, acquire the inestimable blessing of lasting tranquillity.

"With respect, my lords, to the detail of particular measures; from entering upon them, the Speech has with great propriety abstained: upon them it would be more unfit that I should now dilate; but I desire to assure the House, (as may be collected from the sentiments I have to-day expressed, if indeed it was not to be gathered from the whole tenor of my life), that whatever plans may be suggested, having these objects in view, I shall meet them with a most earnest wish to find that they are compatible with the interests of the country. I cannot be ignorant of the difficulties that may be opposed, and upon them it would be equally premature to offer any opinion; I do, however, fervently hope—nay, I believe, that they may be surmounted; and when they are produced, I shall apply myself to them with an anxious wish that I may be able to give them my zealous support. I have now stated to the House what I think ought to be the policy of England, and I have hinted at the mode by which that policy ought to be pursued: there is but one course; and that is, the exertion of every means this country can employ—of influence, of persuasion, and even of power, if it be found necessary, to cement and unite the great confederacy now existing. Such is the happy situation of this island, that to discharge the functions she is called upon by Europe to perform, no other nation possesses equal advantages: In whatever disputes may arise, the continental powers must, in a greater or less degree, be interested. This country alone has no concern in such partial interests; she is the fit arbiter of all; and by whatever particular arrangements the balance of power is secured, her only care need be, that so beneficial an object should be ultimately accomplished. I therefore cannot too fervently or strongly impress upon the House, that in this view the balance of power should be the polar star that is to guide us in all our movements. It would naturally give me the deepest concern, if, in these various undertakings, the seeds of jealousy and disunion were unfortunately to spring up; yet still we should have but one steady even course to pursue, not favouring either one party or the other; our object must be to combine all Europe by the strongest link of union; by effecting which, we may look for the speedy completion of those great designs, the mere hope of which, a few months ago, was considered as little better than a dream of insanity. I have said, my lords, that in the character of umpire which Great Britain would assume, we ought generally to be guided by the strictest impartiality; but if there be any exception to this

rule, if there be one part of the continent occupied by France, to which we might be justified in looking with peculiar interest, with something like paternal concern, it would be for the re-establishment of the independence of Holland. Among all the powers sacrificed to the inordinate ambition of Buonaparte, I know of none, Holland excepted, that can truly assert they fell victims to their alliance with Great Britain. In the hour of danger, threatened by an overwhelming force, Holland looked to this country for aid; and could any assistance have availed, this nation, I am convinced, would have made any sacrifice to save its falling friend. It has been well said, that this is not the fit period for talking of specific terms of peace; that this country must not pledge itself to do more than it can achieve, or to disappoint expectation by announcing what the course of events may prevent her from accomplishing; but intending on this day, my lords, to deliver, though in brief, a summary of what I conceive most important to be attempted, I feel that I should not have fully discharged my duty, or completely satisfied my own mind, if I did not express my opinion, that of all the consequences of success which Great Britain may contemplate, in the height of her exultation, there is none to which she ought to direct a more anxious eye, and none for which she ought to make greater sacrifices, or which would more redound to her honour and promote her interests, than the re-establishment of the Republic of Holland on such a basis as to enable her to resume the situation she formerly held among the powers of Europe.

"My lords, we have recently witnessed what has been justly termed a success even beyond those expectations which the confederation of the allied powers could inspire. If it be the will of Providence that the tide shall now turn, and that it shall pursue a direction opposite to that which since the year 1793 it has regularly kept; if we may now hope to resume that influence on the continent which we formerly enjoyed, to which the struggle we long almost singly maintained, to which the powerful assistance we have afforded to the common cause, to which the uprightness and disinterestedness of our motives entitle us, we may with gratifying, but not arrogant self-complacence, discharge those duties, which, while they promote and secure the permanent interests of our own country, are not less conducive to the general welfare and prosperity of continental Europe. I am aware that this is a point on which it would be highly injudicious for any member of the executive government to express an opinion; and I therefore do not desire that any remark should be made in reply to this part of the subject; but I think it is due to that unhappy nation suffering such unmerited oppression from its attachment to England, that it should see, that at the moment when we are anticipating the period when we shall resume our influence on the continent, her peculiar claims have not been forgotten in the British parliament.

"One word more, and I have done: it is to conjure you (I hope it is unnecessary) not to do me the great injustice of believing, that the opinions I have just uttered are the result merely of the exultation and triumph so justly felt in consequence of the recent welcome and unexpected intelligence. Undoubtedly, such events are calculated to warm the heart of every individual who feels not only for the natural rights of man, but for the independence of nations: Undoubtedly it does inspire me with fresh hopes and increasing confidence, that the glorious harvest is at hand when we are to reap the fruits of all our toils, and of all

our privations. I look forward with joy to the approaching re-establishment of many warlike and independent nations, when they will throw off the galling yoke that has pressed them to the ground, but has not broken their spirit. But, my lords, I do not wish you (nor have I myself so acted) to form opinions merely by recent events: Those who, like me, have watched the whole course of these proceedings; those who have heard my opinions in their application to those proceedings; those with whom I have held conversation since the commencement of the confederacy; those with whom, for the last fortnight, I have been in the habit of confidential communication upon the subject of the line of conduct I should this day pursue, know it to be my deliberate opinion, that the existence of such a confederacy, acting on no partial and contracted views, but pursuing one general object, of itself irresistibly called upon Great Britain to employ all her energies, and to devote all her exertions to the success of a common and glorious cause. Such was the sentiment I was prepared to express before the glad tidings last received were obtained; and I was prepared to add an exhortation, that, as the chances of war must necessarily be precarious, you would prepare yourselves to meet with firmness those disasters which human foresight could not predict, and which human wisdom could not prevent. Even under circumstances that, with some, might seem almost to justify the confidence of certainty, I now offer that exhortation. If, in the course of human events (although I see little cause to fear) any unforeseen calamity should unfortunately occur, remember the glorious cause in which you are engaged: It may for an instant damp your hopes; but let it not damp your ardour, or shake your resolution. Be assured, my lords, of this (I hope you are already assured of it,) that there is for this country no separate safety, no separate peace. There is neither safety nor peace for England, but with the safety and peace of Europe. As for continental Europe, it is equally true, that an indissoluble union, a firm confederation, in conjunction with this country, can only secure for all, liberty, tranquillity, and happiness; can only obtain peace, now almost beyond the memory of living man. The plain duty of this country, placing its trust in Providence, is to improve, by every possible exertion, the bright prospect that lies before us: With the energies of Great Britain, duly applied, ultimate success may be confidently anticipated; we may now look forward to the speedy accomplishment of that great purpose, for the attainment of which we have already sacrificed, performed, and endured so much; and for which we are still ready to sacrifice, perform, and endure."

It was not necessary for the minister, on this occasion, to say much; but in the course of his speech Lord Liverpool made some remarks upon the character of the war which deserve to be recorded. After alluding to the failure of former coalitions, and the success of the French, "What, then, we might enquire, was this new life which has given an irresistible impulse to the present confederacy of the northern nations? The feeling of national independence, that sentiment which impels all men to stand before the liberties of their countries. This feeling, which first arose in the nations of the peninsula, gave the war a new character, and afforded grounds to hope not only for the deliverance of those nations, but of the rest of Europe. There had been before wars of governments, but none like this between nations; and all our principles of policy and prudence must have

been belied, if the issue of the present confederacy had not been very different from that of any of the former ones. They had before them instances of perseverance unexampled in any other cause than that of liberty;—they had seen nations, the least military of Europe, become formidable, and successfully resist the best disciplined troops of France. Small as that country was in comparison of some other nations of Europe, yet the establishment of the armies of Portugal was of the greatest consequence; as the foundation of the success of the allied armies in the peninsula; and as it gave, in addition to the general national feeling, a military tone, under the influence of which the Portuguese troops have been raised to an equality with the British. They had seen the Spanish armies employed, not only on the defensive, but in offensive operations, in a most critical moment, in which they had displayed the greatest steadiness. These happy effects had sprung from that feeling of national independence which had been nurtured by the best blood of this country. He was advancing no paradox, but an opinion, the truth of which was felt and admitted on the continent, when he said, that the success of the cause of the peninsula gave new life to the suffering nations of Europe. Under the influence of this example, the greatest efforts of France had been frustrated; an army, large beyond example, annihilated, and the independence of the Russian empire vindicated. There were reasons why the feeling of independence could not extend to Germany so readily as to the other powers of Europe; not from any want of military spirit, but from peculiarities in the constitutions of its different states; and if it had been asked, in what state of Europe this spirit would have last manifested itself, he should have answered, the Prussian monarchy. But far otherwise had the event proved; for never did any exertions in the cause of independence surpass those of the Prussian people in the present struggle. He did not speak of the talents of their generals, or the zeal of their monarch, but of the sentiments which pervaded every individual in that country. It was to be enquired, what advantages were to be reaped from our successes, and what means were taken to give them effect. The continental powers were all made acquainted with the views of Great Britain; and there was not one of them that did not acknowledge them to be reasonable, moderate, and just; and on the grounds of these acknowledged views were the efforts towards a general peace to be regulated. Where there were powers of such different interests engaged in a coalition, their confederacy was liable to accidents which would place them in disadvantageous circumstances, and these chances augmented in proportion to the extent of the confederacy; on this account a knowledge of common principles was most necessary. This was the great crisis, not only of Great Britain, but of Europe.—God forbid," said the noble earl, "that in these efforts we should depart from political justice and moderation. These principles," he continued, "should never be lost sight of; but it became us to be more moderate, as we were more vigorous. He agreed in this with the noble baron (Lord Grenville), who thought that some fixed and certain terms of peace should be abided by—terms consistent with justice to all parties—with justice not only to our friends, but to our enemies. We should not ask from our enemies such terms as, in their situation, we should not think it reasonable to concede. There was no principle on which to prosecute the war, but a desire to obtain a peace by which a fair addition of strength should be

made to those powers which had suffered in the contest."—The address was unanimously approved of.

In the House of Commons, the address was moved by Earl Comptoun, and seconded by Mr C. Grant, junior. Some passages in the speech of this gentleman are striking and eloquent. "I need not say," he observed, "that I cordially concur with the noble lord in every word of that eulogy which he has so ably and eloquently bestowed upon our allies in the peninsula; upon the valour and unanimity which has secured to their exertions such a glorious issue. I need not say that I cordially concur in every word which he has uttered with respect to the conduct of the British troops, and to that distinguished commander, Lord Wellington. Yet, sir, amongst all the great qualities with which Lord Wellington is so richly endowed, and which have elevated him to the sphere in which he moves, there is none that has impressed my mind more deeply than that undaunted and intrepid spirit, the sure proof of a genius conscious of its resources, which enabled him to defy the public opinion as to the invincibility of France. He did not sink under the weight of the enormous fame which surrounded those great commanders whom he was called to combat, and whom he has successively vanquished. Admirable, therefore, as I think his conduct in every part of Spain, in his sieges, at Salamanca, at Vittoria, on the Pyrenees, I do not know if he is not to me still more truly great, still more worthy of admiration, at that moment, when, relying only on his single genius, in a remote corner of Portugal, he threw up those lines, within which he secured the hope and the happiness of the civilized world."—Speaking of the late events in Germany, and the altered fortunes of the French ruler, he observed, "The hour of retribution is at length arrived. He who had no mercy upon others is now reduced to a condition which may excite the pity of his most implacable enemy. He, who has made so many miserable, is now condemned to drink to the very dregs the bitter cup of degradation and sorrow. He is thrown from his elevation, despoiled of his glories, hunted from hill to hill, and river to river; the props with which he had supported his power are falling around him; he finds no defence in the thrones behind which he had entrenched his usurped dominion. By a connection with ancient families, he had hoped to clothe his new greatness with something of prescriptive pomp and veneration; but he sees those vanishing before him—Austria renouncing his alliance,—Bavaria quitting his ranks,—Saxony torn from his grasp,—the Rhine itself anticipating the hour of deliverance; and that hour will assuredly come. We are now, indeed, too much in contact, too close to these great events, justly to appreciate their grandeur and their effects; for it is with these prodigious displays of moral power as it is with the grander and bolder features of nature. It is not till we are removed from their immediate vicinity, that we can ascertain their dimensions, and appreciate their real magnificence. Yet this we may even now assert, that, in the whole range of modern history, there is nothing equal or second to these achievements, and that this is one of those events (of which there are not many in history) which, taken singly and by itself, decides the destinies of nations, and changes the face of the world. It is true, that the sufferings of humanity were long protracted. It is true, that the hope of all nations was at length wearied out into a dumb and listless despair. We, even we ourselves, began at last to think that there could be no propitious result. We almost believed that, in favour of one indivi-

dual, the eternal laws of God and nature (laws which, till then, we had deemed eternal) were reversed. We almost imagined that the lessons of moral wisdom had been false, and that the wishes and execrations of so many millions exercised no influence over the fates and fortunes of their fellow men. But if the day was delayed, it must be confessed that it was delayed for a terrible purpose; that it might concentrate its destructive energies, and approach at last with redoubled and accumulated horror. If the sufferings of humanity have been prolonged, they were prolonged that they might, in the course of a few months, be overpaid in ample measure. Now, instead of armies heartless in the cause, generals corrupt or incapable, sovereigns blind to their interests and their fame, we see nobles and kings fighting in the ranks—we see crowds of accomplished captains—and, where we number men, we number heroes and patriots. It seems, indeed, if I may venture to say so, as if all the treasures of consolation, all the pomp and glory of recompense, were reserved for this occasion. In this one campaign is concentered the military renown of ages. All that is great, and illustrious, and noble—all that is romantic in bravery, and wise in council—all that is venerable in hereditary worth, or irresistible in popular opinion—the majesty of thrones—the grandeur of empires—the transcendency of genius—the omnipotence of mind—all natural, all moral energies seem to be thrown together, crowded and heaped upon each other, to form, as it were, a stage on which a spectacle at once so consoling and so tremendous might be exhibited to the eyes of an astonished world.—After we have recovered from the first impressions of the late stupendous events, it is natural to advert to that part of his Royal Highness's speech in which these events are in part at least ascribed to the conduct of this country. And certainly the change which has taken place on the continent must be mainly attributed to our example—an example, indeed, which did not require success to recommend it; but which now, crowned as it was with such signal results, must be for ever memorable. If, at the commencement of these troubles, we had shewn a dastardly spirit; if we had betrayed the cause of freedom; if we had sunk under the ascendency of lawless power—where now would have been the deliverance of Europe? where would have been the rallying ground on which the hopes and affections of an afflicted world might gather themselves, and find refuge? We chose a nobler and better policy. Having ascertained the course which we were destined to tread, we entered upon it with fixed hearts and prepared resolutions; and in spite of difficulty and danger, amidst the sound of falling thrones and empires, we maintained our inflexible career; and upon what principle did we so maintain it? Upon the principle of national independence; upon this principle, that opposition to lawless aggression is at all times a sacred duty, and that the hope of Europe was to be found only in a vigorous and inexorable resistance. There will be no prouder page in history than that which tells of that struggle and its victorious result; which tells, that at a period when the foundations of the world seemed to he shaken, when all former institutions were swept away, rather as if by a sudden whirlwind than by any of the ordinary means of destruction, there was yet one nation, which, reposing under the shade of a happy constitution, proud of its ancient liberties, and worthy to defend them, dared to measure its matured and disciplined valour at one time against the unnatural energies of a frantic democracy; at another time against

the gigantic resources of the most tremendous despotism that ever scourged the world. If, sir, history after this narration were obliged to add, that in this struggle at last we fell, but that we fell gloriously, with our arms in our hands and our faces to the foe, even this would have been no mean praise; this would have been praise enough to satisfy the most aspiring nations of antiquity; it would have been praise enough to fill up the warmest wishes of that gallant and patriot band who left it to be engraved on their tombs, that they died in obedience to the laws of their country. But, thank God, sir, history will be called not to lament the fall of British greatness, but to celebrate its renewed exploits and its living triumphs. The conduct which we have pursued can acquire indeed no accession of merit from the issue to which it has led; but it is satisfactory to observe how admirable have been its results. It has kindled throughout Europe a flame, which, I trust, is unquenchable. It is to the theatre of these contests, it is to that soil which but lately seemed incapable of producing a single effort, that the moralist of after-ages will resort for examples of instruction, when he denounces the fall of unhallowed greatness. There, too, will the patriot look for lessons of enthusiasm and disinterested virtue. This is the glorious feature of the present war. I have heard it observed of America, that her conduct has dispelled those classical associations which we have been accustomed to indulge, of republican virtue and republican excellence. That remark was not more eloquently than justly made. But if we are obliged to give up that class of associations, I perceive, with exultation, that there is yet another class of associations no less sacred and venerable, which we may now cherish with additional fondness—I mean those associations which enforce the belief of instinctive patriotism, of unbidden enthusiasm in the cause of virtue, of the grandeur of self-devotion, of the magnanimity of great sacrifices for great objects, for honour, for independence. We must all recollect with what delight we imbibed these sentiments at the fountains of classical learning, and followed them out into action in the history of great men and illustrious states. But of late, and especially towards the close of the last century, there seems to have crept into this nation a sort of spurious and barren philosophy, of which it was the object to decry those associations; to represent them as the illusions of ignorance, or frenzy, or falsehood; to curb the original play of nature; to inculcate coldness and selfishness upon system; and to substitute in the place of all that formed the delight of a higher philosophy, a spirit of lazy deliberation, conducted by apathy, and ending therefore in meanness and dishonour. It was this philosophy which taught that those ideas of excellence had no antitypes in nature. It was this philosophy which taught that it is not only more prudent, but more conformable to the laws of our being, for every man, in time of danger, to reason before he followed the promptings of true courage, to make it a matter of calculation whether his country be worth saving before he draws the sword in her defence; to reduce it to a question of algebra, or a problem in geometry, whether he should resist the efforts of tyranny, or bow before the yoke. It must be confessed, that the history of the past age, and especially the sleep which seemed to have spread over Europe, gave too much countenance to these pernicious maxims. But the hour is at length come which has exposed the fallacy of these speculations, and rescued human nature from these calumnies. The experience of the few last years has abolished, I

trust for ever, that heartless system, the miserable abortion of a cold head and depraved imagination, which never waked one noble thought, nor inspired one generous action. The experience of the last few years has proved that they were not false and visionary those high sentiments which we were taught to respect; but that they are founded upon whatever is deepest and purest in the human character. It has proved that true reason is never at war with just feeling; that man is now what he was in those distant ages, a creature born indeed to act upon principle, but born also to act upon strong passions,—and that he never acts more nobly, more wisely, more worthily of himself, than when he acts by the prompt persuasion of grand passions, sublimed and directed by lofty principles.—Such, sir, is the situation in which we are placed, and such are the prospects which we may reasonably entertain. If, amidst so many causes of contentment and gratitude, there be any circumstance that can excite regret, it surely is that to which his Royal Highness has alluded in the commencement of his speech; it is, that our sovereign cannot share our joy; it is, that these blessings cannot be enjoyed by him whose exemplary virtues have, I believe, in no small degree contributed to draw them down upon this nation. I cannot help, however, sometimes indulging a hope, that in recompence for these virtues, and in return to the wishes of his subjects, that venerable personage may yet be reserved to witness the effect of these exertions; and that, having been withdrawn from the world at a time of tumult and agitation, he may be allowed at last the exquisite gratification of seeing that world calm and pacific under the effects of a solid tranquillity; for this, it should be recollected, is the end of all our efforts."

The address here, as in the House of Lords, was carried unanimously.

The attention of parliament was directed, soon after its meeting, to the new military arrangements which, at the present crisis, it was deemed expedient by government to propose. A general feeling pervaded the country, that at this auspicious moment every nerve should be strained to give to our military exertions the utmost extent and efficiency. For this purpose recourse was had to a species of force which was well trained—accustomed, at least, to many of the duties of soldiers—and of such a description, that it had been found convenient, on more than one occasion, to recruit from it for the regular army. It seemed natural that the additional assistance which the exigency of the moment might require should be drawn from the militia. Lord Castlereagh accordingly, on the 11th of November, moved for leave to bring in a bill to "enable his majesty to accept the services of a proportion of the militia out of the united kingdom, for the vigorous prosecution of the war."

Lord Castlereagh, upon introducing the subject to the House, observed, that "he should not dwell upon the expediency, at the present moment, of giving every possible efficiency to the disposable force of the country. On that subject there was but one sentiment in every part of the House; nor should he do justice to the strength and prevalence of this sentiment, if he were not to state his conviction, that it was the wish of every individual in the House and in the kingdom to use every exertion for securing the permanent honour and interests of the country, consistent with the necessary limits of our military and political resources. His object would not therefore be to recommend exertion, but to consider what direction it would be most advi-

sable to give to that exertion, in order to make it most effectual; and to strike a fair balance between the advantages and disadvantages of the different degrees and modes of operation which our circumstances placed within our reach. In this view, then, he was not about to call upon the House to make any great or unnatural effort; or to call upon the country for any sacrifices greater than were made by the other states of Europe: all that he wished was, to urge them to use proportionable efforts, and to submit to equal sacrifices in support of the common cause, and for the purpose of giving a happy and glorious result to that sentiment which now animated the great confederacy of Europe, to check the ambition, and limit the power, without tarnishing the honour, of France. The assistance of Great Britain might be more effectually employed for this purpose, by indirectly aiding the allies by our resources, than by immediate and partial efforts of our own. He relied the more confidently on the propriety of this line of policy, because he was satisfied that it was owing to the continued firmness and moderation of our counsels that Europe was in its present state. It had been restored from the humiliation and ruin which overwhelmed it, to a proud height of honour and independence, by the prudence, not less than by the magnificence, of our exertions. It was this wise and long-sighted forbearance, this determination not to push our efforts beyond our resources, that had given an increasing *impetus* and *momentum* to them; whereas by a premature and inconsiderate waste of strength, the spring of national spirit would have been broken down, and our career arrested in its progress. But now, when all the world was making one great effort for its redemption, it became the spirit of this country to take part, a proud part in it—not to overstrain or exhaust itself; but not to shrink back in the decisive moment, not to suffer all the advantages and all the glory which had been gained, to be lost by a deficiency of cordial co-operation on the part of Great Britain. We stood now in the situation of having obtained all the objects originally proposed by the war, even beyond the most sanguine expectation. The independence of the peninsula, in particular, had been placed upon a firm and lasting basis. In the former campaigns, the success of the British arms under Lord Wellington had been great and brilliant; but now that his victories were as numerous as the battles which he fought, that he had no longer any occasion to look back to the impregnable lines of Torres Vedras as a last resource; now that his great genius had accomplished all that his ardent and patriotic mind had proposed to itself, and had placed the liberties and territories of the whole peninsula under our protection, would it not be an abuse of confidence in the plans of that gallant leader, and an abuse of confidence in the success which almost uniformly attended the British arms, to turn back so near the end of all our labours and triumphs, and not to reap the fruits of victory which were put into our hands? He did not mean, by any thing that he had said, to insinuate a wish that we should expose what we gained to unnecessary hazard, or launch into a sphere which was better occupied by others: but, without explaining himself more particularly, he might be allowed to say, that there were points of the utmost consequence to this country, both in a commercial and political view, where a corps of 10, or perhaps 20,000 men, co-operating with our maritime strength, might turn the tide of success in our favour. He did not think there could be any

hesitation, where such a force would make the whole difference, whether an old and useful ally should be rescued from the grasp of the enemy, or left denuded of all support. He did not therefore recommend unlimited increased exertion, but mitigated increased exertion; that is, an increase of exertion proportioned to the importance of the end, and consistent with the extent of our means; and on this principle he would rest the merits of the plan which he was about to submit to the House.

"With respect to the supply of the army, all the advantages had resulted from the existing system which had been expected from it. It was gratifying to him to be able to state, that such had been the means placed in the hands of government in recruiting the army, and so little had been the waste made of human life, that both the regular army and the militia remained at as high a point of numerical force as ever, in spite of all the exertions we had made; and certainly no nation ever did push its exertions abroad, in proportion to its physical strength, farther than we had done in the last years of the war. It reflected the highest credit on the illustrious individual at the head of the war department, that such was the attention paid to the health and discipline of the army, that, including the whole of our troops, colonial and European, our loss yearly did not exceed 1-7th or 8th; that is, in 230,000 troops, the general amount of casualties, not only of deaths, but discharges, desertions, &c. did not exceed 25,000, though the natural waste of an army was generally one-tenth or one-twelfth, even in times of profound peace. Notwithstanding the sanguinary actions and assaults which had taken place in the last year, our total loss was not, as far as could be collected, more than 30,000 men. The present mode of recruiting the regular army, independently of any extraordinary exertions, would be sufficient to maintain it in its present numbers: He did not think the supplies from the militia would continue the same; or that we could reason prospectively upon this part of the subject, from the results of past experience. But the plan which he should now proceed to lay before the House went upon the supposition of our being possibly called upon for extraordinary exertions, either on the side of the peninsula, or in aid of the allies, in any critical emergency in which our assistance might be necessary to bring the great cause in which we had hitherto so nobly persevered, to a prosperous and decisive issue.

"In what situation," continued the noble lord, "would the country now have been placed, if the militia had not lent themselves to the exertions which parliament from time to time called on them to make? Since the year 1805, when government first called on the House to allow the militia to enter into the line, they had contributed within 250 men of 100,000 to the disposable force of the country. If this measure of rendering the militia auxiliary to the regular army had not taken place, if the old prejudices, with respect to that description of force, had been still kept up, and they had been prevented from entering the regular army, this country would not now possess the military character which it had acquired. We might have kept up our colonial policy, and made those exertions which were witnessed in former wars; but we could not have kept possession of Portugal, or have sent forces to co-operate in the deliverance of the peninsula at large, and to take up that menacing position on the frontiers of France which our army now occupied. We should have been shut up within the bounds of our insular policy, and we

could not have set that glorious example to other nations, or borne our share in the general exertions which have been made for the deliverance of Europe. Parliament ought always, therefore, to bear in recollection, that it is to the militia we owe the character we at present enjoy in military Europe; and that without the militia we could not have shewn that face which we have done in the peninsula. He wished it to be understood, that in what he had to propose, it was not his intention to transgress or go beyond those great principles which ought to be held sacred with respect to the militia. He had never been one of those who considered that there were any principles in the constitution of the militia which rendered that force inapplicable to the general service of the country, provided neither officers nor men were broken in upon either directly or indirectly. The militia might be broken in upon directly by law, and they might be broken in upon indirectly in a manner not less unbecoming; and any alternative which, though not compulsory on them, it might be painful to their own feelings to refuse, was very different from the mode of treatment merited by that respectable body. The most complete freedom of choice ought, therefore, in his opinion, to be preserved. But he never thought there was any thing in the militia which rendered them unfit for general service. They had supplied an assistance of not less than 100,000 men to the army, and the success of the whole contest had hinged on the exertions which this reinforcement enabled us to make. If the militia principles were in any respects changed, they were changed for the better; and at no period, he would venture to say, were the militia of this country either more numerous, more highly disciplined, or more capable of performing their proper functions, that is, of occupying a middle station between the local militia and the standing army, than they were at the present moment. He wished, therefore, the House to understand, that there was in contemplation no attempt to encroach on the constitution of the militia. No person would wish the militia to lock up the service of any man who would rather serve in another description of force. The true military philosophy was, to give the greatest possible facility to individual exertion, that it might find its proper level. Men were actuated by various motives and inclinations to make choice of one description of service rather than another; and it is our business to facilitate the exertions of individuals, but not to attempt to impose on any men the necessity of adopting new arrangements by appealing to their patriotism or their feeling. So far from putting it to the militia, whether they would lend themselves to another sphere of service, he wished the arrangement to be considered not as an appeal, but merely as an offer of certain terms to those who were willing to enter into the regular service. Any of the officers and men might take that offer if they chose; but still there was to be no departure from what was formerly understood to be the constitution of the militia. There was every reason, indeed, to presume, that unlesss some force were laid on the inclinations of individuals, a much greater number of men would be willing to go into the regular army than could possibly be accepted of. In point of fact, a very general disposition existed among the 70,000 men, of which the militia was composed, to enter the line. He was well assured, that a very large proportion of individuals, both men and officers, in the present interesting circumstances of the world, would consider it a favour to serve actively instead of passively.

He wished merely to give such a due and reasonable degree of encouragement to this wish, as was not inconsistent with sound military principles. He would state, as the principle on which they proposed to act, that whatever number of men it might be the policy of the legislature to give to the disposal of the executive government, they might not be precluded from acting on that feeling which he considered to be so prevalent at present in the militia; and that if there should be a particular number of men disposed to accept of the measure, they should be permitted to enter into the extended service. He was quite aware, that there was no regiment which had not a limited number of men, that, from various considerations, were not suited for foreign service. His view was not, therefore, to send the militia on foreign service, but merely to allow them to give such a number of men to the army as would enable us to sustain the attitude we at present held. It was his wish that no militia regiment should be left without such a proportion of men, as would be found necessary for carrying on the system of recruiting, and form, as it were, the basis of the regiment. His intention was to propose in the bill which he meant to bring in, that in the number of men who might volunteer into the army, not more than three-fourths of any regiment should be taken; and that one-fourth part, at least, of every regiment should be preserved. He thought it advisable not to check the disposition which prevailed in the militia of entering absolutely into the line, because in no wise could they be so usefully employed as in the line, which was a more extended species of service. He was disposed, therefore, not to impede that mode of serving, but by a small additional bounty to encourage it; and if a certain number of men would go, to allow the officers to go with them. He was happy to state, that in the judgment of his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief, no injury whatever would accrue to the army by allowing the officers of the militia, up to the rank of captains, to pass into the line, and to receive half-pay. His royal highness approved also of giving them this farther advantage, that after a certain time of service they should be considered as officers having permanent rank in the army corresponding to the rank which they held in the militia. In the first instance, they were to receive half-pay, and after some time permanent rank in the army. The number of individuals admitted to those advantages would be in proportion to the number of men who went with them into the army: One hundred men to admit one captain, one lieutenant, and one ensign, who at first would be entitled to half-pay, and, after having served one campaign, to fill every situation of the army. He had, therefore, another plan to propose, of encouraging the desire of active service in the militia, which was more congenial with the principle of that body, and which would liberate a great number of both officers and men desirous of extending their services. He proposed, that they should also be permitted to volunteer to serve as militia-men. The officers would be considered as still belonging to the militia of their country; but they would return home with this advantage, that having gone abroad at a critical period, they would be entitled, on being disembodied, to the half-pay of the army. He thought there would be a great disposition among the militia to go on this service; they would go as militia-men, and they would continue to have all the advantages of militia-men. A man would be enabled to serve his country abroad, without leaving his wife in want at home. In England, indeed, all descriptions of people were

entitled, in exigency, to relief from their parish, but in Ireland and Scotland there was no parish support. It was, therefore, proposed, that this class, who were merely a disposable militia, should continue to possess all the advantages of militia-men, and that the officers, as already stated, should have also the advantage of half-pay. With respect to the manner in which they ought to be organised, and rendered useful, the precise rule to be applied could not be well laid down, till they saw what disposition existed in the militia to extend their services, and what offers might be made. As it was not, however, meant to allow the whole of any regiment to extend their service, the proportions accepted would be formed into provisional battalions of militia for foreign service; the sphere of their service would be limited to Europe, and the command of the battalions given to militia officers. He knew there were regiments in the militia service who were impatient to go abroad as regiments, and disposed to sacrifice any thing rather than derogate from their integrity as regiments. He was perfectly well aware of the disadvantage of separating one part of a regiment from another, and of doing any thing which had a tendency to extinguish the *esprit du corps*. Giving every allowance to this feeling, still, however, he was not disposed to think that these provisional battalions would be found, on comparison, to be less effective than other regiments. Lord Wellington gave it as his opinion, that some of the most effective battalions under his command, were formed of three or four reduced regiments, and sometimes a greater number, who were thrown together into one battalion, instead of sending them home to be recruited to their proper establishment. There were not more effective battalions in the whole army than those which were so formed. It ought to be left to the discretion of the commanding officer, whether the field officers should be taken from the militia or the line; but in all cases the lieutenant-colonel ought to be taken from the militia, that the character of militia regiments might not be lost. He had occasion to know, that in Ireland provisional battalions, of a description like that which he had been stating, were found to be inferior to no troops in all the qualities for which soldiers are valuable. Fragments of regiments and minute parts of regiments might be brought together, and used as militia, with as great advantage as whole regiments. He hoped they would not be discouraged in undertaking the great effort which they had in contemplation, under the idea that they could not possibly get over all the embarrassments to which it would give rise. The proper principle for an Englishman to adopt was, that individuals ought to be allowed to exert themselves in the way which was most agreeable to their own inclinations. Having stated the outline of his plan, he would next proceed to state the expectations which he had of the numbers of men to be derived from it, and from the ordinary recruiting of the country. The ordinary recruiting would not, in fact, be affected so much by the measures which were going on at the same time, as persons judging merely from theory might be led to suppose. He should propose, that the bounty for the transfer from the home to European service should be 10 guineas; and that for entering into he line 12 guineas should be given, for a service limited in point of years; and 16 guineas for a service for life. With respect to the extent to which it might be prudent to give the executive government the power of receiving offers from the militia, he was not disposed to push the measure beyond what might be considered

a healthful exertion for the country. He was aware, that there were various important duties for the militia to perform at home, in the services of the interior. The amount of force which he was disposed to take would not, he conceived, operate as an unreasonable pressure on the country. He should propose, to take the quota which by the existing laws regulating the entrance from the militia into the line was placed beyond all hazard, and also a number equal to the quota for the succeeding year; and he had farther to propose, that the arrears of the numbers allowed to volunteer in former years might now be made good. The annual quota from the militia to the line amounted to 10,000—the double quota would therefore be 20,000—and the arrears of former years might be stated at 6000—making, in the whole, 26,000; and that was the whole extent of the numbers which it was now proposed to take. The House would see what was the nature of the supply which this measure, if it succeeded to the expectations formed of it, would require. Supposing the measure to produce 26 or 27,000 men, and that the ordinary recruiting did not fall off from the usual number of 14,000, the government would be enabled to realize 40,000 men, exclusive of the recruits for the foreign regiments. He had already stated the average waste of our army for the last four years to have been 25,000 men, and that the waste of this year might be presumed to amount to 30,000. He should in this manner be taking prudent precautions for the proper supply of our army. Such a supply was indispensable, in order that the great acquisitions which we had been enabled to make might not be committed to hazard, and that the executive of the country might have the power of striking some important blow in an interesting quarter, when occasion should admit of it. At no period in the history of this country had there ever been so great a proportion of our regular forces employed abroad as there now was; and that portion of our army which was stationed at home was reduced to narrower limits than ever. Notwithstanding the present happy temper of the country, which was in the enjoyment of the blessings of plenty, of the satisfaction derived from its exertions, and the prosperity which flowed from its industry, a temper of public mind congenial to Englishmen, still it would be unsuitable in the executive government, however slight grounds there might be for apprehensions of danger, to run any risks by stripping the country of the number of troops necessary for the preservation of the public tranquillity.

" During the time for which the plan of enlisting for the militia had been adopted, 32,000 had been raised for that body, or about 10,000 men annually. From this system having been so successful at the ordinary rate of exertion, he trusted that men enow might be raised to cover the draughts into the line, without resorting to the very onerous proceedings connected with a ballot. At all events, he was satisfied that there would be no necessity for any ballot, except at a period so remote, as to allow a proceeding of this nature without any extraordinary pressure on the country; for example, not until the expiration of the bill which he should propose, which would be at the end of a year from next Christmas. He trusted, however, that by the increased exertion of the lieutenancy and gentry of the different counties, the militia might be supplied by men raised by beat of drum, without resorting at all to the ballot. He conceived that he had sufficiently explained the grounds on which the bill was founded, and the motives in the abstract which led to it, respecting

which there could be but one feeling in the House; he should therefore close, by desiring to be distinctly understood as to the point which he had stated at the outset of his speech, that the government did not wish to appeal to the public spirit, or individual feelings of any of the militia-men, but merely to withdraw obstacles which prevented them at present from following the bent of their own natural inclination to serve their country; and that the executive was desirous of holding out all fair encouragement to any men desirous of so doing."

Mr Wynne and some other members declared that it was not their wish to oppose the measure, although they conceived it to be quite subversive of the just and constitutional character of the militia force.—Two answers apparently decisive occurred to this objection. In the first place, as the practice had already prevailed for many years of treating the militia as a species of force subsidiary to the regular service, and as the most important advantages had been derived from this arrangement, the aid to be obtained in this manner to the regular service might be considered as in fact a part of the modified constitution of the militia force itself. There was in the proposition of ministers, therefore, no innovation—no sudden departure from the principles upon which the militia force had been collected. But, in the second place, the extreme urgency and high importance of the crisis might well be considered as an apology, no less satisfactory than the existence of rebellion or invasion itself for a temporary extension of the services of the militia beyond the limits prescribed by its first institution.

The measure, as proposed by Lord Castlereagh, received the sanction of the legislature.

Other measures of a subsidiary nature were proposed by the ministers in the present great emergency of public affairs. Lord Castlereagh presented several bills to enable his majesty to accept the services of the different regiments of local militia out of their respective counties, under certain restrictions and regulations; to suspend the intercourse act between England and Ireland, for the purpose of permitting regiments of regular militia to volunteer out of the ordinary rotation; and to enable his majesty to augment the 60th regiment to any number not exceeding ten battalions. Upon opening his plan, Lord Castlereagh expressed his conviction that only one feeling pervaded the House and the country, on the necessity of exertion at so propitious and so decisive a period, and on the propriety of arming government with extraordinary means. Any thing, which might have a tendency to increase the disposable force of the country would, therefore, meet with general approbation. The ends and wishes of government would be fulfilled by the additional amount of force lately granted by parliament. But it became a question, whether the existing arrangements would be sufficient for the service of the interior, or whether other more advantageous dispositions could not be made to meet any exigency which might possibly arise. The regular and local militia were, on their present footing, framed and organized in a most excellent manner: but accasions might occur, in which the necessity of those bodies being disposable might urgently be felt. He did not intend, he said, to propose any alteration in their constitution and establishment, and would not require from them any other service than that which he felt confident would be found consistent with their own spirit and goodwill, without any departure from the militia principle. The regulations which

he should suggest embraced two heads, the local and regular militia. They were not, if adopted, to be acted upon immediately; but he only wished government to have the power of accepting extended services from those bodies should any necessity arise. With respect to the local militia, it was liable to be called into action on two services; in case of rebellion or of invasion. These were not likely now to happen; and notwithstanding the grant of force made by parliament for foreign service, and the magnitude of the armies which we maintain abroad, yet the internal strength of the country was placed on the most satisfactory footing. As long as England possessed her local militia and yeomanry, and Ireland her yeomanry, it might be said that an army was left sufficient for the defence of the empire. When it was seen what had been atchieved by the Silesian battalions newly raised, and scarcely disciplined (at least in no degree to be compared in that respect with our militia and yeomanry,) who would not feel confident in our own internal strength, and, with that description of force alone, secure against all the attempts of an external enemy? It was to be considered, however, that our country contained a large mass of French prisoners, who could not now be properly guarded without some new disposition of our force. It was indeed the peculiar and strange situation of the enemy, that he had left in the hands of his opponents, in those of Prussia, Russia, besides England, and shut up in fortresses, such a number of prisoners as would form, if collected, a larger army than any power in Europe at present possessed. But, however it might become necessary to alter the nature of the services of the local militia, it would be done, he repeated, with as small a departure as possible from the principle of the institution. When every voice in the country and in parliament agreed with his majesty's ministers in the propriety of increasing and exerting our force, when they were invested with the power which that unanimous consent created, and honoured with the confidence which it displayed, it became their duty more than ever to restrict their measures within due limits, and on no occasion whatever to abuse that authority with which they had been armed, by exceeding the necessities of the case. When he proposed to extend the services of the local militia, he wished at the same time to limit them in point of time. Instead of performing 28 days service in their own county, he would enable them to do it in another, as the exigency might require; and for that purpose would so extend the period of their service, as would allow them to move from one county to another. He thought, the time for going and returning included, the whole need not exceed six weeks. If compared with the points to which it might be necessary to call them, without carrying them to such a distance as would be injurious to their concerns and families, he thought that period would be found sufficient. This was all that he would require from the local militia. As to the regular militia, he only wished the crown to be empowered to accept their services, without the limitations which the law imposes. Instead of the present regulation, by which an interval of four years for the English, and six for the Irish militia, must intervene between the march of a regiment to either country and its return, he would propose that interval to be reduced to one year, so as to render that force still more disposable than it now was. It would not be necessary to employ all the militia at once; but as exigencies unfolded themselves, the crown would call on certain regiments, to ask whether they were disposed to extend their services to such parts

where they might be needed? There were two other points on which he would ask leave to bring in bills, and which, without departing from the principle of the former measure, he conceived, would give considerable encouragement to the transfer of service from the militia to the line. The first was, that the previous years of service in the militia should not be entirely lost by any man volunteering into the line. Service in the West Indies counted in an increased proportion; he would propose that in the militia to be under an equality with that in the line, but such as to approximate the individual to the advantages which are obtained by length of service in the latter. The other related to the non-commissioned officers in the militia, for whom he thought parliament ought long ago to have legislated. Their situation was truly unfortunate. After 25 years service, a serjeant was either kept in the regiment when unfit for duty, by the charity of his colonel; or if he retired, had no other provision than 5d. a day. He would now propose, that any militia serjeant volunteering into the line, should, after a certain period of service, be entitled to a certain amount of pension.' The details as to the rate or value of previous militia service in the first case, or the amount of the pensions in the second, he should leave to the wisdom of parliament to settle. There was another class whose situation he could not contemplate, as it was so subordinate and inferior to the corresponding class in the line, without astonishment that men of any abilities should be found to enter it. He meant the surgeons in the militia, in whose favour he would also call on parliament to interfere, to approximate their situation to that of surgeons in the line.—The last measure he had now to propose would be, to empower his majesty to augment the 60th regiment, principally composed of foreigners, from seven, to any number not exceeding ten battalions. This, he stated, would be cheaper than forming two regiments of the same description. His lordship concluded by moving for "leave to bring in a bill to enable his majesty to accept the services of the local militia out of their county, under certain restrictive regulations."

Mr Whitbread "had no doubt but this measure of the noble lord's originated in the joyful event which had just taken place in Holland, and which made him desirous to employ a larger force out of this country, to assist that nation to recover its independence. Never did a more favourable opportunity present itself to exert our whole strength, with more confidence of success; and the noble lord need not anticipate any opposition from him, to a measure calculated to facilitate the emancipation of a brave people. But for the presence of the French prisoners, who, he sincerely regretted, still remained in this country, he would say that there never was a moment when less force was required to conduct the police at home. Tranquillity was reigning within our island; and he trusted that the abundant harvest with which Providence had blessed us, the cheapness of provisions returning with returning employment, would maintain it; would dispel any apprehension of its again being disturbed; and would convince men, that the riots which had some time since alarmed the country, were only occasioned by the dearness of provisions, and the want of employment, and had therefore ceased with them. There could be but one voice in favour of our assisting the Dutch. They had already so far succeeded, because theirs was a contest of the people, and not of the government. Because it was a contest of the government, and not the people, the single battle of Jena had crushed the Prussian monarchy. Because the people

and not the government now waged it, the Prussian monarchy was restored. When Buonaparte marched his immense army to the centre of the Russian empire, the people fought, and he was destroyed. In Sweden, the people had rid themselves, with a bloodless revolution, of an oppressive government, and elected in its stead that great captain, whom the noble lord had represented as the author of the plans of the present campaign. They had selected a chief out of the French armies, where he had learned to conquer him under whom he had served; and to the exertions of the Swedish people we were therefore indebted for a portion of the great results now obtained. The energies of the people, at the beginning of the French revolution, had repelled the hostilities of invading nations; and it was not till, happily for Europe, the emperor of France stretched those energies too far, that his power, under the will of an all-wise Providence, crumbled in his hands. It was the people of England that assisted all nations, and he felt confident it would continue to do it with all its power, and with universal spirit and satisfaction. The time of the year was favourable to the collection of a large force, without injuring the interests of the country. The agricultural labours of the year were over, and for a few months, those men who before would have been wanted to reap the harvest and cultivate the ground, might be spared to assist in restoring the independence of Europe. In the hour and exultation of success, however, he wished us not to forget ourselves. He did not believe that any attack on the liberties of the country was intended, or that any effort to obtain an undue increase of influence for the crown was made. Yet it should be remembered, that the present events necessarily created a larger augmentation of influence than ever. He did not urge this in a spirit of hostility, but merely as an admonitory observation. Far from opposing it in the present circumstances, he consented to it; he gave it his feeble support, because he thought it necessary; and however humble he might be as an individual, yet that support was valuable, because it was not given blindly, but with his eyes open to all the inconveniences with which the measures rendered necessary by events might be attended."

These important measures were thus carried into effect with a rapidity which surpassed all former experience. The crisis was urgent in the extreme, but the energy of the nation proved fully adequate to the occasion. All parties united in furthering measures upon which it would have been disgraceful to have evinced any narrow or selfish feelings; and the British legislature proved in this great emergency, that how zealous soever its individual members may be upon ordinary occasions, in vindicating the opinions, or promoting the system of a party, they readily and naturally coalesce, when the honour, the interests, and the real grandeur of the country, are manifestly involved in their deliberations.

CHAPTER II.

Parliamentary Proceedings continued.—Committee of Supply.—Ways and Means, and Foreign Treaties and Subsidies.—Adjournment of Parliament.

THE great and universal pressure of the taxes, necessarily imposed for the support of the war, had been severely felt throughout the country, and, as our military force upon the continent had been increased beyond all former experience, loud complaints were made because a proportional reduction had not been accomplished in another most expensive branch of the public service. As the successes of our arms placed the country altogether beyond the reach of invasion, it was supposed that a reduction in the naval establishment might have been safely attempted. This opinion, however, appears to have been founded upon a mistake as to the condition and power of the enemy. In no preceding year had the difficulties attending the due distribution of our naval forces been greater than during 1813. Had we not profited by the assistance of the Russian fleet, we could not, perhaps, have made the navy effectual for all purposes. That we had no formidable enemy actually at sea, was among the number of our difficulties. It ought to be generally known, that, notwithstanding the decisive blow which had been struck at the enemy's naval resources, he had never relaxed his maritime efforts, and that he had still fleets in most of his leading arsenals, ready for sea. He had, in fact, been rapidly increasing his maritime forces.—The demand too on the American station had been very great. The Baltic had also required a large supply of force, in consequence of its vicinity to military operations. We might, but for our naval exertions in this quarter, have seen, not a part, but the whole of the army of Denmark put in motion under the direction of France.—Government, therefore, had not unnecessarily maintained our large naval establishments; if they had evinced a disposition in favour of a wasteful expenditure, it would have been the business of parliament, at all times, to recal them to their duty. Ministers stood pledged, so soon as circumstances would permit, to adopt every practicable measure of reduction. But it was their duty to proceed with prudence and caution, for if they had suddenly disbanded the naval force, it might have been difficult, on an emergency, to recal the seamen to the public service.

On the 10th November, Mr William Dundas moved that 140,000 seamen, and 31,000 marines be employed for the ensuing year. On this

proposition, it was observed by Mr Baring, that, considering the numerous, but, he believed, necessary expences, which the state of affairs imposed on the country, he was surprised that no relief was to be afforded from the naval service; but that, on the contrary, there was an excess in that department. It was with regret that he found this motion made at so very early a period of the session, for the service of 1814. He would not prejudge the question as to the necessity of the vote; but in the present unsettled state of affairs, he could see no necessity for urging it immediately. Looking at the map of Europe, and considering what our navy had at present to do, he could not conceive the necessity for so large an armament. In France, he observed, that, according to the pressure of circumstances, some branches of public expenditure were so proportioned as to assist the necessary demands incurred by others, which were of a more exigent nature; whereas we continued to keep up full charges in all branches, as it appeared to him, unnecessarily. For years past, we had had nothing like a formidable enemy at sea; and at the period of the battle of Trafalgar we had 10,000 seamen less than now. We had a few years ago all the ports of the peninsula against us, and we had the Baltic to guard, besides our own operations against enemies' colonies. There was now a considerable prospect of our clearing the ports of Holland. He would venture to say, that there was no man, with tolerable information, who followed up the conduct of our naval administration for the last year, but must be surprised at the little that had been done effectually on the North American coast. On that subject, he should not then enter particularly; but, judging from the use made of our great navy last year, he saw no reason for giving to the Admiralty such great means. Was it meant to be contended that this immense armament was required on the American stations, for assuredly no where else could it be necessary? From the information he and many other individuals had received, he was inclined to think, that the force already on the other side of the Atlantic, if properly applied, was more than equal to the task it had to perform. The Americans had not more than 3 or 4,000 seamen to oppose to the 140,000 this night to be voted; but he was far from believing that the naval strength under Sir John Warren had been employed to the greatest advantage. Why, he asked, were forty sail stationed off the Chesapeake, to the disgrace of this country, committing depredations, burning a few sheds, and taking a few stray tobacco ships, when three or four men of war, with due vigilance, would completely have effected the purpose? He would venture to assert, that one-third of the force now stationed off the republican coast, properly distributed, would be fully adequate to blockade the enemy's harbours. It was a known fact, that the preservation of our North American possessions depended upon maintaining a naval superiority on the lakes; but in what condition were we by the last accounts? Our ships had been expelled from Lake Erie; and on Lake Ontario, with all his gallantry and all his ability, Sir James Yeo was not able to face the American force brought against him. So that the state of things was this:—That the naval affairs, either here or abroad, were so ill administered, that where a large naval equipment was required, only a small force was detached; and where but few vessels were necessary, an enormous fleet was stationed.

Mr W. Dundas would not now enter into any vindication of the Admiralty; but if any direct motion of censure were hereafter produced against

the board, he should be happy to meet and to refute it. Until proof of negligence or inability were adduced, he knew the House of Commons too well, to think that they would condemn. With regard to the early period at which this vote was brought forward, the hon. gentleman would find, on consulting the journals, that it was always the first vote of supply of the session, and he (Mr Dundas) should have been deficient in his duty if he had delayed it longer. As to the charge, that 140,000 seamen were not at this time necessary, the hon. gentleman had answered himself, since he acknowledged that the navy must not be disbanded; and because we had at present the superiority on land, were we to lessen our pre-eminence at sea? In this view no policy could be worse, than that because a peace might perhaps take place, it would be fit to reduce our naval strength. If at any future period such an event should occur, parliament would have the power of limiting our naval power; but in the present posture of affairs Buonaparte could wish nothing better than to see all our ships laid up in ordinary, and our seamen turned adrift upon the country. The hon. gentleman had said, that our navy now had comparatively little employment. What had become of the enemy's fleets formerly so much talked of?—Where was the Toulon fleet?—At Toulon ready to put to sea on the first opportunity. Of how many sail did that consist? Of not less than 25 or 26 sail.—In the Scheldt there were, how many?—Twenty-seven nearly ready for sea.—Was not this a formidable armament for our navy to meet?—At Brest, Cherbourg, and in the Texel, there were also many ships, of which the hon. gentleman (Mr Baring) seemed to have no recollection.

Mr Croker stated, "that not long ago the French fleet in the mouth of the Scheldt amounted to 16 sail of the line, to all appearance ready for service. In the Texel there were not less than five, sometimes ten, in the same condition of preparation. Although some might believe that the enemy had withdrawn many of his seamen from his fleets, yet it would have been an improper confidence on the part of government, on a public rumour, so to reduce our armaments as to permit them, so near to our own coasts, to move about, insufficiently watched and guarded. The hon. member's opinion concerning the Toulon fleet was monstrous; since it was but recently that government was accused of neglect in that quarter, of having a naval force inferior to that of the enemy; particularly on the occasion of L'Emeriau's once coming out to sea, and returning to harbour. Did not an enemy's force of 50 sail of the line require watching? If the Admiralty were the victims of those illusions of the hon. member, they would indeed become liable to reproach. As to the time at which the motion was now made, it became necessary to make it in the last month of the last year's expenditure. It was also necessary that our brave seamen should be paid and fed; but then it might be said, "put it off till January." Why, the necessity of this motion was among the other important reasons, why parliament was assembled so soon this session! But all that was now intended or proposed was, to vote one half of what was wanted. All the civil part of the naval expenditure, new buildings, repairs, and other items, on which a difference of opinion might fairly arise, were kept back for the period of the ordinary estimates, three or four months hence. Government might have adopted another mode, by proposing a rateable sum, for a few months' expenditure; but they had

not done so, because they must then have forced upon the House, at that early period, the whole affairs of the naval department, to be printed and voted. It was thought much preferable to ask, now, for no more than what appeared necessary for the payment of our seamen, and the expenses of our ships actually at sea; leaving all the rest for future consideration and discussion. Whenever the hon. member should think proper to move any propositions on this subject, he should have, as far as his (Mr C.'s) humble abilities went, every assistance in his power to afford him; being confident that an enquiry would redound to the credit of the Admiralty, and prove the hon. member to be misinformed. He could not tell why Sir J. Warren had 30 pennants in the Chesapeake; but the hon. member might be a better admiral than Sir J. Warren. That admiral was responsible for his conduct. He had done what he thought proper in his situation. With 120 pennants, he might have had 30 in the Chesapeake: He did not know that he had, and he thought he had not. He wished to put in his plea for those brave officers and men who had been blockading that coast during dreadful weather, that their characters might not be hinted away. He wished the officers had not been alluded to. The naval administration would be found perfectly ready to defend itself; and as to the officers, he hoped the House and the country had full confidence in them; for what had they not to acknowledge or to expect, from the tried skill, and valour of British seamen?"—The resolutions were put and carried.

The early meeting of parliament this session, had been occasioned by the very singular circumstances of the times, and by the necessity of obtaining parliamentary sanction in support of the measures adopted for raising the extraordinary supplies required for the service of the country. This crisis had been foreseen by the ministers during the last session, and when, in the month of June, 1813, they communicated to parliament the terms of the loan, which had been contracted for the service of that year, they intimated their determination, at the same time, to resort to any other measures of a similar nature, which the state of affairs might demand.—On the 15th of November, the Chancellor of the Exchequer accordingly transacted a loan of twenty-two millions, and on the same day he came down to the House of Commons, to explain the motives and the policy of the measure he had adopted. He remarked, that it would not be necessary for him at present to go at any considerable length into the particulars of the supplies which had been voted, and the sums which were necessary for the carrying on the public business of the country. He should merely observe, that 13 millions had been voted for the naval service; that two issues of Exchequer bills of five millions, and two millions and a half, had been made, and that the whole sum voted amounted to about 27 millions. The ways and means to meet the public exigencies were only the annual taxes, amounting to about three millions, and the sum to be raised by the loan concluded that morning. Before entering on the particulars of the loan, he would proceed to explain some of the circumstances connected with it. He believed it was unusual for a loan to be contracted before a former loan had been altogether paid up. In the month of June last, when the loan took place for the service of 1813, it had been stated, that government did not consider themselves precluded from resorting to any other measure of a similar nature, which the public service

in the course of the year, might render it necessary to adopt. It had been said, however, to the contractors, that it was believed such sums had been granted by parliament as would in all probability be adequate to the exigencies of the public service. Some time before the meeting of parliament, it became obvious to his majesty's ministers, that it would be necessary to apply to parliament for a farther supply; not only from the additional expences of the public service, but also from others not in contemplation at the time of the former loan. The Exchequer bills had been issued on as favourable terms as could have been expected; but certain circumstances, favourable to the public credit of the country, rendered it not advisable that the market should be stocked with them to any great amount. Persons holding Exchequer bills were desirous of disposing of them for the sake of laying out the produce in the public funds. Under these circumstances, it was thought necessary, that the loan should be greater than what the circumstances of the public service rendered absolutely necessary. A loan, to the amount of 10 or 11 millions, would have enabled government to carry on the business of the country till the usual period of application to parliament. But, by way of relieving the Exchequer market, his majesty's ministers found it the general opinion, that it would be better to combine two operations at once, and to raise such a sum of money at present, as would render it unnecessary for some months to come before parliament, and to issue any additional Exchequer bills. The loan, therefore, amounted to the sum of 22 millions. It was considered advisable, under all the circumstances of this case, that a preference should be given to the contractors for the last loan, although they had no right to any such preference, in consequence of an express stipulation in their contract. It was the interest, however, of all parties, with a view to the consequences in the money market, that the last contractors should have a preference. Upon these principles, the transactions of that morning had taken place, and he hoped the bargain would be found extremely advantageous to the public. The amount of the sum to be raised was, as he had already stated, 22 millions. It was agreed, that for every 100*l*. money subscribed, the contributor should be entitled to 110*l*. in the Three per Cents. Instead of the portion in the Long Annuities, as was the case last year, the whole of the remaining sum was taken in the 3 per cent. Consolidated Annuities. Every 100*l*. advanced was, therefore, entitled to 110*l*. in the Reduced, and 67*l*. in the Consolidated Annuities. This, when compared with the terms of the loan of last summer, would be found highly advantageous to the country, as nearly 2 per cent. less was given to subscribers than in June last. The loan was in other respects more favourable. The whole amount of the annuity to subscribers in June last, was 5*l*. 10*s*. 6*d*. per cent.; in the present loan it was 5*l*. 6*s*. 2½*d*. The bargain of that day with the contractors, therefore, was concluded at an interest of 5*l*. 6*s*. 2*d*. In other respects the loan was not less favourable. The estimated profits of last loan amounted to 4 per cent.; the estimated profits that morning were not more than 3*l*. 6*s*. per cent., and the discount 5*s*. 6*d*. He had heard in the course of the day, that the premium in the market already amounted to 3¼ per cent. He had thus made a bargain which he hoped would be every way acceptable to the House and the country. He might be allowed to mention, by the bye,

that the loan of that day took place under very favourable circumstances. Instead of forcing a loan on the monied men, several of the most respectable gentlemen of the city seemed rather anxious to force a loan on the government. The next thing to be considered was, the charge on the country, created by this loan. There was allotted to it a sinking fund of 1½ per cent. in the manner pointed out by the act of last year. So that in this year, without laying any additional burden on the public, it would be possible, to comply with that act, and lay the foundation for the redemption of the debt created, in a manner highly advantageous to the public.

Stock created in the 3 per cent Reduced .	L. 24,200,000
In the Consolidated .	14,740,000
Making together	38,940,000
The interest amounted to	1,168,200
Sinking Fund	584,100
Charges of management .	11,682
Total annual charge	1,763,982

The interest paid on the last loan was, as had been stated, 5*l*. 10*s*. 6*d*. per cent.; the interest on the loan of the year preceding the last also exceeded that of the present loan, which in point of terms was more satisfactory than any since the year 1811. Before he sat down, he had great satisfaction in being able to state to the House, that the revenue of the last quarter had experienced a considerable increase—that quarter exceeded by 1,900,000*l*. the revenue of the corresponding quarter of the preceding year."

The resolutions resulting from the statements in the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer were agreed to.

A discussion respecting the subsidies which had been granted by the British government in its treaties with foreign powers, occupied the House of Commons on the 17th of November. Upon this subject, Lord Castlereagh gave an ample and candid exposition, which was limited in its details only by the secrecy and honour required in his official situation. He began by expressing his regret, "that in calling on the House to make provision for the fulfilment of these treaties, he was not in a situation to lay before them all the engagements with foreign powers into which his majesty had entered in the course of the year. But he trusted, that his not being able to do so would not be attributed to any neglect on the part of the executive government; as, whenever the treaties to which he alluded were produced, the House would observe, on a reference to the dates, that there had not been time to exchange the ratifications, a form indispensable before any document of that nature could be laid on the table. At the same time, it appeared so material, before calling on the House to make any further provision on this subject, to put them in possession of the general nature and extent of the engagements which had been entered into by his majesty's government, that he felt it would be very unsatisfactory, and even unfair, in his majesty's government, willing as parliament had evinced itself on the present occasion, to call upon it to make a considerable further provision, without at least giving the House some notion of the proportion which the proposed provision bore to the general expenditure on the same head. He was anxious, on another consideration also, to bring every thing connected with this subject into one point of view. The motive was obvious. It was highly desirable that foreign powers should look in a collected view at the exertions which this country had made in their behalf.

Painful as was the task, his majesty's government had felt it their duty to resist many applications for aid which they would have been most happy to grant, and an acquiescence in which, if acquiescence had been practicable, would doubtless have been in the highest degree beneficial to the common cause. But the limited nature of the resources of the country had compelled them in some cases to deny altogether, and in others materially to narrow, the assistance which had been required of them. It was extremely desirable, therefore, that foreign powers should have an opportunity of seeing the aggregate of the exertions which Great Britain had made for the interest and advantage of the world; and of being convinced, that if their wishes had not met with the fullest and most prompt concurrence of the British government, it arose from the necessarily restricted character of the British resources. With respect to that aid which had been granted, he was persuaded that no other sentiment had influenced the crown in its distribution, than an anxious wish to apportion it in the mode best calculated to promote the general interest. In the first place, he wished to draw the attention of the House to the means that were last session placed by parliament at the disposal of the executive government; to the purposes to which those means had been applied; and to the probability that they would be adequate to cover the expenditure (under the name of aid) of the present year; and then to consider what it might be necessary to do with reference to the approaching year; without, however, chaining down the discretion either of parliament or of the executive government on the subject. He had great satisfaction in stating what had been done in aid of one class of those to whom it had been judged necessary to extend the assistance of this country. Independently of the glorious services of our own army in the peninsula—independently of the direct aid that had been given to Spain and Portugal, indirect aid had been afforded to the Spanish and Portuguese armies to a considerable extent. It frequently occurred that they were in utter want of military stores and equipments. Under these circumstances, it was impossible to allow the service to stand still; and in many instances, the necessities of those armies had been supplied from our own commissariat. The aid which had been granted to Spain during the last year, in money, stores, &c. amounted to about two millions. Parliament had not been called upon to afford this assistance formally as a subsidy; it having been thought most advantageous to give it in a liberal manner, rather than under any specific engagement. The provision which parliament had made for the service of Portugal, for the last two years, was two millions. For Sicily 400,000*l.* had been voted; for Sweden one million. Added to which, parliament, at the close of the session, agreed to a vote of credit to the amount of five millions. He was happy to state to the House, that the sum which had thus been placed at the disposal of the crown, would cover the engagements entered into by his majesty for the existing year. The particular distribution of it would be regularly laid on the table of the House at a later period of the session. Four millions were appropriated to the payment of the subsidies with the foreign powers (a great portion of which had already been remitted;) and the remainder was reserved for the purpose of reimbursing those departments of the state, from which military stores had been forwarded for the use of the continent. And here he would observe, that no mode of assistance was so advantage-

ous, both to ourselves and to the countries to which it was extended, as that to which he had just alluded; and that it was but an act of duty on his part to speak in terms of high admiration of the activity with which the department of the public service principally concerned had carried into effect the object in view. In the mere article of small arms, in addition to the great expenditure and waste of our own army, we had in the course of the year sent half a million of muskets to Spain and Portugal, and 400,000 to other parts of the continent as subsidiary aid—an exertion which, he repeated, reflected the greatest credit on the head and all the members of that department of the public service by which it was effected.

"Having stated the general amount of the assistance that had been given to the different continental powers in the course of the year, he would proceed to a more detailed and particular statement. And first, with respect to Sweden. The House would recollect, that, by the treaty concluded with that power, and which had received the sanction of parliament, the sum of a million, to be paid to her, was to cover her exertions to October last. The treaty expressly stipulated, that on the 1st of October, 1813, the contracting parties should concert any further engagements that might appear expedient. In point of fact, instructions had been given on our part, some time before the expiration of that period, to the British minister at the Swedish court, to renew our subsidiary engagements with Sweden for the ensuing year. But, from the nature of the campaign, and from the state of the weather, he (Lord C.) was not in possession of the proceedings under those instructions. He was, therefore, not justified in pronouncing what might or might not have been the course of the negociations; but he felt warranted in the general statement, that in all likelihood our engagements with Sweden, for the ensuing year, would not materially differ from those which we had held with that power during the present. As to the policy of renewing those engagements, he apprehended, in the present circumstances of the war, and after the experience which we had had of the conduct of Sweden in the last campaign, there would be no difference of opinion. Whatever objection, and on fair grounds, might have been made to the policy of the original contract; after all that had since occurred, be presumed no such objection could by possibility be repeated. He said this because he was sure the House could not fail to recollect the manner in which Sweden had fulfilled the treaty, by providing the full amount of the force which she had stipulated to provide; which force, brought to the North of Germany, in conjunction with the body under General Walmoden, had added not less than 50,000 men to the general exertions which had been made in the North of Europe. When the amount of this force was considered—when was also considered the energetic conduct of the Prince Royal of Sweden, who, magnanimously declining objects purely Swedish, had abstained from any separate effort, and had offered to the allies three distinct plans of general exertion for the campaign, it must be allowed that he had acquitted himself with the utmost spirit in the common cause, and laid the foundation for the glorious results which had followed. It was no small credit to that illustrious personage, that, thrown at the commencement of the war into a situation of extreme difficulty, called to the command of an army composed of many nations, himself a foreigner,

many of his regiments recently raised, and of a description which would not allow any military man to estimate their strength by their number, placed at the head of such a force, in opposition to the best troops of France, instead of permitting the French to capture the Prussian capital (an intention which they had openly announced,) he assembled his army with unexampled rapidity in front of that capital, and with inferior means foiled all the efforts of the enemy at the very outset of the campaign, and, in conjunction with the force under that veteran, whom to name was honourably to distinguish, General Blucher, caused them a loss of at least 40,000 men. Although it certainly was impossible to contemplate without pain the situation in which, at the commencement of the campaign, Hamburgh was left by the operations which he had just described, it was a great consolation to reflect, that from the misfortunes which Hamburgh had then sustained, would probably be derived her ultimate security. It was his firm conviction, on military principles, that if the army of the Crown Prince had been diffused instead of concentrated, not only Hamburgh would still have fallen, but Berlin would have fallen, and the fate of the whole campaign would have been uselessly sacrificed. Having said so much with respect to Sweden, he would proceed to speak of our treaties with Russia and Prussia. He was perfectly prepared to admit, that the aid pledged by this country in her conventions with those powers was greater than any she had ever before been called upon to afford. This aid was of two descriptions—direct subsidy, and the credit of Great Britain on the continent, to the amount of 5,000,000*l.*; the subsidiary part of the engagement referring to the present, the assistance by credit to the ensuing year. On this latter point a difference would be found to exist between the original and the supplementary conventions. In the original convention, the House would perceive that the subsidy was contemplated; but in the supplementary convention it was deemed wise to provide that there should be no admixture of the credit of Great Britain with the credit of any foreign power; a junction which, in the first instance, it was proposed should take place.

"The noble lord dwelt upon the importance of the improvement which this change of system introduced, by enabling our allies to pursue their operations with more effect, while it left this country at liberty to follow its own arrangements. As to the treaties to which this change referred, they were entered into, he said, shortly after the conclusion of the armistice; but instructions respecting their negociation were forwarded so early as April. His majesty's ministers, indeed, had very early formed their resolution; and the general ground upon which they proposed to act was, to assist, to the utmost extent of the means within their reach, the great powers with whom they were allied. With that view they made the advance stated to Russia and Prussia. They thought it peculiarly proper to enable these powers to call all their natural faculties into action, in order to sustain the important object for which they were confederated. They felt, that the only chance of overcoming the common enemy, and restoring the world to that state of public order, of which it had been so long bereaved, consisted in the establishment of a great bulwark, or rallying point, which the effective union and vigorous co-operation of those two great powers was, with certain aids, so eminently calculated to afford. Without the establishment, indeed, of

this bulwark, the collection or operation of the force under Walmoden would have been found impracticable. Hence the propriety of contributing, on our part, to the establishment alluded to was obvious, and would, he had no doubt, meet the approbation of the House. As to the meritorious conduct of the powers whom we had thus aided, there could not, he felt confident, exist a doubt in that House or in the country. The progress of the exertions, the rapidly victorious strides which marked the career of the Emperor of Russia, were fully notorious; but the demeanour of that monarch towards this country was peculiarly entitled to praise. The steps taken by him, in concurrence with this country, to authorise the proposition of Austria to treat with France for the restoration of peace, were peculiarly judicious. It was, indeed, unquestionably right, that Austria should make a trial of the disposition of the enemy towards peace, if it were only to satisfy its own subjects of the necessity which impelled her to take the part which that power had since so gallantly performed. Austria did, therefore, perfectly in a spirit of good faith, propose her mediation to France; but she had too much knowledge of the character of the French government not to foresee the result of her experiment, and not to make adequate preparations for the result. Austria did then make the most complete arrangements. The activity of Russia too, was, particularly signal; for, on the re-opening of the campaign, on the 17th of August, that power had actually in the field the full complement of men which she had promised to her allies, with the addition of a large reserve, besides another army collecting on her frontiers. Thus the Emperor of Russia had not only expelled the enemy from his frontiers, but, having passed those frontiers with a powerful army, brought General Bennigsen, with a reserve, to aid the common cause, and replaced the latter with another army on his frontiers. Such was the magnanimous conduct of this sovereign, who, after delivering his own country, conveyed his powerful army into the dominions of others, in order to rescue them from oppression—to restore their liberties. With that generous view, his great generals, who had in their own country evinced such distinguished capacity to execute the highest purposes of war, were in the territories of the allies appointed to act a subordinate part in the command even of Russian troops. Such a circumstance was rarely to be found—was perhaps, in every view, without a parallel. It furnished, indeed, a conclusive proof of the liberality of the councils which regulated the government of Russia, to have her generals so disposed of—the most eminent acting under Prince Schwartzenburgh, General Blucher, and the Crown Prince of Sweden. In fact, no Russian general whatever had a predominant command, the whole being placed under commanders of those countries for whose redemption the Russian army had so gallantly fought—the Russian government thus acting towards the other members of the confederacy in the true spirit of alliance, and honourable confidence.—The Russian government had, indeed, throughout, displayed a degree of liberality, only to be equalled by the valour of its army. The pecuniary contribution, therefore, of this country, to such a power, employed in such a cause, was, he was persuaded, not merely secure against objection, but deserving of praise. But the contribution to Prussia would, he had no doubt, be equally applauded by that House, by the country, and by Europe. The exertions of Prussia were indeed unparalleled; and it was perhaps the most extraor-

dinary feature in the present war, that that country, which was most depressed by the enemy—which was most exhausted by the plunder and devastation of France, had been found to make the greatest exertion—had been found to overcome apparently insurmountable difficulties, by raising its army to a level with that of the greatest power in Europe connected with the confederacy. Prussia had, in fact, been able to provide an army of no less (including its garrisons) than 200,000 men, thus equalling the amount of the Russian force. In stating this astonishing evidence of zeal and ability on the part of that regenerated country, he could not forbear from doing justice to the merit of that distinguished individual, General Scharnhorst, who so gloriously fell at the battle of Lutzen, and who most materially contributed to promote the resurrection of the military power of Prussia. But the merit of that gallant officer was most successfully emulated by his successor, General Eisenau; and here he had to state a fact, which proved that the period of the armistice was not wasted in indolence—that our allies were not by that transaction lulled into inactivity by any delusive hope; for, by the conclusion of the armistice, General Eisenau had succeeded in raising 70 battalions for the service of Prussia, 50 of whom were among the army which acquired such eminent distinction under General Blucher. It would not, he was persuaded, be rating the military exertions of Prussia too high to say, that in the present war it had exceeded any distinction it had ever attained under the great Frederick, whether its character was to be appreciated by the amount, the skill, the valour, or the success of its army. In fact, Prussia was never known at any former period to have possessed so large an army; and it formed a source of peculiar satisfaction and surprise, that this army, so suddenly raised from among a people so long oppressed, should have been found competent to contend against, and to conquer, the bravest troops of France. Such a circumstance was indeed eminently calculated to justify confidence, or at least to encourage hope, as to the result of the war. But here he felt it proper to observe, that it would be contrary to the principle of his majesty's ministers, to allow any immoderate hope to sway their decisions on any military results, however brilliant; or to withdraw their minds from a due consideration of that which was the only legitimate object of war, namely, the attainment of peace. To that object, indeed, they were prompted to attend, not only by their conceptions of duty, but by their views of interest. That object, however, they felt most likely to be attained by duly seconding the exertions of our allies; and under that consideration he had not the slightest doubt, that that House and the public would fully approve of what ministers conceived to be their duty, namely, to make the pecuniary grants he had described.

"Now, as to Austria, he hoped it would be felt, that in advancing any pecuniary aid that might be deemed necessary, to sustain the movements of that great military power, ministers should be limited only by the limits of our own resources. It was impossible for any man not highly to appreciate the assistance which Austria was capable of affording. But, greatly as he valued and desired that object, he felt satisfied that the co-operation of Austria was not to be obtained, but through the conviction of Austria itself that France was not willing to concur in any equitable settlement of the affairs of Europe. That conviction alone could, he was persuaded, urge Austria to embark in the war. Austria, indeed, saw that the enemy

was adverse to the proposition even of an imperfect arrangement; that any thing like a pacific settlement of Europe was not to be looked for from the power which had so long disturbed its order. Austria then, slow and unwilling as she seemed to be, became assured that the enemy was resolutely bent upon struggling, by arms, to hold Europe in a state of subjugation. Hence Austria was urged to take the part which she had so nobly performed; and that part was, he had no doubt, materially attributable to the moderation of the allies, who manifested a proper deference to the opinion of a power so important. They therefore paid due attention to the proposition of Austria, to mediate with France; taking care, however, not to commit themselves to any principle inconsistent with their own interests. But Austria having made a similar proposition to France, the experiment failed, and hence that power was led to engage in the war, at once by the forbearance of the allies, and the unchangeably hostile disposition of France. This he felt was not the time to discuss transactions with regard to which there was not yet any authentic information before the House; but yet he thought it necessary to make a few observations, in order to remove a false impression, which was too likely to be produced by the remark of an Hon. Member on a former occasion. That Hon. Member (Mr Whitbread) expressed a wish that the allies should be disposed to conclude a peace upon the terms formerly proposed; which expression, no doubt, the Hon. Member afterwards corrected, so far as regarded terms professing only to advert to "the same basis of pacification."—Now, it was not consistent with the fact, that any basis or system of pacification was ever offered to France by the allies, and of course it could not be intended to depart from any system in consequence of a change of circumstances. Yet from the Hon. Member's expression it might be inferred, either that the former pacific proposition, alluded to by him, was inadequate; or, if adequate, that the allies were likely to be led by the late military successes to abandon it, in order to press some exorbitant demands—while in point of fact no such proposition as that in the contemplation of the Hon. Member was ever made. It was merely attempted by Austria to mediate between the allies and France; and the conditions stated, were only those upon which that power was willing to become the mediator. But to the grounds of these conditions the allies were in no degree pledged; and it must be recollected, that those conditions did not at all touch any points affecting the particular interests of this country; that this country was in no respect a party to the transactions; that those conditions were, in fact, limited to the continent. France, however, having rejected those conditions, no hope of pacification remained, and Austria itself was in no degree pledged to them; for that power distinctly declared in its ultimatum, which had been published to the world, that if France did not agree to the conditions alluded to, she (Austria) would not hold herself bound to them, but resort to arms and seek to conquer peace. Hence it was evident, that no party whatever was pledged to the conditions referred to. Indeed, no terms of peace had ever been mentioned as the basis of any treaty to be concluded between the allies and France.

"But upon the important subject of peace, he hoped the House and the country were willing to confide in his majesty's government. Nothing had, he trusted, appeared or occurred in

the conduct of government which should induce parliament or the public to withhold that confidence—nothing was, he believed, to be collected from the speech of the Prince Regent, or from any part of the proceedings of his majesty's ministers, which could justify a doubt of their anxiety to conclude a peace, whenever peace, in the just sense of the word, could be obtained. But while he calculated that those who were most anxious for peace had reason to rely upon the sincere desire of his majesty's government to obtain it, he flattered himself with the enjoyment of equal credit with those who were most solicitous for the just rights and dignity, for the permanent honour and safety of the empire. The solicitude of government for peace had, indeed, been evinced on every legitimate occasion. Even after the battle of Leipsic, which might well be said to decide the contest on the continent, was there to be found in the Regent's speech any appearance of that spirit of intoxication which such a splendid victory might be supposed to produce? Did the satisfaction inspired by triumph diminish at any time the express solicitude of government for peace? Was not the same language which appeared in the speech used in reply to the proposition of Austria in the month of April last, after stating the grounds upon which government were precluded from accepting the mediation of that power, in consequence of its connection with France, and in consequence also of a declaration which, according to a trick of diplomacy recently very common in France, was made to the French senate, that the dynasty of Buonaparte did reign and should continue to reign in Spain?—Here the noble lord read, from the reply delivered to the Austrian minister in April, the passage he had alluded to; namely, that his majesty's government had no disposition to interfere with the honour and just pretensions of France. From this and other facts he had quoted, he expressed a hope that his majesty's ministers might calculate upon the confidence of their country as to their disposition towards peace; that, indeed, they never would be suspected of forgetting that all the exertions used in war could have no other legitimate object than peace; and that the most successful results of the one could be valuable only as they tended to the accomplishment of the other.

"As a farther evidence of the desire of ministers for the attainment of peace, he referred to their conduct in the month of August last, when they communicated to Russia their readiness to accept the proffered mediation of Austria; and that, too, after intelligence had been received of the battle of Vittoria. This fact he quoted as a pretty clear proof that victory, however brilliant, could not withdraw his majesty's government from its anxious solicitude for peace. Though they had agreed to accept the mediation of Austria in August, while a similar proposition was rejected in the preceding April, the House must be aware of the difference of circumstances which produced the change of decision on the part of his majesty's government—Austria having been in April the ally of France, while in August she appeared in the character of an armed mediator. France, too, had in the interval relaxed its pretensions with respect to Spain; leaving that as a question for discussion, instead of asserting an indisputable claim. No part, indeed, of the conduct of government could be fairly said to indicate any indisposition towards peace. But he hoped that it would not be deemed inconsistent with a proper anxiety for peace, to discourage any idle, futile

discussions upon the subject. His majesty's government certainly protested against the idea of entering into a congress without any satisfactory understanding as to the ends in view, or any ground of calculation as to the extent of the discussion; because there was too much reason to apprehend, that such a meeting might serve only to chill the exertions of the confederacy, to fill the mind of Europe with false hopes, and to lead individuals into injurious speculations; while it would enable the enemy to practise delusion upon the people of France.

"The noble lord recapitulated the amount of the grants to Russia and Prussia; adding, that the advance to Austria, which, consisting of bills of credit, would not form an immediate deduction from our finances, amounted to one million, together with 100,000 stand of arms, and a large quantity of military stores. The subsidiary engagement entered into with Russia and Prussia would, he observed, terminate in January, and that with Austria in March; but these engagements would, of course, be renewed should the war continue. In this case, then, he could not calculate that the expenditure of the country, on these grounds, would in the next year fall below the standard of the present. The whole of the sum necessary for our military expence on the continent he stated at 10,400,000*l.* namely, four millions for the peninsula, and rather more than six millions for Germany. But provision having been already made for a great part of this expence, while more was required to fulfil engagements which were not yet in a shape to be submitted to parliament, he meant at present to move, that three millions should be granted on account; and when the arrangements alluded to should be ratified and laid before the House, he should feel it his duty to enter into a minute explanation respecting the application of the proposed grant. His lordship concluded with moving, that the sum of three millions be granted to his majesty, to enable his majesty to carry into effect certain engagements with foreign powers."

The motion being put, Mr Canning rose and spoke nearly in the following terms:—"Having been unfortunately absent when the general assurances of support on the part of the House were given in answer to the speech from the throne, of which the vote of this day is a partial performance, I am anxious to take this opportunity of expressing, as strongly and as warmly as I am able, both my concurrence in those assurances, and my disposition to make them good, by the way and in the proportion recommended by the noble lord. If, in the present state of this country, and of the world, those who, during the course of the tremendous and protracted struggle, on various occasions called upon parliament to pause, to retard its too rapid and too rash advance, and to draw back from the task it had unwisely undertaken to perform, have manfully and honourably stepped forward to join their congratulations to the joyful acclamations of the nation, and to admit the present to be the period favourable to a mighty and decided effort, how much more grateful must it be to those, who at no time during the struggle have lifted up their voices in this place, excepting to recommend and to urge new exertions? to those who, when the prospects were most dreary and melancholy, insisted that there was but one course becoming the character and honour of Great Britain;—a persevering, an undaunted resistance to the overwhelming power of France? To an individual who, under the most dis-

couraging circumstances, still maintained that the deliverance of Europe (often a derided term) was an object not only worthy of our arms, but possible to be achieved, it must be doubly welcome to come forward to acknowledge his transports, and to vindicate his share in the national exultation. If too, on the other hand, there have been those who, having recommended pacification when the opportunity was less favourable, are now warranted, as undoubtedly they are, in uttering the same sentiments, in the confidence that the country will sympathize with them; it is natural for those who, under other circumstances, have discouraged the expectation of peace, and have warned the nation against precipitate overtures, now to be anxious to embrace this occasion of stating their sincere conviction and their joy, as strongly felt by them as by others, that by the happy course of events during the late year, and by the wise policy we should now pursue, peace may not, perhaps, be within our grasp, but is at least within our view.

"The vote we are this night called upon to make is in part prospective, and in part retrospective for services actually performed. Of that portion which is prospective, the noble lord has properly deferred the discussion; but of that portion which is retrospective we are enabled to judge; and, large as the expenditure now proposed may seem, I think no man, who compares the station we now hold with that which we occupied at any former period of the contest, can doubt that the expenditure has been wisely incurred, and that the services actually performed have fully merited the disbursement. I agree with those who are of opinion, that the time is now arrived when we may look forward to the attainment of peace; but I am far from disguising from myself, and I deem it of infinite importance that the country should not disguise from itself, the difficulties with which we may have still to struggle. We must not deceive ourselves by supposing that the game is actually won; that the problem is mathematically solved; that we have done all that is necessary to insure a lasting tranquillity. What we have accomplished is, establishing the foundation upon which the temple of peace may be erected; and the imagination may now picture the completion of that structure, which, with hopes less sanguine, and hearts less high, it would have been folly to have attempted to raise. We may now confidently hope to arrive at the termination of labour, and the attainment of repose. It is impossible to look back to those periods when the enemy vaunted, and we, perhaps, feared, that we should have been compelled to sue for peace, without returning thanks to that Providence which gave us courage and heart still to bear up against accumulating calamity. Peace is safe now, because it is not dictated; peace is safe now, for it is the fruit of exertion, the child of victory; peace is safe now, because it will not be purchased at the expence of the interest and of the honour of the empire; it is not the ransom to buy off danger, but the lovely fruit of the mighty means we have employed to drive danger from our shores. I must with heartfelt delight congratulate my country, that, groaning as she has done at former periods under the heavy pressure of adverse war, still "peace was despaired of; for who could think of submission?" Her strength, her endurance, have been tried and proved, by every mode of assault that the most refined system of hostility could invent, not only by open military attacks, but by low attempts to destroy her commercial prosperity: The experiment has been made; the experiment has failed; and we are now triumphantly, but not arrogant-

ly, to consider, what measures of security should be adopted, on what terms a peace should be concluded. But, as I before remarked, peace is only within our view, not within our grasp; we must still look forward to an arduous struggle with an enemy, whose energies have grown with his misfortunes, and who will leave no efforts untried to remove us from the lofty pinnacle that we have attained. We are not yet in a situation in which we have a right to discuss the terms of pacification; but so far I agree with the noble lord, that the happy changes which have taken place must not alter the principle on which a treaty should be founded: They do not vary with circumstances; we must secure and guard our own honour and interest; but we must not expect from our enemy that to which we ourselves should not submit, that he should sacrifice to us his own honour and interest, to him equally dear. All will agree, however, that this is not precisely the time for these discussions; we must expect from him a renewed and vehement struggle; he will not tamely submit to degradation, but will continue his efforts; and if we arrive at the desired goal, it can only be by the road we are now pursuing.

"With reference, however, to the vote of this night, as far as it may be considered prospective, as to the exertions we are called upon in future to make, I must observe, that even if our hopes of peace should be postponed, or even disappointed, is it nothing to reflect upon the posture we are enabled to assume, by the atchievements we have already performed? Is it nothing, to look back upon the fallen, the crouching attitude of enslaved Europe, at a period not long distant, and compare it with the upright, free, undaunted posture in which she now stands?—Living memory can recal no period when she was entitled to hold her head so high, and to bid such bold defiance to her enemy. What, let me ask, is the first and brightest fruit of the late successful conflict?—First, that continental system, that instrument of not wholly ineffectual hostility against Great Britain, which, until lately, was supposed to be growing in strength and perfection, has been destroyed; that complex machine directed against our trade, has received a blow which has shivered it to atoms! The enemy is doubly defeated; his arms and his artifices have failed: Burdened as it was, still there is something in the incompressible nature of commerce which rises under the weight of the most powerful tyranny: His efforts have been exhausted; his highest energies were put forth to sink our commerce; but, rising with tenfold vigour, it has defied his puny efforts, never to be repeated. The next point that we have attained is the destruction of his own darling system of confederation; I mean, that system by which he had formed all the states of continental Europe into satellites of the French empire, that moved only as it moved, and acted only by its influence. They are now emancipated; the yoke has been removed from their shoulders; the nations rise superior to themselves,

"Free, and to none accountable, preferring
"Hard liberty, before the easy yoke
"Of servile pomp."

"But since all the events of war are precarious, is it impossible, that, after retiring awhile, the tyrant of Europe (now no longer its tyrant) may again burst forward, and again, with desolation in his train, awhile victorious, attempt to collect the fragments of that system, and to reconstruct that mighty engine which we have shattered, but which once, guided by his hand, hurled destruction on his foes?—It is im-

possible. After the defeats that he has sustained, all confidence between him and his vassal states must be annihilated. Admitting that they may be compelled again to act, can he rely upon their exertions, or can they depend upon his support? He may go forth like that foul idol, of which we heard so much in the last year, crushing his helpless victims beneath his chariot wheels; but he never again can yoke them to his car as willing instruments of destruction. Even if Austria, by base submission, to the sacrifice of her honour were to add the sacrifice of another daughter, and of another army of 30,000 men, that mutual confidence which existed at the commencement of the last campaign can never be restored.

"So much for the present state of Europe: But has this country gained nothing by the glorious contest, even supposing peace should be far distant? Is it nothing to Great Britain, even purchased at the high price stated by the noble lord, that under all the severity of her sufferings, while her trade declined, her military character has been exalted? Is it no satisfaction, no compensation to her, to reflect that the splendid scenes displayed on the continent are owing to her efforts? That the victories of Germany are to be attributed to our victories in the peninsula? That spark, often feeble, sometimes so nearly extinguished as to excite despair in all hearts that were not above it, which we lighted in Portugal, which was fed and nourished there, has at length burst into a flame that has dazzled and illuminated Europe. Shall it then be said, that this struggle has had no effect upon the military character of Great Britain? At the commencement of this war, our empire rested upon one majestic column, our naval power. In the prosecution of the war, a hero has raised another stupendous pillar of strength to support our monarchy; our military pre-eminence. It is now that we may boast, not only of superiority at sea, but on shore: The same energy and heroism exist in both the arms of Great Britain; they are rivals in strength, but inseparable in glory. If at a future period, by successes which we cannot foresee, and by aggressions which we cannot resist, war should again be threatened upon our own shores, what consolation will the reflection afford, that out of the calamities and privations of war has arisen a principle of safety, that, superior to all attacks, shall survive through ages, to which even our posterity shall look forward. Compare the situation of England with her condition even at the beginning of the last campaign, much more with her condition at the renewal of the war. Were we not then threatened by the aggressions of an enemy even upon our own shores? Were we not then trembling for the safety and sanctity even of our homes?—Now contemplate Wellington encamped on the Bidassoa!—I know that a sickly sensibility prevails abroad, which leads some to doubt whether the advance of Lord Wellington was not rash and precipitate. Of the political expediency of that advance I can entertain but one opinion: I cannot enter into that refinement which induces those who affect to know much, to hesitate upon the subject: I cannot look with regret at a British army encamped upon the fertile plains of France: I cannot believe that any new grounds for apprehension are raised by an additional excitement being afforded to the irritability of the French people: I foresee no disadvantage resulting from entering the territories of our enemy, not as the conquered but the conquerors: I cannot believe that there are any so weak as to imagine that Eng-

land wishes to maintain a position within the heart of the enemy's country, or that Spain will attempt to extend her dominion beyond that vast chain of impregnable mountains that seem to form her natural boundary. What is the fact? The Portuguese are now looking upon the walls of Bayonne, "which circles in those wolves" that would have devastated their capital; the Portuguese now behold, planted on the towers of Bayonne, that standard which their enemy would have made to float upon the walls of Lisbon. I cannot think it a matter of regret that Spaniards are now recovering from the grasp of an enemy, on his own shores, that diadem which was stripped from the brow of the Bourbons, to be pocketed by a usurper. I cannot think it a matter of regret that England, formerly threatened with invasion, is now the invader—that France, instead of England, is the scene of conflict:

———Ultrò Inachias venisset ad urbes
Dardanus, et versis lugeret Græcia fatis.

I cannot think all this matter of regret; and of those who believe that the nation or myself are blinded by our successes, I entreat that they will leave me to my delusion, and keep their philosophy to themselves. There are other observations, growing not only out of the proceedings of the last year, but since the commencement of the war, that to my mind are highly consoling. It is a fact acknowledged by all, that our enemy, who has enslaved the press, and made it contribute so importantly to his own purposes of ambition at various periods during hostilities, has endeavoured to impress upon all those who were likely to be our allies a notion, that Great Britain only fought to secure her own interests—that her views were completely selfish. That illusion is now destroyed, and the designs of this country are vindicated by recent events. We call on all the powers with whom we are at war to do us justice in this respect: Above all, we claim it of America, with which I, as much as any man, wish for reconciliation. If she were now hesitating and wavering, which of the two great contending parties she should join, would not the conduct of England now decide the doubt? I ask her to review her own and the policy of this country, and to acknowledge that we are deserving, not only of her confidence, but of the support of mankind. Now, she can behold Buonaparte in his naked deformity, stripped of the false glory which success cast around him: The spell of his invincibility is now dissolved: She can now look at him without that awe which an uninterrupted series of victories had created. Were she now to survey him as he is, what would be the result?—She would trace him by the desolation of empires and the dismemberment of states; she would see him pursuing his course over the ruins of men and of things: Slavery to the people, and destruction to commerce; hostility to literature, to light and life, were the principles upon which he acted: His object was, to extinguish patriotism, and to confound allegiance; to darken as well as to enslave; to roll back the tide of civilization; to barbarize, as well as to desolate, mankind. Then, let America turn from this disgusting picture, these scenes of bloodshed and horror, and compare with them the effect of British interference! She will see, that wherever this country has exerted herself, it has been to raise the fallen, and to support the falling; to raise, not to degrade, the national character; to rouse the sentiments of patriotism which tyranny had silenced; to enlighten, to re-animate, to liberate. Great Britain has resuscitated Spain, and re-created Por-

tugal: Germany is now a nation as well as a name; and all these glorious effects have been produced by the efforts and by the example of our country. If to be the deliverers of Europe; if to have raised our own national character, not upon the ruins of other kingdoms; if to meet dangers without shrinking, and to possess courage rising with difficulties, be admirable, surely we may not unreasonably hope for the applause of the world. If we have founded our strength upon a rock, and possess the implicit confidence of those allies whom we have succoured when they seemed beyond relief; then, I say, that our exertions during the last year, all our efforts during the war, are cheaply purchased: If we have burdened ourselves, we have relieved others; and we have the inward, the soul-felt, the proud satisfaction of knowing that a selfish charge is that which, with the faintest shadow of justice, cannot be brought against us."

Mr Canning then proceeded to applaud the system of affording aid by bills of credit, which, without danger to ourselves, mixed the credit of this country with that of our allies. He also stated his concurrence in the treaty with Sweden, to which last year he had objected, in consequence of the provision regarding Norway. A majority of both houses had determined in its favour, and he was satisfied with that vote. He also approved of the continuance of the aid to that power. He congratulated the House upon the accession of Austria to the confederacy, whose aid was so necessary to its success. Next to his joy in voting these supplies, would be the indignation he should feel, if either of the three great powers were to forsake the league, and make a separate treaty to secure its own peculiar interests. He did not believe that there was the least reason to apprehend such a defection; for he was convinced, that all were now sensible, that the fate of each depended upon the firm union of all at the present crisis, when the liberty of the world was the prize for which they were contending. He concluded in the following words:—

"It has been often said, that the language of true poetry is the language of universal nature; but I believe, that the empress of France was little conscious when she made her speech to the senate respecting her husband, that she was employing almost the very words of our great epic poet, who put them in the mouth of the first rebel and usurper on record, when speaking of the disappointment of the followers whom he had seduced—

———"Ah me! They little know
How dearly I abide that boast I made;
Under what torments inwardly I groan,
While they adore me on the throne of hell!"

"Thus have I stated a few of the remarks which press upon me in the present posture of affairs. I ardently hope, that the result will be a general pacification, in which the interests of the civilized world will be duly consulted: If it should be necessary to continue hostilities, may we contend, as we have fought during the last campaign, with matchless strength, arising from the firmness of the indissoluble union of the allies, whose cause is, and whose exertions ought to be, one. May Great Britain still maintain that dignity of station, and support that grandeur and liberality of design, upon which she has hitherto acted: May she continue the unoppressive guardian of the liberties that she has vindicated, and the disinterested protectress of the blessings that she has bestowed!"

The resolutions proposed by Lord Castlereagh were put and carried.

Parliament had met regularly from the opening of the session; and had already gone through public business

to an extent, and in a manner, unprecedented in any former session. Nothing had occurred during this period to excite a feeling of jealousy towards the conduct of government; and it was not supposed necessary, therefore, that at the present moment it should continue without intermission the exercise of its vigilance and authority. With a view to the convenience of government at this important crisis, many questions indeed had been conceded without discussion, which at other times would probably have created much difference of opinion. The state of public and private business appeared to admit of an adjournment for a certain period. If, by the adjournment, the executive government might have been placed in any situation of embarrassment or difficulty—if it could have been prevented from availing itself of the deliberative wisdom of parliament upon any great emergency occurring before the expiration of the term of adjournment, this circumstance might have afforded a fair ground of objection to the proposal. But it is well known that an act which, in the case either of prorogation or adjournment, gives the crown power to re-assemble both houses in fourteen days, was some time ago passed, to obviate any such inconvenience.

On the 26th December, Lord Castlereagh moved the adjournment of the House till the 1st of March, 1814, and a similar motion was also made by ministers in the House of Lords. These motions were strenuously opposed in both houses of parliament. Granting, it was said, the propriety of an adjournment for a short space, the proposition of ministers for dispensing with the aid of parliament till the 1st of March, ought to be indignantly rejected. Before that day arrived, the condition of Europe might be wholly changed, so momentous were the events now passing on the continent. Great Britain, as became her, stood foremost in these mighty scenes of war and negotiation, yet it was now proposed by the ministers of the crown to act the whole of the grand drama without the assistance of the legislature. The British parliament is not a mere nominal institution, to register the decrees, and to approve the measures of the executive; it is the great council which the constitution appoints for the monarch to aid the servants of the crown with its advice, and restrain them by its authority. It is not in their power to say that they will receive or dispense with this advice according to their pleasure, their caprice, or their views of policy, for the constitution has said that they are bound to take it on all great occurrences. This is actually true, let the parliament be ever so factious or ungovernable; but never was a proposal made with so bad a grace, as that which now came from government, after receiving from both houses the most zealous support, and the most unbounded confidence. The only return which parliament, after having cheerfully voted ample supplies, and evinced the most ardent patriotism, had now received from the ministers, was an open and undisguised avowal of their opinions as to its incompetence or insignificance.

Sir James M'Intosh, who opposed the adjournment in the Commons, descanted at great length upon the late assumption, by the Prince of Orange, of the title of Sovereign of the Netherlands—upon the claims of the Swiss to the privilege of neutrality—upon the partition of Poland, and the recent declaration of the allied powers. These topics had no very immediate or palpable connection with the question before the House, and, notwithstanding the opposition made to it, the motion

for adjournment was carried. The ministers were thus most seasonably relieved of the fatigues of a constant attendance in parliament, and were enabled to devote their whole attention to the arduous task of conducting the foreign affairs of the country.

CHAPTER III.

Parliamentary Proceedings continued.—Bill to take away Corruption of Blood in Cases of Felony and High-Treason.—Bill to make Freehold Estates liable for Payment of simple Contract Debts.—Apprentice Laws.—Proposed Alteration in the Poor Laws.

SIR Samuel Romilly, although frequently disappointed in his projects for reforming the jurisprudence of England, still persevered; and in the present session of parliament exerted himself with his usual zeal and assuiduity. This eminent lawyer has greatly distinguished himself, as the reader must be aware, by the repeated efforts which he has made to infuse into the more antiquated and barbarous parts of the English code, some portion of the science and refinement which characterize the present age. The criminal laws of a rude people are generally framed rather from the impulses of passion, than the dictates of the understanding, and have reference not so much to the promotion of the public welfare, as to the gratification of vengeance. It is only in an age of refinement that the true principles and the just foundations of all criminal laws can be ascertained. The light of science, like the natural light of the sun, shews every object in its real magnitude and proportions, dispels groundless and extravagant alarm, and gives that liberal and assured disposition of mind which adapts the means of defence to the danger really to be encountered. It thus dissipates, by a sober and just feeling of security, the idle dreams, the appalling phantoms, and the extravagant vindictiveness, equally timid and fierce, of a rude and benighted age. As the criminal laws are the proper defences of society against the internal dangers which assail it, they are at an early period always severe and vindictive beyond the necessity of the occasion which suggests them.—The obstinate, and in some instances undiscriminating attachment of the English to their ancient laws, has left ample room for the judicious interference of the hand of reform; and Sir Samuel Romilly is the most conspicuous person, who, of late years, has aspired to distinction in this extensive and neglected field. A short account of his efforts during the present session of parliament cannot fail to be interesting:—

By the ancient law, a man convicted of high treason forfeits all his lands, all his goods and chattels, and all his personal property; persons attainted of felony forfeit their lands for one year, and all their goods and chattels and personal effects. Whether this be a wise or just law, or whether

it be expedient, when the law has removed a man from society, that his property should be confiscated, and a punishment be thus inflicted on the innocent individuals whom he leaves behind, seems very questionable. But Sir Samuel Romilly at present only meant to remove what in cases of attainder is known among lawyers by the term Corruption of Blood; the effect of which is, that where a man is attainted of a capital offence, he cannot transmit a descent—that is to say, such a person cannot form a link by which the chain of a pedigree can be traced; and if an attainted person stand in the way of a pedigree, his descendants, however far removed, must be deprived of the means of establishing their right to lands, to which he, if alive, would have had a prior right. The consequence is, that such land must escheat to the lord of the manor, of whom it may be holden. If a man, for instance, has a son and a grandson, and his son shall be capitally convicted, his grandson will be deprived of the benefit of any real estate of which he may have been possessed; and in consequence of the attainder of his son, the chain will be broken, and the land must escheat to the lord of the manor. A punishment is thus inflicted where punishment was not intended.

On the 23d March, Sir Samuel Romilly moved for leave to bring in a bill "to take away corruption of blood in cases of attainder for felony and high treason." On this occasion Sir S. observed, that this law rested upon feudal principles, which were by no means conformable to modern ideas of justice. The punishment depended solely upon accident; for the grandfather might devise his land to his grandson, if he thought proper; and only in case of his neglecting so to do, would his grandson be punished by the confiscation of his property, and its transmission to the lord of the manor. But if this case were considered severe, how much more severe were those cases where the connection was not so immediate? In the case of a twentieth cousin, for instance: There, in tracing a pedigree, if it should be found that one of the direct heirs, however far back, had been convicted of felony, the land would in like manner escheat. And what was apparently still more unjust was, that corruption of blood only extended to personal estate, and did not at all apply to leasehold property. It was of this evil he complained; and he was most anxious that such a relic of barbarism should not be found among our laws. It was said, in the course of the discussions which took place on this bill last session, that instances, against the recurrence of which he was desirous of guarding, were not likely to happen. It so happened, however, that at the very moment these assertions were made, an instance in point had occurred; and in a few weeks afterwards it happened to be his fortune, in a professional way, to have that case intrusted to his care. In this case, a woman had been convicted of a murder in Oxfordshire fifty years ago; and the estate to which she would have been entitled had she lived, had passed from one possessor to another, and a valuable consideration had been given for it; yet, notwithstanding that the person in possession had paid the full value of the property, information having been given that the property had escheated to the crown, by reason of corruption of blood, an inquisition was instituted, and it was found that the land did in truth belong to the crown, and it was in consequence duly claimed. An application had, however, been made to the court of Chancery to traverse the inquisition, for the purpose of establishing that the land had not been held of the crown, but of a mesne

lord, and this motion having been acceded to, the question would shortly be brought to issue.

Mr Yorke declared, that he must object even to the introduction of such a bill into parliament. He did perfect justice to the motives of the hon. and learned gentleman in again proposing the measure; and he hoped equal justice would be done to his motives in resisting it. He was one of those who thought that a trifling inconvenience was no ground for an innovation on the ancient law of the land. He was sorry to understand that the bill was the same as that which the House so properly rejected last session; for he had hoped that what had been urged on that occasion would have inclined the hon. and learned gentleman to omit at least that part of the bill which related to attainder of treason. On that part of the bill the House had expressed a most decided opinion, and he regretted that the hon. and learned gentleman had not been influenced by it. The law in question was one of the most ancient of the English laws.—The law of England was a kind of stock in trade, and parliament ought not to allow it to be deteriorated. Some of our most valuable privileges were of a description, which he would not wish to see altered on the reasoning and on the principles of the hon. and learned gentleman. He begged leave to say, that at the present time the corruption of blood in cases of treason (in whatever times it might have originated, feudal or other) was of the utmost importance to the general discipline and welfare of the state. Lord Hales (an authority which he knew the hon. and learned gentleman deeply venerated) had declared, that treason was the worst crime that could be committed, and that the punishment could not be too severe and dreadful in order to deter from the commission of it. If the law was severe, it was severe because in England, as in all free countries, the temptation to commit treason was comparatively great. It would be too much to take from the state the security afforded by severity of punishment for a crime which involved in it all other crimes. On those grounds he felt it to be his duty not to acquiesce in the motion. The hon. and learned gentleman, of whom he wished to speak with the greatest respect, had from time to time employed his high faculties in the formation of what he considered to be improvements in the criminal code. It was to be regretted, that the hon. and learned gentleman did not at once bring his whole plan before the House, that the whole nature and extent of his views might be clearly exhibited and defined. He did not say this as including matter of accusation against the hon. and learned gentleman; he merely intimated, that in his opinion it would be the most convenient mode of proceeding.—After quoting several authorities in support of his argument, the right hon. gentleman again declared, that he must decidedly oppose the introduction of the bill. If it related to attainder for felony alone (except in cases of murder), he confessed that his objections to it would not be so insurmountable; but he would never consent to the first step of a measure which had for its object the destruction of one of the strongest defences of the constitution. —Leave, however, was given to bring in the bill.

When the House afterwards resolved itself into a committee on this bill, Mr Yorke enforced his former objections to the general principle upon which this measure was grounded, involving as it did an alteration in the old established law of the country. As the principle was admitted, that we should in no case legislate *de novo* without necessity, so the strongest grounds of necessity should be adduced

to warrant legislation against an established system; and he saw no grounds for the very material change which the bill proposed. To that part of it which related to lower felonies, his objections were not so strong, although he could not help considering the change as disadvantageous. But to the removal of the corruption of blood from the punishment of treason and murder, he strongly objected. It was to be recollected, that this punishment was as ancient as the law of England—as any of those laws which established the security of property—as ancient as the law which settles the succession of the father's estate upon the eldest son—as other laws, which no rational man could wish to alter. But independently of the long establishment of this law, which entitled it to respectful consideration, he contended, that its policy and expediency were unquestionable, because it provided for the safety of society, by providing for the punishment of the greatest crimes by which society could be attacked. The right honourable gentleman concluded with stating, that he should propose to leave out of the bill the words, "or treason," and that it should run thus, "that no attainder of felony, not extending to treason, petty treason, or murder, do lead to corruption of blood."

Sir James Mackintosh said, it was with unfeigned regret that he was compelled to dissent from the reasoning of the right hon gentleman who had last spoken. It was true, he admitted with him the antiquity of the present law; it was as ancient as any other of our laws relating to high treason; but it was not more ancient than the law enacting the infliction of the *peine forte et dure;* it was not more ancient than the statute *de heretico comburendo;* it was not more ancient than the sentence for burning women convicted of petit treason, nor was it more ancient than any other of those disgraceful and oppressive statutes which formed the whole of the feudal system. It was asked, what necessity there was for altering the law in this respect? He would answer, the same necessity that there was for repealing the law for the infliction of torture, for the burning of women, or the burning of heretics—the necessity that in a humane and enlightened age and country the laws should not be sullied, the heart hardened, and the understanding insulted, with barbarous and absurd enactments—a necessity the loudest, the most imperious, and the most indisputable of all others. On a subject so trite as that of the laws of confiscating property, and on which so much ability had been displayed in that House, he could have been contented not to have offered any arguments, but to have given a silent vote; but he wished to make a few observations on this part of the subject, both as a native of Scotland himself, and as the representative of a respectable body of Scottish freeholders. The majority of those who heard him were not to be informed, that the punishment of corruption of blood was unknown to the ancient law of Scotland, as well as of every other country of Europe. This punishment was first extended to Scotland by the 6th of Queen Anne, in cases of high treason; but the corruption of blood for felony had never been introduced into Scotland; and indeed he (Sir James), though not a Scotch lawyer, believed that the term 'felony' itself did not exist in their law. And here he would beg to call the attention of the House shortly to the circumstances under which the 6th of Queen Anne had been passed, as they were related by that very correct and honest historian (for such he appeared to him), Bishop Burnet. After the law was passed, a proviso was brought in, that it was to end on the death of the

Pretender. In consequence of this proviso, the opposition which had been made to extending it to Scotland ceased. But it only ceased in consequence of the addition of this clause, which therefore partook of the sacredness of that whole arrangement. We were informed by Bishop Burnet, that when he wished to propose the repeal of the confiscating laws in 1716, he was told that such a repeal would be proper in good times, but that circumstances then rendered them necessary: And by whom was he told so? By Lord Somers and Lord Cowper, who were at that time the lights and ornaments of their country. The circumstance which in their minds must have weighed against the immediate repeal of these laws was the French invasion of Scotland the preceding year (1715) in favour of the Pretender; so that it appeared to them, who were the framers and supporters of this very bill, that any extension of it beyond a period of imminent danger and alarm was a violation of the principle on which it was brought in. In 1745, half a century after its first introduction, Lord Hardwicke had made a declaration to the same effect, when he restricted the necessity of the continuance of the bill to the Pretender's life-time: And it appeared from the debates of that period, as well as from the preamble of the bill itself, that it was only intended to meet the pressure of circumstances, and was regarded as a rigorous and violent measure, unworthy of "good times." From the year 1709 to the year 1799 he stood on the authority of the greatest lawyers and statesmen that this country had produced, that the bill was to be considered as a temporary and accidental expedient, and not as a necessary and fundamental part of the law of the land; and that the making it general and unconditional in 1799 was the real innovation; for that is an innovation which alters the existing law. That innovation, however, had been introduced in times of danger, and discord, and civil war; and did not therefore afford any precedent or any apology for its continuance in the present circumstances. To suppose that a law, like that under the consideration of the committee, would have the effect of deterring a man from the commission of a crime; a law, through which a person unborn might, some fifty or a hundred years after the criminal's decease, miss an estate which he might otherwise have gained, was to entertain an expectation more wild and extravagant than had ever been dreamt by the wildest sophists while forming visionary schemes of government. No stronger case was necessary to shew the impropriety of continuing this law, than one which an hon. and learned gentleman (Mr Plunkett) had brought forward; where, through corruption of blood, an estate was lost to the children of an officer in his majesty's army, who had been engaged in suppressing the rebellion, in which his relation was concerned. This hardship had been endured, to maintain the beautiful theory, that the corrupted blood of a traitor could not be a channel for the transmission of any property. For this, the children of an officer who had devoted his life to the cause of loyalty were to be made beggars; as if it were not enough that their unfortunate parent should draw his sword against his kinsman, and probably be placed in the distressing situation of unconsciously depriving his relation of life. Could it be thought that it was no hardship for the children of such an officer to go on their knees to beg that bread, which, but for this law, they might have claimed as their right?—At a period when, as had truly been said, all were united in gratitude to Almighty God for those stupendous events which had assured our safety and repose, it would

be well that they should proceed to abrogate the ancient severity of those laws which might be relaxed—to remove the brand and remnant of civil convulsion—to do away that miserable absurdity, which only served to furnish a subject for invective and criticism to those who opened our statute book in order to abuse it.

The amendment proposed by Mr Yorke was however carried, and the bill, thus frittered down, afterwards passed into a law.

It is well known that perpetual imprisonment is the punishment which the law of England inflicts on persons unable to pay their debts, whether the individuals be in fault or not. Some relaxation has lately been introduced by a most beneficial act; but still, under certain circumstances, a person may be imprisoned for life; and thus a man in a state of bankruptcy is punished as severely as if he had committed a capital offence. But while the law is thus severe against the persons of debtors unable to discharge their debts, their property may, without any difficulty, be withdrawn from their creditors. A man may owe debts to any amount, and leave a considerable property behind him at his death to his heir, with his debts unpaid; and the law will suffer the heir to enjoy the property, and to revel in all the luxuries of life; while those very persons whose credulity, perhaps, contributed to the acquisition of that property, may be sent to prison for want of power to recover their debts, and see their wives and children doomed to a workhouse. Till the statute of frauds passed in the time of King William, even special debts could not be made good against devises; and it is to be regretted, that the alterations introduced at that time were not carried somewhat farther. Here was great injustice, which called loudly for remedy. The objections which had formerly been made to a measure proposed by Sir S. Romilly, for correcting this injustice, were now, in a great many instances, removed. It was now seven years since he had proposed to the House a measure exactly similar to that which he now offered for consideration. "The former measure was brought forward," he said, "under some advantages which the present would want; for he was then his majesty's solicitor-general, and the bill had the countenance of the government; though, before it was disposed of, the countenance of the government was of no great importance. It had been formerly said, that the bill, if passed into a law, would be attended with great difficulty in the execution, and would lead to endless litigation and expence. But this objection had been since proved by experience to be unfounded. For though the House did not adopt the measure when it was suggested, they adopted another with little or no opposition, for subjecting the freehold estates of persons engaged in trade to the payment of their debts. Now it so happened, that almost all the objections applied as much to traders as to those who were not traders. With respect to litigation, to expence, and to innovation on the ancient doctrine of the law, the objections were as applicable in the case of traders as in the case of others; and he would undertake to say, that this law had not been attended with the smallest difficulty in the execution. The smallest difficulty of construction had not been experienced. Instances had occurred where estates of 200,000l. of freehold property, belonging to one house, had been attached, and where the debts would not have been paid if it had not been for that act. There was one remarkable case, where the act had not directly, but indirectly, been the means of subjecting a large estate to the pay-

ment of debts. Sir Roger Kerrison, a banker, in Norwich, was engaged in business under the firm of himself and son, and he had issued notes to the extent of 600,000l. At his death, he left little or no personal property, but real property to the extent of 500,000l.; and had not that been made liable, not one of his debts would have been paid. The act in question, however, did not operate directly, as it happened that the son's name, though he had not interfered in the business, was in the firm; and Sir Roger dying intestate, the property devolved to this son. Several gentlemen in the House knew very well the case to which he alluded.—It had also been said, that the measure of rendering freehold estates liable would weaken the aristocracy of the country. It appeared astonishing to him that such an objection should ever have been made. He was utterly at a loss to see how the rank of any body of men could be supported, by allowing them a liberty of committing injustice, and the power of injuring the lower orders of society with impunity. Another objection seemed to him equally groundless: It was said, that such a law would facilitate the means of contracting debts in the case of young men recently come to their estates. It seemed to him quite improbable, to suppose that tradesmen, in furnishing goods to persons of this description, looked forward to the demise of the debtors."

Influenced by these considerations, Sir S. Romilly, on the 31st of March, moved for leave to bring in a bill for subjecting the freehold estates of persons dying in debt to the payment of their simple contract debts. On the 29th of April, when the bill was committed, Sir Arthur Piggott rose to support it. "The proposition," he said, "upon which this bill was founded appeared to him so plain, that it did not seem capable of being resisted. That men should contract debts, and not have their property liable to the payment of them, was so inconsistent with justice—was a thing so preposterous, that he wondered any person could be found hardy enough to support it. This was the second time in his parliamentary life, when an opportunity was afforded him of contributing his vote to remove from the law of the country that reproach to which it was so justly subject. Three centuries had now elapsed since the statute of wills enabled men to dispose of their property as they pleased, even so far as leaving it to persons not in the remotest degree connected with them, and the farthest removed from their natural affections; not even saving the rights of their heirs, or the rights of creditors. Such was the slow progress of legal improvement, that 151 years elapsed after this statute, before the statute of fraudulent devises passed, in the year 1641, by which creditors were in some measure protected. For a space of 151 years, creditors remained in such a situation, that they might be disappointed by specialty; and, after that time, for 151 years more, a person might owe, if possible, a sum equal to the national debt, and, by avoiding certain solemnities in his contract, might dispose of his property so as altogether to disappoint his creditors. Ought the law, he would ask, to remain in such a situation as this? Since he was capable of considering the matter, his opinion upon it never varied for one moment; nor did he see any thing in the arguments which he had heard, to remove the conviction on his mind, that the law ought not to remain in this state. At present, if a man did not found his contract upon a mortgage, and have his attorney at his elbow, with the wax and parchment upon the table, he was liable to give credit without any power of being paid, even though a person possessed

ten times the amount of the debts he owed. He was lost in surprise when he considered that the law was suffered to remain in such a state to the present day; that in the year 1814 a man could have the power of disposing of his property in such a way as to avoid the payment of his just debts. In the present state of society, when property of every kind was so unfettered, the law should not be suffered to stand. An act had passed some time back by which the real property of traders was subjected to the payment of their simple contract debts. Were it not for this law, contractors and others, who made their property by lending money, and, as a great man once expressed it in that House, "whose equipages shone like meteors, and whose palaces rose like exhalations," would be enabled to purchase estates to any amount, and at the same time disappoint their creditors. The law should be extended in the same way to the real property of persons not concerned in trade; and he would support it, not only by his vote in that House, but by any other means in which his influence could be exerted.

Mr Wetherell thought that the late innovations made, and endeavoured to be made, upon landed property, would give rise to much inconvenience. The question for the consideration of the House was, whether it was not better to permit the law to remain as it at present stood, than, by altering it, as his learned friend proposed, to do a little good, at the risk of creating a great deal of evil? Such an innovation would give rise to many fraudulent claims, which otherwise would not be thought of. The old adage, "Dead men tell no tales," could not be applied to any subject with more propriety than to this. For he was convinced, that, under the proposed innovation, claims and demands of a fraudulent nature would be set up against the estates of those who, by death, were prevented from resisting them. If they passed the bill of his learned friend, they could not stop there—they would be obliged to sanction a variety of others. In his opinion, the measure which his learned friend proposed to remedy the inconvenience, would produce considerably more mischief than that which it was intended to remove.

Sir S. Romilly said, "that much of what he intended to have urged in behalf of the measure, was anticipated by the gentlemen who preceded him. If those who opposed the present measure were right in their opposition, they ought to move for the repeal of that act by which the estates of traders were made subject to the bankrupt laws, because the same arguments applied in the one case with equal propriety as in the other.—Sir Samuel then shewed by historical detail, that the cause which produced this law had ceased to exist for many centuries, and that that cause was not by any means what gentlemen on the other side had contended it was. The argument respecting facility of credit he thought most fallacious; as if the creditor would be less influenced by the power of immediate arrest, and consequent judgment, than by the hope of coming upon the estate after the death of a person of youth and good health. He very much feared that some of his hon. and learned friends had deceived themselves upon this subject; and said, that in another place he sometimes deceived himself by the argument to which he was obliged to resort.—He should state a case to the House of a gentleman who had borrowed a sum of money which enabled him to purchase real property to the amount of 13,000l. per annum. This gentleman died without having paid one shilling of the loan which had enabled him to make the purchase; but, fortunately, the act so frequently alluded to during the de-

bate was in force at the time.—A bankrupt, secreting his property, was treated as a murderer; whilst other persons, whose act was morally the same, were encircled with respect and splendour. The bankrupt was led to the place of execution; whilst the person, whose non-payment of his debt had caused the bankrupt's ruin, sat, perhaps, witnessing from his window, without remorse or pity, this appalling scene of human suffering and shame. He was surprised to hear those tradesmen and artificers, to whose wealth and industry (said Sir S. Romilly) many of us owe our stations in the House and in the country, represented by some of his hon. and learned friends as no better than swindlers."—The bill passed the House of Commons, but was thrown out by the Lords.

The ignorant policy of a barbarous age, which favours so much restrictions on commerce and manufactures, and encourages a dangerous interference with the pursuits of individuals, had induced the legislature, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to pass an act "containing divers orders for artificers, labourers, servants of husbandry, and apprentices." That act had experienced a singular fate; from a very early period after it had passed, the policy of it had been condemned both by those who were to enforce it, and by every enlightened writer who had treated of the subject. The moral feelings of mankind had been so opposed to it, that it was with extreme reluctance that juries ever found verdicts in favour of the prosecutors; and it had been frittered away by the decisions of the courts. It had been early determined, that a person who had served an apprenticeship of seven years to any trade, might legally work in every other; but that determination was too violent an infringement of the plain words of the statute to be adhered to, and it had consequently been abandoned. The decisions, however, which had been pronounced, and were still adhered to, were very extraordinary. It had been determined that a gardener was not within the statute, because his was not an occupation requiring skill; but a fruiterer, and even a pippin-monger, had been held to be within the statute. The same determination had taken place as to a cook. The judges had, when determining cases arising upon this statute, in many instances transgressed the bounds of their province, and the manner in which the act had been frittered away had been the cause of its continuance on the statute book. It had been looked on as a poisonous insect destroyed; it was not so; the reptile, though crushed, was not dead; it had still power to sting. The reign of Queen Elizabeth, though glorious in many respects, was not one in which sound principles of commerce were known; and a perusal of the different clauses of the act, and particularly of the one creating the penalties for exercising trades contrary to its provisions, will fully confirm that assertion. It did not seem to have been the object of the statute to favour manufactures; it rather seems to have been intended to make them subservient to a mistaken notion of favour for the landed interest. So little was political economy understood in these times, that the notion never seems to have occurred that agriculture is best promoted by the prosperity of commerce and manufactures; and that restraints upon either defeat the end at which they aim, and discourage that very employment which they ought to promote. By many clauses of the statute alluded to, a qualification in land is made a requisite to the privilege of becoming an apprentice. The statute also aims at an equalization of wages,—an attempt so absurd as of itself to

shew how ignorant of the subject the framers of that act were.—Apprenticeships have been looked upon as favourable to the morals of youth, and there does not seem to be any good reason for discouraging them, but neither is it proper that they should form an indispensable qualification for carrying on trades. As the law stands, however, very few indentures are made according to the statute. Apprenticeships are said to be as common in trades not within the statute, as in those which come within what has been called its protection. They are very common in trades in which they are not enforced by penalties, or encouraged by monopoly; while in some trades that are notoriously within the scope of the act they are hardly known. If the morals of the country could be endangered by the repeal of this statute, there would be good reason for continuing it; no increase of national wealth can be put in competition with national morals. But there never was a period when there was so little to dread on that subject as at present,—never was there a time when so much pains had been taken to diffuse religious instruction, and to promote education among the lower orders of society.

Mr Serjeant Onslow undertook to redress the grievances which had resulted from this act, and on the 27th April, moved in the House of Commons for leave to bring in a bill to repeal certain parts of it. After explaining at some length the illiberal principles upon which the statute had been framed, and the absurdities to which it led in practice, the learned serjeant complained of the extraordinary pains that had been taken to misrepresent his object; he said, "that his views were directed to the benefit of those whom it had been attempted to mislead; that by far the greater part of the working manufacturers had not served a legal apprenticeship to the trades they exercised; it was their protection he aimed at: Indeed, he had not found one person who thought well of the statute as it stood. Last year, indeed, a petition had been brought up, praying that the act might be extended and enforced; he understood the petitioners wished it to be extended to all trades, and the penalty augmented to 50l. per month, and that costs of suit should be given to the informer. On that petition a committee had been appointed; and though, through some strange apathy, it had been almost unresisted, he did not think that the petitioners had made out a case. It was remarkable, that all the witnesses, whatever was their occupation, thought seven years was hardly sufficient to acquire a due knowledge of their trade; even the pipe-makers stated seven years to be barely sufficient; what, then, had the petitioners to dread? they did not want the aid of the statute to prevent others from interfering with them. They had brought forward some charges of fraud against persons who had not served an apprenticeship; but fraud does not arise from inexpertness. Prosecutions had been formerly rare, and only arising from personal malignity to the master, or jealousy of the man employed; for never was an unskilful workman the object of attack: Of late, they had assumed a more serious and systematic shape; in one county (the county of Northumberland) they had gone through most trades; they had found out that a cook exercised a trade requiring skill; and had they not been stopped by the notice he had given, they were preparing to attack the chimney-sweepers, he supposed with a view to enforce morals, by subjecting boys to hard labour at nine years of age, and turning them loose again at the most dangerous period of youth. As the act now stands it is ridiculous;

it ought either to be made effectual, or repealed; and who, he asked, would be hardy enough to propose to enforce it? He said, skill was not given by the parchment indenture, but by industry proportioned to the nature of the employment and the capacity of the learner; therefore not only the time requisite to acquire it was different in different trades, but in different individuals. Again, the law only applies to trades in existence at the time of passing the statute, and is therefore unequal; and it is worthy of observation, that those trades which have flourished most, had arisen since the statute: It is also unequal, as affecting the natives of Ireland and Scotland, in neither of which countries such a law prevails; and yet, if at an adult age they come to England as workmen, they are affected by the statute. And here he observed, that the natives of Scotland had never been accused of want of industry, or of skill, nor of moral habits. The learned serjeant said he had not taken up this case lightly; he had thought much upon the subject; nor had he proceeded merely on the opinion of theoretical men, though political economy had ever been with him a favourite study; he had been favoured with the valuable opinions of many enlightened practical men; and from all the information he had derived on the subject, he was fully convinced it was one that loudly called for the interposition of the legislature."

It does not appear, that the bill proposed by Mr Serjeant Onslow was persevered in. A violent outcry was raised against it by interested persons, and the difficulties of carrying it through may have suggested the convenience of abandoning the measure for a time.

An attempt was made during this session to remedy, in some measure, the evils of a system of regulations which have hitherto baffled the sagacity of the most comprehensive minds. On the 27th of April, Sir Egerton Brydges moved for leave to bring in a bill for the amendment of the poor laws. On this occasion he observed, that, "in rising to introduce the motion which I am about to make for leave to amend some of the provisions of the laws now in being, for the settlement and better relief of the poor, it will become me at the very outset to say a few words on the nature of my plan, which may, I hope, soften that appearance of presumption to which I may otherwise be liable. If any hon. member supposes I am about to attempt any violent change, either in the principles or in the practical details and machinery of the poor laws, I beg to assure that hon. member that nothing is farther from my intention. My scheme is to propose a few very simple amendments (simple in their principle and provisions, but great, I trust, and most beneficial in their effects.) Sir, in what I am about to lay before this House, I beg thus early to declare that I will not trifle with them, nor bewilder myself with any light and visionary theories. I mean in every step to keep within the tracks of experience, and only to move forward in that path and that spirit of amendment by which the legislature has within the last 20 years improved this branch of the statute-law, so greatly to the comfort and happiness of the poor.

"Sir, of the improvements to which I have alluded, there is none more conspicuous, more founded in wisdom, and more humane and salutary in its consequences, than the 35 Geo. III., c. 101, intituled 'An Act to prevent the removal of poor persons till they shall become actually chargeable.' This act, sir, has much softened an evil arising out of the 12 and 13 Charles II., c. 12, which all great legisla-

tors and enlightened politicians have in their speeches and writings deplored and condemned. I mean the restriction of the poor from living where they chose, or can best support themselves.

"Sir, by this just act, they may reside where they please, and seek work where they will, so long as they impose no burden on the place of their abode. But, sir, in the general price of labour and corn, that time in most cases too soon arrives; and can too seldom, through a whole life, be kept off by any industry.

"A removal is a grievous evil; grievous, as I shall presently endeavour to shew, in so many ways, that nothing but some other paramount injustice can authorize it.

"But it is apparent that in these cases removal follows settlement. The grievance then arises out of the law of settlement as it now stands.

"It is then to certain provisions of this law, where they bear hardest upon this point, that my attention, and my suggestions of amendment, are turned.

"The legislature must have had in view to fix the burden of a pauper on that parish which ought in justice to bear it. It was unreasonable that where paupers had lately wandered into a parish they should be able to impose this burden. Nor where they have so lately wandered, is the cruelty of a removal great. As far as the statute of Ch. II. pursues this object, which it professes, it is not objectionable.

"But all the most cruel and aggravated grievances of removal attach in cases of long residence: and in these very cases in which the grievance is greatest, is the reason for it totally inapplicable. Why is a parish to be burdened with the support of a pauper? Because it has had the benefit of his labour. And yet an old man is to be sent from the parish where, perhaps, he has passed half his life, to a distant spot, in which he was born, but which he has never seen since he was a boy, or where he served his apprenticeship, or a single year as a servant.

"Now what is the superior title to exemption from this burden in the parish from which the pauper was removed, over the parish to which he is removed? The reverse is the case. But even if it were not so; at what a price to others is this exemption purchased?

"Here is the unhappy pauper, removed perhaps from the eastern point of Kent to the Land's-End, at what an enormous expence—at what a chance of litigation! removed too from his cottage, from the spot where he had formed all his connections, where he had worked out for himself hitherto the means of an industrious livelihood, and where, except during some temporary pressure, he might work it out again—to a parish, where he has no friends, no house but a workhouse to receive him, no means of employment, but must remain an helpless and an hopeless pauper, and an unmitigated burden upon this place of his settlement, during the remainder of his life!

"Sir, the remedy of this indescribable hardship to the poor, of this impolitic waste of money in removals and litigations, is simple and easy. Give a settlement by a certain number of years residence as an housekeeper without having received parochial relief. This is the grand feature of my bill: This is the greatest of the amendments I would propose. Sir, I boast no novelty in this proposition. I rather boast that it is not new: I place my greatest reliance on its want of novelty, because it has the sanction of so many wise authorities. It formed one of the clauses of that

extensive and able plan introduced into this House in 1807, by an hon. member, with whose powerful abilities and eloquence, and great political knowledge, this House is so familiar—I mean the member for Bedford. Nay, sir, this clause, if I am not misinformed, then received the sanction of the House, though the hon. member afterwards abandoned the bill in consequence of the non-adoption of other parts of his extensive plan. A similar clause was introduced by Sir William Young in his bill for amending the poor laws. And it is fortified by the opinion of Sir Frederick Eden, and other writers on this subject.

"Sir, I am at a loss to guess what plausible objection can be started to this proposal. Will it be urged, that it is dangerous to shift the burdens which long-established laws have thrown upon parishes? Sir, if this were an evil, shall we, for the sake of avoiding it, continue to endure evils so much greater? But, sir, it is really no evil at all! It is a 'give and take' business. If parishes thus become loaded with some poor, whom they could otherwise throw off, they, in return, throw off others whom they must otherwise support.

"Sir, if, in the contest between parishes for comparative advantage, which the poor laws have generated, that acute jealousy which self-interest is sure to create, shall suggest a fear that this amendment may have a tendency to benefit the country places, at the expence of towns, by adding another facility to the suppression of settlement by birth, it being admitted, that the former supply more of the population to the latter than they take from them, I feel confident, that so far-fetched and unfair a motive of objection will have no weight in this House. But, sir, if there were any weight in this objection, one of the latter clauses of the bill I propose to move, will far more than counterbalance it.

"Sir, the simplicity and obvious justice of this clause does, I hope, speak for itself. The mode of proof will be so easy, the parish, from which the burden is taken will be relieved in so much greater a proportion than that on which it is placed is loaded; and the hardships and violence to the moral habits and feelings of the pauper will be so incalculably softened, that a greater good, gained, too, by one of the slightest of alterations, cannot, in my mind, be well conceived!

2. "As to the 2d clause, sir, of the bill which I propose to move for leave to bring in, it is founded on the same principle, as far as is consistent with those main provisions of the settlement laws, which I do not think myself justified in attempting to disturb. I mean, sir, the principle of softening the evils of removal, where they cannot be entirely extinguished.

"Experience has shewn that temporary relief is often wanted by paupers, while resident in places where their powers and opportunities to support themselves may soon revive; but from whence, if they are removed, they become paupers for life. The principle of suspension of removal, during sickness, has been already adopted. I am anxious to carry this one step further: and to allow a pauper, for a given time, to receive relief where resident, to be repaid by the parish to which he belongs. Thus he is saved from an immediate forfeiture of his old means of self-support; and here is a stimulus to recover himself. If the removal at last comes, it comes alleviated by preparation, and by having had the chance of averting it. Probably it will save a removal in more than half the cases which now occur; and, in addition to the dreadful miseries from which paupers will be thus protected, the saving

to the rates and trouble of both parishes must be truly important.

3d. "Sir, it was objected to me by some magistrates, whom I consulted out of this House, that a difficulty might occur in the mode of enforcing re-payment by the parish to which the pauper shall be adjudged to belong. Luckily for me, sir, there can be no such difficulty—the mode is already provided for in the act of 35 Geo. III., which provides for such repayment in cases of suspension of removal during sickness; and I have nothing to do but to adopt the same provision. I have also provided for the adjudication of the pauper's settlement.

4th. "Sir, the next point to which my attention has been called, may seem a matter of mere minor regulation; but it seems to me a point of such obvious justice to others, as well as of urgent necessity to the health of the poor, that often as the evil has been complained of, I am at a loss to account how it has been so long without a remedy. I mean, sir, the provision to enable magistrates to order parishes to procure medical aid, and to be responsible for the payment of it to a limited amount. I need not repeat that this is as well a justice due to the medical man, as an act of humanity, which it is grievous to withhold from the poor.

"I am sure, sir, that in this enlightened age, reasons which have formerly been assigned for this defect, will no longer be admitted. It is ridiculously trifling to say that the medical man has already his remedy at law against the pauper! The remedy that at the expence of costs perhaps thrice the amount of the debt, will give the pauper's naked person to sport with in a gaol!

5th. "Sir, it is among the greatest grievances of the poor laws, since they have grown into a system of so much intricacy and subtlety, that they have been the source of such constant and expensive litigation. The loss of time and trouble which they have thus caused, however much it may be regretted, is not yet so much the subject of lamentation, as the consumption of those funds which are wanted to relieve the poor themselves, instead of feeding the contending interests of the parishes which raise them.

"One of the most fertile sources of this sort of litigation is that clause in the settlement law, which, in the claim of a settlement as a yearly servant, requires proof, not only of a service for a year, but also of an hiring for a year. Sir, it is impossible to look into reports of settlement cases, without being struck with the vast proportion of them which turn upon the uncertainty and nicety of this kind of proof.

"To cut up this subject of contention by the root, I have proposed a clause, to give a settlement by a year's service only, without any reference to the time of hiring.

6th. "I am aware, sir, that there is a duty to perform to parishes as well as to paupers. If paupers ought not to be wantonly and hardly removed, parishes ought not, without necessity, to be burdened. If, in some respects, the restraints upon giving a settlement are too great, there are others in which settlements may be too easily gained. When the act of Charles II. passed, the annual rent or value of a tenement, when it amounted to 10*l.* was supposed to raise the presumption, that he who could get credit to hire it, was of sufficient substance to rebut the presumption of his becoming chargeable. The value of money has so fallen, that it has long ceased to operate in this way. A forty days' residence, therefore, on a tenement of the annual value of 10*l.* does appear to me, to subject parishes

to burdens, to which upon no principle, or adequate ground, they ought to be exposed. I propose, therefore, to raise the rent (for value I would exclude from the uncertainty in its proof) to 20*l.*, under which sum no tenement shall give a settlement, not unless it be hired by one and the same contract, for a term not less than a year. I have said, that in this proposal, I have in view the interests of parishes: but, at the same time, it will, in my opinion, combine with it the interests of the poor. At present, land has been separated from cottages by the influence of farmers, because it would raise the rent to the 10*l.*, which burdens a parish with settlements. Make it 20*l.*, and within that sum the land necessary to keep a cow, as well as the cottage, may be had. Now, sir, we all know how much the keeping a cow contributes to the comfort and industry of the poor in the country. In case of lodgers, I would add one more condition to this settlement, by hiring a tenement; for, where the occupant is not a house-keeper, I would require a residence of six months, instead of forty days. As the law now stands, workmen come from a distance to some town, where temporary works are going on, and obtain high wages, pay high rents for lodgings—stay perhaps scarcely more than the 40 days; and if any thing elsewhere occurs to make them chargeable, are brought back, perhaps with a large family, to be a grievous burden on the parish for the remainder of their lives. Is this reasonable? And would a removal, even after a much longer residence, from such a parish, have been cruel? It is most unfortunate that by the laws in being, removals are for the want of a settlement most allowed where they operate with the most hardship, and the most violence to the moral feelings and industrious habits of the poor.

7th. "Of the principle and general provisions of the act 22d Geo III., called Gilbert's Act, whereby parishes incorporating themselves under certain conditions, are empowered to erect a common poor-house, I shall forbear to say any thing in this place. It has been put extensively into practice at a vast expence, and I have no intention by the present motion to disturb its main provisions. But there are at least three of its minor regulations, which imperiously call for amendment.

"Sir, by that bill, as it now stands, it is enacted, that upon any refusal of application for relief by the guardian of any parish to, or on behalf of any poor person, a farther application must be made to the visitor, before a magistrate can hear a complaint, and order redress.

"Now, in cases where many parishes are incorporated, the visitor perhaps lives from 10 to 20 miles from the residence of the pauper, who, from poverty or feebleness, cannot travel so far to make the application. I propose to repeal the necessity of applying to the visitor as well as guardian.

8th. "By the same act, the visitor is to be chosen by the magistrates out of three put in nomination by the guardians. I would give the magistrates a greater latitude of choice, and allow them to select a visitor out of the whole limits of those incorporated parishes.

9th. "By the 30th of Geo. III., the act which gives power to magistrates to visit and report the conditions of poor-houses, restricts them into cases of poor-houses of incorporated parishes. I would annul that restriction.

"Thus, sir, have I endeavoured, as shortly and simply as I am able, to explain the objects of my bill. Sir, I beg to repeat what I most sincerely said in the opening of this

motion: it is not without great violence to my feelings that I have exerted myself to make this attempt. I am aware, and I am too sensible of that charge of presumption, which one, obscure as I am, may expose himself to, by touching a subject so often agitated in this House, and which has employed the attention of so many great minds. But an imperious sense of duty has surmounted these feelings. It is not without much labour and thought—much anxiety and consultation, that I have ventured these propositions. I only wish, sir, they had had a better advocate. But I entreat that those honourable members, who may doubt the expediency of what I now suggest, will have the goodness, if this House should so far honour me as to entertain the bill at all, to wait till they can see and examine it as it is worded—when I trust they will be satisfied on many points, on which my imperfect exposition may have raised a doubt."

This bill was not very well received by the House. When the report upon it was taken into consideration, Mr Western observed, "after giving due credit to the benevolent intentions of the hon. mover of the bill, he felt himself bound to oppose it *in toto*. 1st, Because it appeared to him impracticable, on account of the complexity of its provisions. 2d, Because those provisions were not in conformity to the preamble; inasmuch as that preamble proposed, to have it in view, to take away the grievance of a removal, in consequence of the grant of mere temporary relief; whereas, for his part, he could not find out any thing in the bill calculated to effectuate any such purpose. 3d, Because the bill involved a principle in his mind highly objectionable, which was this—that the magistrates would have power to make orders of payment on parishes, not present, to resist such orders. 4th, Because the trouble attending the various proceedings, which the bill created, alarmed him, when he looked to the examination of witnesses, the adjudication, the allowance, &c. &c. 5th. Because the provision for a re-examination before an appeal appeared to him defective, as he could see no mode devised as to what was to happen in case the justices revoked their adjudication. 6th, Because the charges in obtaining reimbursement would, as he was informed, run to not less than 3*l*. or 4*l*. 7th, Because it would necessitate parishes to open a debtor and creditor account to a large extent with other parishes, and he was informed, that the parish of St Giles's had now not less than 1,000 removals in a year, and this act would therefore open 1,000 accounts in its stead. As to the 2d clause, in affording medical relief, it appeared to him objectionable, as interfering between the parish and the medical practitioner; and that, as the law at present stood, the medical practitioner, if he could get no payment from the pauper, had, at least, the advantage of the credit and collateral practice that such aid gave him."

The efforts of Sir E. Brydges, however, were made in vain, the House having refused to sanction the improvements which he suggested.

The difficulties attending the amelioration of the poor laws have hitherto been found insurmountable; the greatest minds have sunk under the weight of this cumbrous system. The principle on which the poor laws are founded is confessedly erroneous, and the practice is not only imperfect, but so deep have the roots of this pernicious system struck into the whole frame of society, that extreme temerity alone would propose the sudden application of a cure, which should go to the very foundation of these mischievous establishments. Yet nothing short of this will permanently

avail—for the careless extravagance—the mean and cowering spirit with which the poor laws have done so much to taint the English, must be increased, not removed, even by the most successful attempts to improve the execution of these impolitic laws. They had their origin in the most fatal error that ever was committed—an error which proposed to disjoin industry and worldly comfort, to avert, by the weak instrumentality of human institutions, the penalties which the inflexible laws of nature have affixed to human indiscretion and profligacy. To improve the machinery of the poor laws, therefore, is only to communicate new force to an engine already too powerful for the welfare of the state.

CHAPTER IV.

Discussions relating to the Speaker's Speech at the Close of the last Session.—Proceedings respecting the Corn Laws.—Bill for the better Preservation of the Peace in Ireland.—Reflections on the Orange Associations.—Debates as to the Keeping up of the Militia Establishments in Time of Peace.—Mr Serjeant Onslow's Bill for better securing the Liberty of the Subject.

THE Speaker of the House of Commons had at the close of the last session of parliament addressed the Prince Regent in a very nervous and eloquent speech, in which the following passage applicable to the proceedings of the House of Commons upon the catholic question occurred. "Other momentous changes have been proposed. Adhering, however, to those laws which have made the throne, the parliament, and government of this country fundamentally protestant, we have not consented to allow that those who acknowledge a foreign jurisdiction should administer the powers and jurisdictions of this realm; willing, nevertheless, and willing as I trust we always shall be, to allow the largest scope to religious toleration."

Upon this passage Lord Morpeth moved, "that it is contrary to parliamentary usage, and to the spirit of parliamentary proceeding, for the Speaker, unless by special direction of the House, to inform his majesty, either at the bar of the House of Lords, or elsewhere, of any proposal made to the House by any of its members, either in the way of bill or motion, or to acquaint the throne with any proceedings relative to such proposal until they shall be consented to by the House." Such is the general proposition upon which Lord Morpeth and his friends founded their charge against the Speaker; but the specific motion made by them to the House was, "that a special entry be made in the journals, that it be not drawn into precedent for any Speaker, except by the special direction of the House, to inform his majesty, in the manner above-mentioned, of the propositions submitted to the Commons, until the same shall have been consented to by the House."

In support of the motion it was urged, that in considering this question we must have recourse to precedents; and the most authentic are necessarily those which are to be found in the journals of the House. The speeches of Sir Spencer Compton, Speaker Onslow, Sir John Cust, and Sir Fletcher Norton, have been preserved. The speech of Sir Spencer Compton in the year 1715, referring in terms of pointed at-

tack and animadversion to the treaty of Utrecht, is strictly founded upon the proceedings and addresses of the House. The speech of Mr Onslow in 1745, though taking an extensive range, and expressing strong opinions with regard to the situation of Europe, and the conduct of the war, arises out of measures that had met with the concurrence of the House. The speech of Sir John Cust is merely complimentary, and refers to the king's marriage. Sir Fletcher Norton's speech, although producing a considerable difference of opinion as to the true exposition of the sense of the House of Commons, applied solely and entirely to the bill that was then presented to the throne.—In the journals of the House of Lords, more examples will be found in the speeches of Sir Edward Turner in the beginning of Charles the Second's reign. But in the mass, the variety, and luxuriancy of his oratory we cannot discover, although in times of considerable heat and contention, any reference to the conflicts and debates of that period.

If we apply to less authentic sources of information, we shall find a copious catalogue of the speeches of former Speakers. In the earlier periods of our parliamentary history we do not indeed discover many remains of the oratory of those days: We hear indeed that Sir John Tiptoft was in the habit of addressing Henry the 4th, and that, in the words of Mr Prynne, the young Speaker took much upon him; and though by this conduct he did not forfeit the good opinion of his sovereign, the licence was afterwards repressed. During the reigns of the princes of the house of Tudor the materials are more abundant, but upon that period on many accounts it is unnecessary to dwell: though it would be wrong to involve in a general censure the addresses of that time, for in the list of the Speakers of that day is to be found the name of Sir Thomas More. But in the greater part whatever meanness could conceive, or flattery suggest, may be abundantly discovered. We find Henry the 8th compared in wisdom to Solomon, in beauty to Absalom, and in strength to Sampson, and then likened to that glorious luminary the sun. We find the same spirit exerted in complimenting Queen Elizabeth, though more excusable in that instance. "But amidst all the affectation, pedantry, and flattery that disgraced the compositions of that period, one principle," said Lord Morpeth, "remained inviolate, that of not communicating to the throne the debates of the House of Commons, a sanctuary which even their licentious feet did not venture to penetrate, a line of demarcation which these freebooters into the realms of science, of taste, and of wit, did not dare to transgress. There was however one Speaker in the reign of Queen Elizabeth who seems to have entertained no inaccurate idea of the language that the Speaker might employ. These are the words that Mr Onslow in the 9th of Queen Elizabeth is reported to have used: "Again, when I consider my office as Speaker, it is no great matter; being but a mouth to utter things appointed to me to speak unto you, and not otherwise, which consisteth only in speaking, and not in any other knowledge; whereby I gather how it is necessary I speak plainly and simply according to the truth reposed in me." And again, "Thus it is necessary they elect a plain speaker, fit for the plain matter, and, therefore, well provided to have such a one as should use plain words, and not either so fine that they cannot be understood, or else so elegant that they miss the cushion."—We find the same doctrine maintained by Mr Powel. "The Speaker is called the mouth

and tongue of the House which speaks the conception of the mind; not that he is to make those conceptions, but pronounce what he has in command from the House. Lenthall, the Speaker, told the king, that he had neither tongue, eyes, nor ears, but what the House gave him." Such was the language of Mr Powel in the debate upon the conduct of Sir Edward Seymour in 1677. He was not at that time in the chair, but was afterwards raised to the highest honour ever I believe conferred upon a commoner, that of being Speaker of the Convention Parliament in 1688; and the doctrines that he maintained as an individual member he did not probably belie in the exercise of his new authority.

"There are only two instances which appear to be any deviations from the general rule, but they are so slight as to be scarcely deserving of notice. Sir Harbottle Grimstone, soon after the Restoration, in an address to the throne, says, that the Commons agreed to a bill "after some debate," and that is the only instance in which the word debate is mentioned; and it is to be observed, that in the copy of his speech in the journals of the House of Lords that expression is not employed. The other case is that of Sir John Trevor in the 1st of James II., where he says that he brings no bill, but that the House relies upon the assurance of his majesty. The speeches of Mr Onslow in the course of the last century take an extensive view of the political situation of the country, but all his observations seem to arise out of acts done and determined by the House.—But precedents," continued Lord Morpeth, "no doubt may exist which have eluded my research; perhaps the ghost of some departed speech may be evoked from its charnel-house of mouldering, dusty, and forgotten papers, to rear its ambiguous form within the walls of this house; but however awed by the supernatural appearance, I shall appeal from the dead to the living, from those that have long slumbered in silence and obscurity, to those that have ventured to visit the face of day, and court the light of heaven, those that have not dreaded exposure, and shrunk from publication. It would, however, be very difficult to find a case precisely analogous to the present. The resolutions passed the House, the principle of the bill was established in the second reading, the application of the principle in an important point was negatived by a small majority in the committee: In this state of things, the bill still in existence at the very time that you, sir, addressed the throne, the principle carried, the application of it negatived, the throne is informed, by what purports to be the collective voice of the House of Commons, that changes of great importance have been proposed, that the House, however, has not consented to allow persons of a particular class to administer the powers and jurisdictions of this realm. But even if a precedent were found exactly in point, I should ask if this be a case upon which precedent alone must absolutely decide?—is a privilege lost and forfeited by occasional infraction, especially in cases where the attention of the House has not been specifically directed to the object? In what a situation should we now stand, and what a miserable portion of our privileges would now remain, if such doctrines were valid and maintainable."

After making several objections to the terms employed by the Speaker, and pointing out the dangers which he thought might arise from such an abuse of privilege; by casting unmerited censure upon a disappointed body—by exciting popular clamour, or insinuating doctrines which might be agreeable to persons in power, Lord Morpeth continued: "It is therefore to

guard against dangers that menace alike the freedom of debate, and the right of petitioning, that I should earnestly recommend an adherence to the principle of not communicating to the throne the debates of this House; a principle inherent in the very essence of a free constitution, of which we can trace the first rudiments in times of very remote antiquity, though nearly obliterated under the powerful rule of the princes of the Norman line, when military service and enterprize were the only titles to respect and consideration. But when upon a disputed succession the Commons began to vindicate their share in the legislature of their country, we find that Henry the IVth thought it expedient to conciliate as well as govern his people. Of this a memorable instance is to be found in the rolls of parliament in the 2nd of that king, which is thus translated: "Because it might happen that some of the Commons, to please the king, or advance themselves, might relate some things before they were determined, discussed, or accorded to by the Commons, it might please the king to allow no such person to relate such matters, or give any credence to such a party." To which the king answers, "That the Commons should have deliberation to treat of all matters among themselves, in order to bring them to a good end and conclusion for the advantage and honour of his kingdom, and he would not hear such a person or give any credence to him, before such matters were communicated to the king by the advice and assent of all the Commons according to their petition." And in the 9th of the same king is the following entry in the rolls: "That in all future parliaments it should be lawful as well to the Lords by themselves, as to the Commons by themselves, to debate of all matters relating to the realm, and of the means to redress them, without disclosing the same to the king before a determination made thereof, and that to be done only by the mouth of the Speaker." From these proceedings, and from the articles that were about the same time presented to the king by the Commons, we may infer that the free constitution of this country is not of the modern growth which some writers have supposed. We observe this principle suspended and almost lost during the stormy period of the wars of York and Lancaster, depressed and subdued under the arbitrary domination of the princes of the house of Tudor: Reviving, however, at the opening of the 17th century, opposing itself to the conceited pedantry and self-sufficient ideas of James the 1st, who seems to have mistaken the age in which he lived, and the people whom he supposed he was by some divine authority commissioned to govern. We see it enforced in that memorable protestation of the 19th of that king, in language worthy of the patriots who presented it, and ennobled by the impotent resentment of the monarch who erased it with his own hand from the journals, but which survives, a monument of their glory, and of his shame. We see its generous influence pervading the earlier labours of the Long Parliament, till that unfortunate conflict arose which, though it humbled the pride of kings, disgraced the cause of freedom, and closed the eventful scene in tyranny, in outrage, and in blood. We see it again in array against the corrupt, profligate, and mercenary administration of Charles the 2d, and we hail its final confirmation and establishment in the great work of the Revolution. But I may be told that the entries in the time of Henry the 4th, and the protestation in that of James I., refer only to communications made to the throne by individual members, and not by the Speaker. I would, however, beg leave to ask those who make that distinc-

tion, what would have been the opinion of the parliaments of that day if the communication had been made in their names but without their authority, without, as it is expressed in the answer of Henry the 4th, the advice and assent of all the Commons of England. It is therefore to preserve this principle, not merely valuable from its antiquity, but as infusing life, spirit, vigour, and animation into the whole system of parliamentary proceeding, that I now venture to call upon the House—it is not with the comparatively contracted view of making a personal attack upon an individual, however conspicuous may be his station; it has, I trust, a nobler aim, and is directed to greater objects. It is calculated, I hope, to preserve the source, whence the principles of a free constitution are derived, pure and untainted; to induce you to watch over (to use the words of Mr Burke) the sacred fire of an eternal constitutional jealousy, the guardian of law, of liberty, and justice."

The Speaker then addressed the House, and defended his conduct with his usual energy and talent "After the motion of the noble lord, prefaced with whatever forms of personal civility, but implying, necessarily implying. a grave and serious charge of misconduct in the speech delivered by me at the bar of the House of Lords at the close of the last session, the House will naturally expect that I should be desirous of now offering myself to their attention.

"I should be very sorry indeed to be thought insensible to the peculiar course of proceeding adopted by the noble lord, injurious, as I think, to the character and dignity of the House; but nevertheless I shall abstain from all further comment on that head. I shall abstain also from discussing, in any degree whatever, the merits of the great political question to which the charges relate, a question which I am not this day called upon to argue.

"Denounced, however, long since to this House, as "the unauthorized and unauthentic expositor of its opinions,"—whose conduct was "objectionable on solid and constitutional grounds," and whose speech in the name of the House deserved "reprehension,"—I confess I did expect from the justice and plain dealing of the noble lord, that he would this day have brought forward some charge in express and direct terms, and have demanded a distinct vote of censure. But although his motion seeks only to establish some prospective regulation, which in this place it is not for me to debate; and although it proceeds upon principles and facts, which (however they may appear to me to be quite irrelevant to the existing case) I am not at liberty to discuss; nevertheless, as it is founded wholly upon an assumption of misconduct on my part, which it desires may not be drawn into precedent hereafter, I presume the House will allow me to lay fully before them those considerations upon which I trust it will appear that such an accusation is entirely groundless.

"Upon this subject, I conceive that there are substantially two distinct questions to which I am called upon to answer in my own vindication; first, Whether, according to the usage of parliament, the proceedings in this House upon the Roman Catholic claims were fit matter to be mentioned or adverted to, in such a speech, at such a time? secondly, If fit to be mentioned at all, were they mentioned in a proper manner?

"Upon the first question, Whether the proceedings in this House upon the Roman Catholic claims were fit to be mentioned in such a speech, at such a time? I very humbly submit to the House, that according to the usage

and practice of parliament, all or any of the principal objects which have employed the attention of the Commons during the session, may be fit matters to be mentioned in such a speech. The rule and practice are so laid down in the text-book which we justly allow to be the best authority upon our forms of proceeding: the journal entries of the House of Lords, where these speeches are necessarily noticed, are consistent with the rule so laid down; and so are some of the principal instances and authorities of which we have any memorial during the course of the last century. In Mr Hatsell's book, which we acknowledge as our best text-book, the rule is laid down thus: "It has been customary for the Speaker in presenting any bill of supply at the close of a session, to recapitulate the principal objects which have employed the attention of the Commons during their sitting." The journal entries of the Lords are the regular and authentic evidence of the usage upon this head; but in looking through these entries, we must always bear in mind, that the speeches made upon presenting bills of supply at the usual period of closing a session, are the only cases strictly applicable to the present question.

"The earliest of these speeches mentioned in the Lords' Journals, is in 1509, in the reign of Henry VIII.; and at first the entries state only the general substance of these speeches. In the reign of Elizabeth some are given by D'Iwes *in hæc verba*. There is a speech by Lenthal in 1641 given at length in the Journal; and several others of the same sort in the reign of Charles II. In the year 1689, two such speeches are entered; but none during the rest of King William's reign, nor any during the reign of Queen Anne. There are only four by Mr Compton during the reign of George I., in the Lords' Journal, and one in the Commons' Journal. But from the year 1721 to this time, there is no prorogation speech entered at length in either Journal, except one by Mr Onslow in 1745, which was entered in the Journal of this House at the commencement of the following session. The ordinary form of entry in the Lords' Journal from the Revolution to the present time has been, that "the Speaker after a speech,"—sometimes stated to be "a long speech,"—sometimes "a short speech;"—or, "after a speech upon the bills passed and to be passed,"—or "after a speech in relation to the money-bills and other matters," presented the bills of supply. There are not fewer than fourteen speeches of Mr Onslow noticed in this last manner upon the Lords' Journal, as embracing "other matters" besides the bills of supply; and the same form of entry is also to be found in the early years of the present reign.

"Among the instances and authorities contained in these entries, abundant proof will be found of the extent to which this usage has prevailed in all times. Upon a general view of the subjects to which these speeches have extended, it appears, that some of the earliest relate not only to bills of supply, but take notice also of the principal other bills, which had been previously passed in the same session. In the reign of James I., they dwell at considerable length upon "other matters" transacted or debated in parliament, which were not of a nature to be formed into bills, or tendered for the royal assent. Lenthal's speech in 1641, and the many speeches in the reign of Charles II., are extremely comprehensive in their topics, even stating the points upon which differences of opinion had arisen, and their result upon debate. The speech of Mr Compton in 1715, printed by order of the House of Commons in their own Journals, embraces a large compass of various

matters: and Mr Onslow's speech in 1745, printed with the like approbation, reviews the whole state of public affairs in and out of parliament: The speech of Mr Compton states the impeachment which the Commons had commenced against the ministers of the crown for the peace of Utrecht; and that of Mr Onslow states the result of their enquiries into the recent misconduct of the naval commanders in the Mediterranean. None other of Mr Onslow's speeches, during the 35 years that he presided in this place, are printed at length in the Journal of either House; but the few which have been published in the historical memorials of the last century, sufficiently prove that the same practice continued to prevail.

"Upon a more particular examination of the speeches made during the last century, it will be seen, that they have extended not only to bills offered for the royal assent, and matters upon which the House had expressed its opinion by address, but that they have also entered at large into various other public occurrences at home and abroad, upon which parliament had employed its time and deliberations; and although it does not appear, that this House had directed them to be presented to the sovereign in any manner whatever, by bill or otherwise. Thus, the voluntary associations and subscriptions entered into by the people in times of rebellion, and their legality under the circumstances of such a crisis, are enlarged upon by Mr Onslow at one period: And at another, he enters at length into the general impolicy and ill consequences of all continental wars and alliances. But, beyond these matters of general concern and notoriety, it has also been deemed within the province of these speeches to advert to proceedings within the walls of parliament, some of which, although of a legislative character, were not in progress or preparation for the royal assent, and others exclusively concerned the privileges of this House. Thus, after the miscarriage of Admirals Matthews and Lestock in the Mediterranean in 1744, Mr Onslow, in presenting the bill for regulating courts martial, states not only the effect of that bill, but enlarges also upon the general necessity of a more extensive reformation of those courts; and that speech was sanctioned afterwards by the approbation of this House. And thus again after the rebellion of 1745, Mr Onslow, in presenting the bill for more effectually disarming the Highlands of Scotland, proceeds to detail other measures for completing the Union, by reforming the jurisprudence of the Highlands of Scotland; and (without any fear of reprehension) states various opinions upon the unsettled condition of that part of the kingdom, and the expediency of abolishing the heritable jurisdictions, as laying the foundation of future bills, in some future session. Even the peculiar privilege and concern of the House of Commons, its employment in determining upon contested elections, was included by Mr Onslow, in rendering an account to the sovereign of the objects which had occupied the time of the Commons in the session of 1755. And Sir Fletcher Norton, pursuing the same course, informs the king, in 1775, of the satisfactory mode in which the members of the House of Commons had executed the act of a former parliament for determining contested elections; upon the merits of which act he also very justly enlarges. If, besides these instances, it is required to produce some specific precedent of a speech, noticing any question or bill negatived in either house of parliament, it is to be observed in the first place, that of the prorogation speeches actually made during the last century, very few (not

more than eleven in fourscore years) having been published, nothing can be affirmed with absolute certainty of the frequency or infrequency of such specific cases; but the general principle and practice already stated, will be found to comprehend every such case; nor has any such doubt been entertained hitherto. Two very striking proofs may be adduced, that such a doubt can have no parliamentary foundation.

"From the access allowed me by the present Lord Onslow to his father's parliamentary papers (a kind and liberal indulgence by which I have long and often profited), it appears to have been the distinct and deliberate opinion of Mr Onslow, that it belonged to the province of the Speaker, in presenting money-bills, to advert not only to bills which had received the royal assent, or were in readiness to receive it, but to those also, which, after having occupied the attention of the House, nevertheless had failed in their progress; and upon that opinion Mr Onslow was prepared to have acted. This case occurred in the year 1758, when several bills (one of them for a more speedy remedy for the subject upon the writ of Habeas Corpus), which had passed the House of Commons after long debates, were thrown out by the House of Lords; and yet upon the failure of these bills, and their value and importance to the constitution, Mr Onslow thought it his right and duty to have animadverted; as appears by a copy of his speech indorsed in his own hand as designed to have been spoken, and which he was prevented from delivering, only by the accident of his majesty's sudden indisposition, which disabled him from coming in person to prorogue the parliament. I cite this, therefore, only as an evidence of Mr Onslow's opinion; but more conclusive evidence of it can scarcely be imagined.

"The other case to which I would request the particular attention of the House, occurred in later times, upon the very subject to which the present discussion relates, and is entitled to the highest respect from the eminent character of the person whose authority it bears. In the year 1792, in the parliament of Ireland, a bill was brought into the House of Commons for the relief of the Roman Catholics, by admitting them to the profession of the law, allowing their intermarriage with Protestants, and improving their condition in other respects as to education and apprenticeships. After the second reading of this bill and its first commitment, a question arose upon a petition from the then Roman Catholic committee, signed by Byrne and others, praying the elective franchise, and this petition, upon full debate and a division, was rejected. At the close of the session, the Speaker, Mr Foster (whom, though present, I may name historically), a name never to be mentioned but with honour, on presenting the money-bills, although there was not on that day any bill whatever concerning the Roman Catholics presented to the throne, thought it his duty to advert to a subject of such high importance, and emphatically to state the sentiments of the House of Commons upon the indispensable necessity of a Protestant parliament and Protestant ascendancy. For that speech, not questioned as unconstitutional, he upon the same day received the thanks of the House of Commons.

"Upon reviewing the whole of the first question, the main criterion by which the topics of their speeches have been selected, appears to have been the political importance of the measures which have employed the attention of the House of Commons during the preceding session, unlimited by any consideration of their progress, or their failure. And without entering into the

merits of the particular subject introduced into the speech now in discussion, its paramount importance at least must be acknowledged on all sides; whether it be, as alleged on the one hand, a measure indispensable to the strength of the empire; or whether it be, as alleged on the other hand, subversive of the present fundamental laws of the constitution. All therefore that I need assert upon this day is, the importance of the subject; and that its importance alone not only justified the noticing it, but required that it should not be passed over in silence, even if no bill had been finally presented for granting to Roman Catholics any species of relief whatever; an occurrence which nevertheless actually made part of this transaction, and necessarily brought the subject under the legislative consideration of the sovereign."

Upon the second question, which regarded the propriety of the terms in which the subject had been mentioned in the speech to the throne, the Speaker contended generally that the words which he had employed gave a just and candid statement of what had truly occurred in the House.

After a good deal of discussion, the motion of Lord Morpeth was negatived by a very large majority, and a resolution proposed by Mr Banks was adopted in its stead. The resolution was in the following terms:—"That it has been customary for the Speaker of this House, on presenting the bills of supply at the close of a session (the king being present on the throne) to make a speech at the bar of the House of Lords, recapitulating the principal objects which have employed the attention of the Commons during their sitting, without receiving any instructions from the House as to the particular topics, or in what manner he should express himself; and that nothing has occurred which calls for any interference on the part of this House for the regulation of the conduct of the Speaker, either at the bar of the House of Lords or elsewhere." Thus ended this interesting discussion.

The re-establishment of peace, and the opening of the continental ports, had deluged the country with foreign grain, and threatened with immediate ruin the agricultural interests of the country. An imperious necessity had thus arisen for legislative interference; and some of the most enlightened men in the country were desirous for a return, so far as might be practicable, to the old system under which the agriculture of the country had flourished, and the exports of grain had been carried to so large an extent. It was not, however, proposed by any one to revive the bounty upon exportation,—a measure which would have been altogether unsuitable to the circumstances of the times. Several resolutions, however, of great importance to the corn trade, were proposed to the House of Commons. It was proposed, first, That exportation, in all cases, should be free; secondly, That new and heavier duties should be imposed on the importation of grain from foreign countries; and, thirdly, That foreign grain of all kinds should be imported and warehoused, free of all duty, until taken out for home consumption, and should at all times be exported free of duty.—These resolutions were in part adopted. Such, however, was the variety of the arguments introduced on this occasion, and so complex were the details of this question, that it is difficult to give even an intelligible summary.

Some enlightened members were dissatisfied with the resolutions, and maintained that they fell far short of their object. Mr Western observed, "That the import of all sorts of grain, on an average of the last ten years, is known to be about one million; of

course the native growth is to the importation as thirty four to one. It is necessary to have this proportion in our contemplation, that we may see how speedily any diminution of our own agriculture would reduce the aggregate supply. The regulation of the foreign trade has generally been subject, as it now is, to a great diversity of opinion. Some gentlemen think it safer to prohibit the importation of foreign corn, and to rely upon the steady exertions of our own farmers; others contend, the importation should be stopped at what is called the medium price; and there are those who maintain that the importation and exportation of corn should be perfectly free, and liable to no restriction whatever.

"It is impossible to doubt for a moment, that if an entire freedom of trade could be established throughout the world, it would be decidedly for the advantage of mankind in general. There is not a dissentient voice upon this subject; at the same time, no hope or expectation can reasonably be entertained that such an event will ever come to pass. It is impossible, in the present state of the different countries of Europe and the world, or in any probable state which the most sanguine person can look forward to, that such relations of concord and amity can ever be established amongst nations, as shall secure an uninterrupted freedom of trade. But it is said, though we cannot look forward to the freedom of trade generally, it would be better, as far as lies in our power, to have a free trade of corn, to permit a free export constantly, and to open our markets at all times to the admission of foreign growth. The question is, whether such a system would give us, in a course of years, a more abundant, more steady, and cheaper supply? I am convinced it would not. But let us examine what the effects of such a measure would be. If the superior fertility of foreign soils, or other circumstances, should enable the foreign grower to pay the freight, and undersell the British farmer, the first consequence certainly would be, that British agriculture must give way to the extent of the increased supply of foreign corn. The more sterile lands of this empire would be thrown out of tillage, the capital therein employed would seek more productive channels, the proportion of foreign supply would increase, and our own produce diminish; our present import of one million would arrive perhaps at five millions, and our own growth would be reduced from 34 to 30: If we could draw still more copiously from foreign countries, the relative proportion of our own produce would of course be still farther altered. But I presume there is nobody who does not admit that there must be a limit to the quantum of foreign supply. It cannot be supposed for an instant that we can draw our entire subsistence in corn from foreign countries; there must be some limit: Then, I say, when we have arrived at that limit, we shall be exactly in the same situation in which we are now, except that we shall have five millions of quarters of foreign corn (supposing that to be the limit) instead of one, and thirty of our own instead of thirty-four. When this is done, what can prevent the price rising to the same level it would naturally reach, if no such change had taken place? I put out of the question here the manifest objections to so great a reliance upon foreign, and perhaps hostile countries, and view the argument as if divested of all these considerations." After remarking, that as there must be a limit to the foreign supply, so soon as that limit has been reached, prices must rise to their old level, he stated, "That an idea very generally prevails, that, in fixing the

lowest price of import, we are in truth settling the lowest market price of corn; a more unfounded and erroneous opinion cannot well exist. It seems, however, to be deeply rooted in the minds of the people, and probably has originated from the circumstance of the market price having very seldom been below the import price since the commencement of our present system of corn laws, which I date from the act of 1773. The causes of this I shall now proceed to explain, by tracing their several enactments, and the events that followed; and in so doing I shall at the same time shew, in a great measure, the inefficacy of the principles on which they were formed.

"The act of 1773 allowed of the importation of corn from all parts of the world, when the price of British wheat rose to 48s. a-quarter, and other grain in proportion. Now, it is to be observed, that the average price of the preceding ten years was 45s. 6d. consequently the least deficiency of supply, or diminution of the value of money, which has certainly been progressive since that time, would necessarily make the market price equal to, or above the import price. This act, whilst it subverted at one blow a system eminently beneficial, established on the experience of a century, exhibited in its own enactments the most impracticable ideas, and most futile and absurd projects. The acts of the 22d Charles II. continuing in force till 1773, fixed the import price of wheat at 53s. 4d. a quarter, subject also to a duty of 8s.; together, 61s. 4d. The act of the 1st of King William gave a bounty of 5s. upon the export of British wheat when the price was at or under 48s. a quarter; and these two acts combined formed the system of laws under which the trade was governed till the period I am now speaking of. Now this act of 1773 absolutely converted the export bounty price into the import duty-free price, so that a more complete and utter subversion of a code of laws could not by any possible means be effected. The expectations which appear to have been formed by the authors of this act are demonstrable by its provisions, and are certainly very extraordinary. By its different enactments, when wheat was under 44s., it was exportable with a bounty of 5s.; when above 44s., the exportation of it was altogether prohibited, under a severe penalty; and when the price rose to 48s., foreign corn was admissible from all parts of the world duty-free; so that they really seem to have entertained the idea of keeping the price of corn within the limits of 44s. and 48s. The same opinions seem to have prevailed in the year 1791, as the provisions of that act were nearly similar. The average price of corn for the ten years preceding 1791, was 51s., and the import price was fixed at 52s. 6d.; including a duty of 2s. 6d., it was exportable on bounty under 44s.—export allowed, without bounty, under 46s.—prohibited above 46s. Here again it is obvious that the market price, differing so little from the import price, would soon be equal to, or exceed it.

"We come next to the act of 1804, which, under the direction of a committee, I had the honour of introducing into the House. That act carried the import price, including duty, to 65s. 6d; the export bounty price to 48s.; permission of export without bounty, to 54s. The average price of the ten years preceding, inclusive of the scarce years of 1800 and 1801, was 70s.; exclusive of those two years, 60s.; so that, upon the calculation of ordinary years, the average market price was only 5s. 6d. under the duty-free import price. Upon a review of all these cases, it is therefore apparent, that at the time of passing these

several laws, the market and import prices were nearly at par; and events, too obvious to be noticed, have constantly occurred to annihilate that minute difference, and generally to render the former much higher than the latter.

"The committee of 1804, in general, thought at the time, that the measure recommended by them to the House would not afford sufficient confidence and encouragement to the British farmer, but were induced to give way to the opposition they had to encounter. And here I will take the liberty of stating more fully what I have before asserted, that Mr Pitt, who was then at the head of the administration, gave to this measure his most decided and cordial support. I was certainly surprised to find, in the pamphlet of the right honourable gentleman, (Mr Rose) the declaration of an opinion directly at variance with this assertion. The right honourable gentleman says, in that publication, 'he knows Mr Pitt was prevailed upon reluctantly to give his assent to concur in the regulating prices enacted in 1804.' The right honourable gentleman must, I think, be mistaken; for I still entertain a most perfect conviction, that Mr Pitt not only cordially assented to those prices, but wished to have carried them considerably higher. I have a clear recollection of what passed at our first interview with him upon the subject. We presented to him our plan, remarking, at the same time, that the measure probably would be strenuously contested, that much clamour was already excited, and that to obviate it, we had adopted the lowest possible scale. He said, it appeared to him so low, that he thought it might prevent the threatened opposition; the only doubt he entertained was of its efficacy. I also feel persuaded that he expressed hopes we should be able, by degrees, in subsequent sessions of the legislature, to carry further the principle of protection and encouragement to the agriculture of our own country. When the bill got into the House of Lords, an alteration was made in the calculation of the duties; in consequence of which, when it came back to this House, it was rejected. Mr Pitt directed a message to be sent to me, informing me of the circumstance, and desiring I would come to town, which I immediately did. It was then the middle of July; he told me he had hoped the prorogation of parliament would have taken place before that time, but would advise the delay of a week or ten days, in order that a new bill might be introduced, which I accordingly moved the same evening; and which, after some opposition, passed into a law. I mention these circumstances to enable the House to form a judgment of the real sentiments of Mr Pitt, independent of the mere recollection of myself or any other person, which certainly may be erroneous.

"From the period of the passing of this act, which, it is curious to observe, has in no one instance impeded the importation of foreign grain, the average price of wheat has been nearly 100s. a-quarter: In 1812 and 1813, it was above 120s., almost double the import price of the act; so that if there are those who persist in supposing the import price must necessarily be the lowest, they certainly cannot flatter themselves with the hope that it will invariably be the highest; the experience of the last fifty years has fully shewn that such an expectation would be vain indeed; and the history of the century prior to 1773, will equally prove how opposite to truth the assumption is, that the market price never can be lower than that at which the importation of foreign corn is prohibited."

After illustrating by some very stri-

king details the effects of the system established in the reign of Charles II. and extended by the act of King William, and proving that the check thus imposed on importation, and the encouragement given to exportation, had, instead of enhancing, actually lowered the price of grain throughout so long a period, he observed, "That the beneficial effects which resulted from that system are equally deducible, from a consideration of the principle on which it was founded; one simple proposition, the truth of which cannot be disputed, formed the basis of the plan; I mean, that undoubted axiom, that self-interest is the source of all production; that neither corn nor any thing else can be procured but by the operation of that active principle working upon the mind of the producer; and that the more scope is given to it, the more effectually will the public be served. Nothing mose strikingly exemplifies this position, than the regular and nicely-measured supply of food to the population of this vast metropolis: The uninterrupted operation of selfish motives alone miraculously accomplishes this great work; it is the certainty of market, and an adequate reward, which attracts to this capital every thing which its inhabitants require. The same principle, of course, is applicable to the provision of food for our entire population. The corn-laws, matured and settled at the Revolution, were obviously founded upon it; they inspired with full confidence of uninterrupted reward the British growers of corn; they held out to them the possession of the home market, and taught them to look to all the markets of the world; in short, the system was calculated, by offering boundless prospects to their view, to produce that ardent competition which will always produce an ample supply of any article we are desirous to have in abundance.

"I know it will be said this is all very true, and why not let the same principle operate upon foreigners as well as upon British subjects? The obvious answer is, because they are foreigners, and the fruit of their industry is subject to direction over which we have no controul. If the character of mankind could be altered, and if those passions, which have hitherto involved nations in continual hostility, could altogether subside, and just views of policy invariably prevail, then indeed the case would appear in a different light; but, till then, it would be the height of folly to allow ourselves to be dependent upon foreign countries for any considerable proportion of that which is necessary to our existence. In the article of food, an uninterrupted intercourse is less likely to be established than in any other; the prejudices of men so powerfully operate against it, that it is only in modern times the entire freedom of the corn trade has been fully accomplished within our own dominions.

"The present system of our corn laws is founded upon a notion that we can at any time derive assistance from foreign countries; and not only that, but that we can command it exactly to the extent we think is desirable, and at the moment we fancy it is necessary. In order to do this, we go to work to find out what is called a fair average price for the British grower in ordinary seasons, and the moment that is exceeded, our ports are immediately thrown open. Now, if we were even to suppose that foreigners enjoyed an uninterrupted liberty of free export, it would still be absurd to believe they would always have a surplus ready for the supply of an uncertain demand. They are not more likely to have a constant surplus than we are, unless they have a constant demand for it. We may indeed extract a portion of their food by the tempta-

tion of high price; and if our average demand for a given number of years produces a constant market for them to a given extent, they will soon have that quantity in ordinary years to spare; but, beyond that, they will have no surplus, and even that average supply is always liable to be withheld. In the mean time, what is the effect of this fallacious system upon our own agriculture? This uncertainty of market, it must be recollected, operates upon those who must ever provide the bulk of our aggregate consumption; it damps their spirits, checks their exertions, and teaches them to confine their produce rather within the limits of the necessary supply. If then a succession of different seasons at any time occur, which experience instructs us to expect, we find ourselves unprovided for the occasion, no foreign supplies can be extracted but through the operation of high price, and the nation becomes exposed to great distress and danger. In a short time our agriculture, which before had languished from the causes I have just mentioned, begins to feel the influence of an eager demand, the market price rises rapidly, and the growers of corn for a time experience great profits. In spite of the discouraging nature of the laws, unusual gains excite unusual exertions, and in the course of a few years the aggregate produce of the kingdom is largely increased. Profits now again decline, and thus an alternate succession of periods follows each other; in one of which the farmer gains more than an adequate profit, in another, less. I know very well the difference of seasons must, under all circumstances, render uncertain the produce as well as profits of agriculture. But it is this very uncertainty we should endeavour to guard against; and, indisputably, that country which has the largest surplus produce, will suffer least from this inevitable variation of seasons. The only way to grow a surplus in ordinary years is to promote a demand, beyond our actual necessities, for the food of our own population; and this is effected by bounties on exportation, and still more by an extended home consumption of grain. The breweries, the distilleries, and the quantity used by horses, fortunately occasion in this country a great extra demand; and the consequent increased production essentially adds to our means and resources in time of need. Few countries suffer much in ordinary years; the great object should be, to make provision against the incalculable evils of a real scarcity.

"We have recently experienced that vicissitude of events which I have endeavoured to describe, and, happily for us, the period last past has been that of high prices and large profits, and we are in possession of the plenty which they have occasioned. It is true the last crop was unusually and universally productive, but the abundance we at present possess is greatly attributable to the extended and improved tillage of every part of the united empire. In the last eight or ten years, in consequence of causes too powerful to be counteracted by the baneful tendency of the laws, our agriculture has advanced with rapid strides, larger capitals have been devoted to it than formerly, and the science as well as practice has greatly improved.

"This is the time then to secure the advantages we have thus painfully acquired; the sacrifice to accomplish it will be trivial, and will be most amply repaid. It is impossible, indeed, we can continue long to enjoy the full amount of our own extended and improved agriculture, and receive large foreign supplies into the bargain.—Such an idea would certainly be most preposterous; and if we were to endeavour to act upon it, we should have sufficient reason in a very few years

deeply to regret our folly. The path we ought to pursue is plain before us; we should revert to the policy of the revolution laws, we should give to our farmers that confidence which they inspired, and thus again throw off all dependence upon foreign countries.

"I am much afraid the character of the plan now under consideration is too indecisive to accomplish this great object; it resembles too nearly the measure of 1773, and every subsequent act of the legislature; it affords no certainty of market to the British grower, and no security against an influx of foreign corn. He certainly will not continue his late exertions under the influence of the regulations we are now contemplating. The application of capital to agriculture is already checked; and if the profits become inadequate, and the markets doubtful, the produce will again diminish with a rapidity much exceeding the comprehension or belief of those who have no practical knowledge of the subject. The first consequence of such a state of things is, to put a stop to all those essential improvements which require any considerable expence; the next is to convert a spirited and liberal practice into a saving and parsimonious system of farming; and the difference of produce between the one and the other is immense. There are amongst farmers, as amongst other persons, some more enterprising than others; one class get money by saving, the other by freely embarking their capital, in the expectation of proportionate returns. It may be doubtful which in the end put the most money into their own pockets; but such is the obvious effect of capital applied to the growth of corn, as well as to all other manufactures, that nobody can doubt which are the best farmers for the public. It may be said, that at all times it must be the real interest of the farmers to grow as much corn as they can; but, upon a moment's reflection, it will be seen that that can never be true, as persisting by unrequited expences to overstock the market must even accelerate their own destruction. Some few of the more opulent and adventurous may, for a time, pursue the same liberal system, expecting a speedy return of pressing demand, but they will in general have recourse to a reduction of expenditure in every possible way. If they still continue to feel the loss of adequate returns for their capital and industry, they will give up a portion of their land to pasture; those who can withdraw their capital will do so, and others will be ruined. Such is the course we shall most unavoidably go through, in proportion as we weaken the confidence and exertions of the British farmers, and increase our dependence upon foreign countries.

"There is an opinion, I believe, entertained by some people, that this kingdom is incapable of growing corn enough for the consumption of its inhabitants, and they are therefore very naturally apprehensive of checking the importation of foreign supplies. Such an idea appears to me very extraordinary, as I have no conception of any deficiency of means to provide amply for double our present population: indeed, as to all practical purposes, I can see no limit to our possible production but the limit of demand. Let those who entertain such fears carry their views for a moment over the extent and situation of the united empire of Great Britain and Ireland, over the millions of acres yet untouched, and millions of acres of fine land hardly producing one-third of the quantity of food that might be drawn from them. Greatly as our agriculture is improved and extended, its limits are yet contracted, compared as well in regard to the science itself, as the circulation of that knowledge we have already ac-

quired, and the application of it to the kingdom at large. Our attention, our industry, and our capital, has, no doubt, in late years, been much attracted to the cultivation of the soil; and if a sufficient portion of the vast capital we can command is allowed to find its way to this most advantageous employment, there can be no doubt of the produce of our own land keeping pace with any increasing demand. It would have done so hitherto, if the policy of the last fifty years had not forcibly directed our national exertions to manufactures of inferior importance; for if we look to the table of exports and imports since 1773, we shall see, that in spite of the discouraging nature of the system established at that time, the excess of our imports gained upon us by very slow degrees; and it appears to me impossible to doubt, that if our agriculture had not been checked by the pernicious influence of those laws, it would, from that moment to the present time, progressively have kept pace with the increasing demand upon it."

A bill founded upon the first of the resolutions which has been mentioned above, was passed, notwithstanding the most strenuous opposition. But the discussions having occasioned a general ferment throughout the country, and an unexampled number of petitions having been presented against any alteration in the corn laws, the Chancellor of the Exchequer came down to the House on the 6th of June, and proposed that a committee should be appointed to make further enquiry before any measures should be adopted to regulate the price at which importation should be permitted, and to fix the duties which should be payable on foreign grain. This proposition was acceded to; and the farther consideration of this important subject was postponed for the present session.

The state of Ireland had unfortunately for some time been such, as to call for the adoption of additional measures, in order to preserve public tranquillity. The evils which it was now proposed to remedy, had not risen on a sudden, but had existed for a considerable time. Many parts of Ireland had been in a disturbed state, excesses had been committed, and disaffection prevailed, which it was known that the ordinary powers of the law were insufficient to repress. The Irish ministry, therefore, had been prepared early in the session, to have submitted some measure to the House, but the great and glorious events which occurred at that time, the overthrow of the tyranny established by Buonaparte in France, the restoration of the legitimate sovereign, and the general pacification of Europe, induced them to suspend their proposition until they saw what effect was produced in Ireland by these important events: they did not wish that at a season of general happiness and rejoicing for the restoration of tranquillity, Ireland alone should form an exception. Unfortunately, the effect which these events had produced upon Ireland was not great; nor could the Irish government, consistently with its duty, postpone their measures till another session of parliament.

The disturbances originated in different causes, and were to be ascribed, in part at least, to political combinations. These combinations, which had for their object the overthrow of the government, and the separation of Ireland from Great Britain, had not perhaps any supporters among men of talents or weight in the country. They were formed by idle infatuated people, with little education, the dupes of men who possessed certainly more means of acquiring information than themselves, but who had none of those qualifications which could render them

formidable, as the leaders of popular insurrection. But that there existed combinations, whose object was to overthrow the government, to transfer the allegiance of the people to foreign powers, and for other objects of a similar kind, and that the individuals composing these societies were bound together by the most infamous oaths, there could not, unfortunately, be a doubt.

The Irish minister, in order to prove the accuracy of his statement, and the existence and objects of the combinations, referred to the proceedings at the last assizes of Roscommon. Upon this occasion no less than nine persons were tried and convicted for having taken and administered oaths, binding them not to inform against threshers, and not to deal with protestants, and to conform to the rules and regulations of the committees, under whose directions they acted. Upon this part of the subject, it may be proper to notice a letter from a most active magistrate, who was sent down into the county of Westmeath, to make enquiries into the causes of the disturbances in that county, and to assist the resident magistrates by his advice and experience. The letter gives a very clear statement of the nature, objects, and proceedings of the deluded miscreants by whom the public had been disturbed. It was dated 23d March, 1814. 'The disturbances in this county (Westmeath) appear to have commenced about the beginning of the year 1813, and have been rapidly increasing ever since, notwithstanding great exertions have been used on the part of the magistracy to check and subdue them; the persons engaged in those disturbances, styling themselves carders, commenced their outrages by attacking houses, robbery of fire-arms, and swearing the rabble to obey such rules and orders as should be dictated and pronounced by them. Their first object appeared to me to be that of regulating the price of ground set in con-acre, to prevent old tenants from being turned out of their farms, and to regulate the fees and dues payable to their own (Roman catholic) clergy. To effect these purposes, they posted notices through different parts of the country, declaring vengeance against any person who should not comply with such their lawless dictates; if a tract of land was to be set in a con-acre, these lawless miscreants would fix a price per acre upon it, and any person giving more would certainly receive personal torture, or suffer some injury in his property. I have examined into the cases of many individuals where personal torture had been inflicted, and I uniformly found it to proceed from some dispute relative to ground, either by giving a price exceeding that fixed on by those miscreants, or by taking a farm of which the late occupying tenant had been dispossessed by his landlord.'

These disturbances were of a nature to call imperatively upon government to adopt measures for the protection of the loyal, tranquil, and industrious part of the community; and this duty was the more necessary, and more strongly imposed on government, because, if protection were not afforded to the well-disposed, they must be reduced to the painful alternative, either of joining the insurgents, or of exposing their persons to torture, and their houses and property to destruction.—But these combinations were formidable in another point of view—the persons combining were now obliged, for the attainment of their objects, to observe a great degree of caution, to maintain a strict discipline, and thus to qualify themselves to become dangerous engines in the hands of able and designing men, to be applied to other purposes.—There was another species of disturbance of the

public peace which arose from religious animosity. Interruptions of the public tranquillity, arising from such a cause, were the most to be lamented, and the most difficult to be remedied. It was some satisfaction, however, that notwithstanding the pains which had been taken in Ireland by means of the press and of inflammatory speeches, to induce the Roman catholics of Ireland to believe that the Irish government was not disposed to administer impartial justice to them as well as to their protestant fellow-subjects, these efforts had in a great degree failed of success, and there was indisputable evidence to shew the lower orders of catholics that government were determined to treat all offenders against the public peace, whatever religious creed they might profess, with perfect impartiality.

There subsist in Ireland many obstacles in the way of the ordinary administration of the law, and one of the greatest is the difficulty of procuring persons to give information to government, and evidence against the violators of the peace. There is in Ireland, if one may be allowed the expression, a sort of romantic feeling, independent of any consideration of personal danger, which renders the name and character of an informer odious, and is almost sufficient of itself to close the ordinary sources from whence information can be derived. This feeling, however, is most powerfully assisted in its operation by the dreadful system of intimidation established in the disturbed districts with the view of preventing evidence from being given. A melancholy instance of this may be mentioned. An unfortunate man had given information against some persons for administering unlawful oaths, and it was found necessary, after he had given his information, to keep him in gaol for his personal security, until he was brought up to Dublin to give evidence. He was cautioned against going back to his own country; he was, however, so desirous of returning, that no advice could restrain him, and he went home. He however had the prudence to remain some days in the house of Lord Castlemaine; but upon the departure of that nobleman, the man went to his own house. So soon as his return was known, from three adjoining parishes delegates were actually appointed to murder him. It was proved upon the evidence of one of the delegates, that in each of the three parishes six delegates were chosen to commit the murder; that these delegates met at the appointed time, and selected nine of their number to perpetrate the act. They attacked the house of the poor man, and murdered both him and his wife. This dreadful transaction shewed to what a degree the feelings of the people must be blunted, and in what odium an informer is held, when it is considered little less than a praiseworthy act to visit with deliberate and atrocious murder the delivery of evidence in a court of justice.

The country was thus in a very disturbed state, and the hopes which were entertained by some, that these combinations would be destroyed by the overthrow of Buonaparte's government, had proved unfounded. No less than seven persons had been taken up at no remoter a period than the 5th of June 1814, in the county of Kildare, when actually engaged in one of these conspiracies which assume a political complexion. Ireland, in fact, presented an appearance which a country in a state of peace with the whole of Europe ought not to exhibit. In the Queen's county, disturbances to a very serious extent existed, long after the occurrence of these events which procured the restoration of permanent tranquillity. The ordinary powers of the civil magistrates were

found insufficient to maintain public tranquillity or to give confidence and security to the well-disposed; and it seemed much better to invest the civil powers with sufficient authority to repress those disturbances, than to call in the aid of the military, since the frequent use of soldiers in that manner makes the people look upon them as their adversaries, rather than their protectors.

Mr Peel, the secretary of state for Ireland, accordingly, upon the 23d June, moved for leave to bring in a bill "to provide for the better execution of the laws in Ireland, by appointing superintending magistrates and additional constables in counties in certain cases." On proposing this measure, he remarked, that "with regard to the measure itself, which he had now to propose, he did not wish to go beyond the necessity of the case, as he was anxious that it should have permanent operation, and that the bill he should propose should form a part of the permanent law of the land. He by no means, however, meant to state it as his conviction that it was calculated effectually to meet the exigency of the case; he reserved to himself the full power of proposing, even in the present session, the revival of any of those provisions which had been enacted at former periods to meet temporary emergencies. He wished to keep the consideration of them distinct from that of a permanent law, in discussing the principle of that law. He hoped that gentlemen would not suppose, because such measures as these which he was now about to propose, were not necessary in England, that therefore they were not necessary in Ireland, for the state of the two countries was essentially different.

"He proposed in the bill which he was now about to move for, to give to the lord lieutenant a power, when disturbances existed in any county or part of a county, to proclaim that district to be in a disturbed state, to appoint a superintending magistrate, with a salary, and special constables, with salaries. He proposed that the magistrate should have a house and office, but that he should not be invested with any extraordinary powers; that he should be responsible immediately to the government, and removeable at their discretion; and that he should be called upon for those exertions which could not be required from ordinary magistrates, who could not be expected to devote the whole of their time to the public service. The special constables, to whom he proposed to give a better salary than to ordinary constables, he should propose to select from among the farmers' sons, and persons of that class, and to make them keep a kind of watch and ward in the disturbed district; these constables to be placed under the controul of the superintending magistrates. The extraordinary expence that must be incurred by the establishment of this magistrate, and the special constables, ought, in his opinion, to be paid by the disturbed district. There would be in the bill several regulations for the conduct of these magistrates, which it would be unnecessary now to detail: he should only repeat, that by bringing forward this bill, he did not preclude himself from proposing other and stronger measures even in the present session, if the case should require it."

This measure was carried without much opposition, but proved inadequate to its object. On the 8th of July Mr Peel again came forward, "with considerable regret," as he said, "to propose an additional measure for the preservation of the peace in Ireland. The House were already aware, that he had introduced a measure during the present session on the same subject, which was then in pro-

gress, and which was to have a permanent operation. When he brought this bill forward, he had reserved to himself the right, should circumstances require it, of bringing in another of a more effective and decisive description. The apprehensions which had induced him to make this reservation, had since been confirmed; and, however painful the task, he found it absolutely necessary to adopt a system which, although perfectly consistent with the established principles of constitutional government, was at variance with those maxims of moderation and mildness, by which he was desirous the people of Ireland should be governed. The proposition which he should make, was the revival of the measure which had received the sanction of parliament in 1807. The amount of its operation was to permit two magistrates to transport idle and disorderly persons. The preamble was copied from the act of 1807, and merely referred to certain disturbances which existed in various parts of Ireland, excited by seditious persons; and he should propose it to be limited to the period of two years. The object of the Insurrection Act, or rather of the clause to which he should now propose to revert, was to provide, in case any part of the country should be disturbed, or in danger of being disturbed, that two justices of the peace should be empowered to summon an extraordinary sessions of the magistrates of the county, which should consist of seven magistrates, who should make a report to the government, or the lord lieutenant, that part of their district was in a state of disturbance, and that the ordinary law of the land was inadequate to the preservation of the public peace. In this case, it was provided that the lord lieutenant, by the advice of his privy council, should be empowered to issue a proclamation, commanding all persons residing within the said disturbed district, from sunset to sun-rise, to keep within their houses, and that no person should be suffered to be drinking in a public-house after the hour of nine o'clock; and further, if they should be detected out of their houses, without being able to shew good cause, they should be considered as idle and disorderly, and be liable to transportation for the period of seven years. The law also required that the lord lieutenant should order a special sessions of the peace to be held, at which these persons should be tried, and, if necessary, that trial by jury should be dispensed with.—There were other provisions, which sanctioned the employment of the military to quell disturbances, and, in order to facilitate the detection of offenders, enabled the magistrates to pay domiciliary visits; and upon refusal to open the doors of such houses as they might visit, enabling them to enter them by force. In the present state of Ireland, he thought it would be no great restriction, where disturbances did exist, to require the inhabitants to remain within their houses from sunset to sun-rise. It was impossible to deny that this measure was an evil; but the House had to decide upon comparative evils; and when the dreadful alternative to which they would be reduced, if some such measure were not adopted, was considered, he apprehended no doubt could exist as to the expediency of adopting it, until the occasion for its existence had ceased. That the measure would prevent the evils of which he complained, he was satisfied; and this opinion was founded upon a variety of documents which he held in his hand. These documents gave the most convincing testimony of the disturbed and alarming state in which Ireland now was. Among others, there was one from a respectable magistrate of the county of Roscommon, which described the state of

that county to be most alarming, and lamented that the law of the land was inadequate to the preservation of the public peace, in consequence of the magistrates having no power over suspected persons. There was another letter from a magistrate of equal authority, Mr Maycock, of the county of Westmeath, who, after adverting to the atrocities which were every where committing within that county, observed, that if the legislature would allow domiciliary visits, and require the inhabitants to be at home at a particular hour, tranquillity would soon be restored. It was by no means the intention of government to have recourse to this act, even if it should be passed, on ordinary occasions; on the contrary, as with the act which had been passed in 1807, and remained in full force till 1810, without being acted upon, it was intended only to be resorted to, when every other effort had failed to quell disturbance. He would wish the House to consider the dreadful evils which were meant to be corrected. In many parts of Ireland, the inhabitants were obliged to sit up whole nights to guard themselves from assassination; and a letter had been put into his hand that day by an hon. baronet, the member for the Queen's county (Sir H. Parnell), which stated that the Caravats were levying contributions of 30*s*. and 40*s*. each, from the little farmers every night, and seizing arms and ammunition wherever they could be found. He had also letters in his possession, representing that the Carders were in constant activity throughout the county of Westmeath, and kept the unfortunate inhabitants (whose offence was perhaps no more than their industry, by which they were able to give a higher rent to their landlords than others, their loyalty, or their refusal to join these lawlesss bands,) in unceasing apprehension of assassination, or having their little cabins burnt over their heads. In addition to these facts, he had a letter from Mr Wilkes, of Stoke's town, stating, that a band of these miscreants had broken into the house of a poor man, and carded both himself, his wife, and his two daughters, in the most dreadful manner. The operation of carding, he had already stated, to be performed with a wool card, with which the flesh was literally torn from the bones of the unfortunate creatures who happened to be exposed to the torture. These atrocities, too, were not committed by one particular sect against another, for protestants and catholics were alike exposed to them; and, in a letter from Westmeath, it appeared that a considerable number of Roman catholics had been served in this manner.—The right hon. gentleman, in conclusion, observed, that he was persuaded these combinations had not arisen from any political feeling; but lest the floating masses of disaffection, which were dispersed in different parts of the country, should be collected by some able hand, he considered it highly important that a strong measure should be immediately adopted, so as at once to stem those disorderly propensities, which, from not being properly resisted, would gain additional strength every day.—He moved, That leave be given to bring in a bill to provide for the preserving and restoring of peace in such parts of Ireland as may at any time be disturbed by seditious persons entering into unlawful combinations or conspiracies."

On the second reading of the bill, it was feebly opposed by Mr Horner and some other members, but was ultimately passed and carried into execution.

Connected with this subject was a motion made by Sir John Newport, relating to the Orange Associations in Ireland. In a preface to his motion, Sir John observed, " that upon a for-

mer occasion he had indulged the hope that the sense of parliament, so clearly, and, with a single exception, so unanimously expressed, would have discouraged those associations, and would have led to that total abandonment of their principle, which would have gone some way at least in tranquillizing the internal state of Ireland. It was in vain to look towards this happy consummation, until all associations were entirely extinguished, and, to use the emphatic words of a noble lord (Castlereagh) not then present, "until the people were under the dominion of the law, and not under that of clubs and associations." Although he had known of the existence of those societies when the subject was last before the House, yet he confidently expected that they would have dispersed when the voice of parliament became expressed, and that this system, whose only object was the insult of one class of fellow-citizens, for the petty purpose of party triumph, would have wholly dissolved. He regretted he had been mistaken, and this regret was heightened when he had observed, that a right honourable gentleman, (Mr Peel) high in office in Ireland, had considered himself called upon to protect and encourage those societies which parliament had declared were obnoxious to the public peace. It became, then, full time for the people of Ireland to know upon what authority those institutions existed. This was of importance, from the fact of their illegality having been proclaimed from high legal authority. With this view he originated his motion, for the purpose of shewing, as had been stated before by a noble lord, the necessity "of re-echoing the wish of parliament by the voice of the country, and of repressing, without ulterior measures, any society within the empire of the law; and that, whatever their origin might be, they had outlived the danger which called them forth, and were exposed to the act of 1799, which stamped illegality on meetings so composed." Sir J. Newport then quoted the observation of Mr Canning last year, that, whatever digressions gentlemen had entered into, no man was found to commit himself in the defence of those associations; and that they would, of course, perish, when the sense of parliament became so clearly expressed upon the illegality of their formation. It was, however, painful to find, that this discouragement had been ineffectual, and that a right hon. gentleman had received and returned answers to one or two of those associations—answers which he (Sir John Newport) was sorry to say, appeared commendatory of their principles. As a proof of the evil effects produced by the Orange associations in Ireland, he adverted to the circumstance that the grand jury of a county in the north of Ireland had absolutely defeated the prison act, which had been introduced by a right honourable friend of his. By that act, it was provided that each of the gaols in Ireland should be attended by a Roman catholic clergyman. The jury to which he alluded did not directly deny a Roman catholic clergyman to the county gaol, but they appointed a degraded priest to act as chaplain; knowing, from the regulations of the church to which he belonged, that it was impossible for him to officiate satisfactorily. For three years this was a source of constant dispute between the judges of assize and the grand jury. He could not sufficiently admire the description which a learned judge, now deceased (Lord Avonmore) had given of real loyalty, when members of the Orange faction were represented to him as loyal, who had, in fact, transgressed the laws: "I know," said he, "of no loyalty, except that which obeys the laws, and

exerts its best efforts to see them carried fairly into effect. I cannot consider him to be a loyal man, who acts contrary to them for the purpose of advancing his own views of riot and violence!" When the great atlas that had so long supported the fabric of bigotry in Ireland, was tottering—when the fabric itself was on the point of falling—it excited his regret to perceive an attempt made to rescue it from impending destruction. It was, however, utterly impossible to continue the system. The good sense, the increasing knowledge of the people, must operate to overthrow it." Sir John Newport then moved, "That there be laid before this House, copies of all addresses from societies or bodies of men calling themselves Orange associations or lodges, and also of all addresses from grand juries in Ireland, on the subject of such Orange societies, to the principal secretary for that part of the kingdom, with his answers thereto."

Mr Peel said, "he rose to second the right hon. baronet's motion for the production of the documents upon which he had so strangely commented; though, perhaps, a doubt might be entertained, whether they were of that nature and character which would justify the House in calling for them. But, though he had no objection to their production, as he had evinced by seconding the motion, he could not avoid troubling the House with a few observations upon the speech by which it had been introduced.

"The speech of the right hon. baronet referred, he believed, to one which he (Mr Peel) made in the last session of parliament. He wished very much that the right hon. baronet had been in his place upon that occasion, because it would have saved him the trouble of making the present motion; he would then have been able to judge whether he (Mr Peel) had given encouragement to societies, most unjustly described by the right hon. gentleman as societies 'illegally formed, for the purpose of insulting and harassing their fellow subjects.' It would, however, have been but candid towards him, and respectful towards the House, if the right hon. baronet, when he preferred such a charge, had stated the grounds upon which it was founded—if he had stated in what manner and upon what occasion he (Mr P.) had given encouragement to illegal societies formed for such purposes, or to political combinations of any description or character. The right hon. baronet had spoken generally of addresses presented to him (Mr P.) from Orange lodges, and of his answers. Why had not the right hon. baronet, in support of his charge, stated when, upon what occasion, and by whom, those addresses were presented? He had stated that they were published; if they were, why did he not produce them? He had a right, the House had a right, to call upon the right hon. baronet to state, not generally and vaguely, but distinctly and specifically, the grounds of his charge. Let the right hon. baronet, if he thought proper, amend his motion, so as to call for every address that had ever been presented to him, in which there was any allusion, directly or indirectly, to this subject, together with his answers. He would willingly support such an amendment, because he only wished that the charges which had been made, should be put in such a shape as to enable him to meet them distinctly. In the course of the last session, an hon. baronet (member for the Queen's county), presented to the House some petitions respecting Orange societies, but before he presented them, he communicated his intention to him (Mr Peel.) He thanked the hon. baronet for his courtesy, but expressed his regret, that he should have felt it his duty to bring

forward such a subject. The hon. baronet did present the petitions, and he (Mr Peel) took that opportunity of stating clearly, and without reserve, his opinions upon the subject, in order to remove some misapprehension which prevailed; and he also made some observations upon the petitions themselves; he shewed to the House, that though they purported to come from persons of all religious persuasions, yet that many of the signatures were written by the same person; one particular instance he pointed out, where ninety-eight or ninety-nine names consecutively were in the same hand-writing. What he stated upon that occasion, if necessary, he would now repeat. He had never spoken a word, or written a line upon it, which he was desirous to retract. If the principles and conduct of any body of men were misrepresented, nothing should deter him from rising to point out the misrepresentation, and to vindicate them from unmerited charges: Persons might disapprove of the principles of all combinations, but they ought, in common justice, to draw a distinction, where a distinction existed, and not confound the associations of the loyal with other associations of a very different character."

After a few additional remarks from Mr Peel, merely tending to exculpate himself from the charges of Sir John Newport, the original motion was carried without a division.

As tranquillity had now been restored to Europe, some persons, forgetting that hostilities with America still continued, raised an outcry about the alledged violation of the constitution, by keeping the militia embodied.—Earl Fitzwilliam, on making a motion in the House of Lords for certain returns on this subject, observed that "the several statutes which the legislature in its wisdom had enacted upon this subject, afforded ample evidence of its solicitude to preserve that great constitutional force from any sort of violation; to prevent any perversion of it from the original objects of its institution. Those objects were, therefore, clearly defined by the law; and to apply the militia to any purpose not within the contemplation of that law, would, he apprehended, naturally claim the attention of parliament. Looking to the law in order to understand its letter and spirit, he was led to conclude that there were only four cases in which it was provided that the militia should be called out or embodied; these four cases were invasion, imminent danger, insurrection, and actual rebellion; and he held, that if the militia were embodied in any other case, the law was directly violated. What then was to be thought of keeping the militia embodied at a time when none of the cases described could be said to exist? Under such circumstances he decidedly thought that, according to law, no part of the militia could be embodied. This he ventured to lay down as a position sustained by the different statutes applicable to the question. Upon what ground the keeping of the militia embodied at present could be justified, he was wholly at a loss to conceive, peace being restored to Europe, and in the present state of the country he could not suppose that any of the cases he had mentioned could be alledged to exist. It was not stated that there was any such serious apprehension of danger from abroad as these cases referred to, and it could not be pretended that the country was in any degree disturbed. He, indeed, felt himself warranted in asserting that neither of these cases did exist, and therefore he maintained, that keeping the militia embodied was in direct violation of the law."

He was well answered, however, by Viscount Sidmouth, who said, "that

as the orders referred to on the motion of the noble earl, were issued from the office in which he had the honour to preside, he felt it necessary to address some observations to their lordships upon the subject. The noble earl had truly stated, that it had formed a part of the considerate wisdom of the legislature to make various provisions for the maintenance and application of our militia establishment. But in adverting to the several acts which, with regard to our great constitutional force, the policy of the legislature had thought proper to adopt as restrictions upon the prerogative of the crown respecting martial law, the noble earl had omitted to mention a case to which that force was rendered available, namely, the recruiting of our regular army. But the authority of the crown was not, even independently of that case, by any means so limited as the noble earl appeared to think; for history afforded numerous instances in which the militia had been called out and embodied, when neither of the four cases existed which the noble earl had described. But it could not be disputed, that in a state of war the sovereign was legally entitled to call out and embody the militia of the country for its own defence. Such, indeed, had always been the universal understanding; and there was not a single clause in any of the acts upon the subject, to negative the power of the crown to call out the militia upon the existence of danger. He, however, was free to admit, that the militia were not to continue embodied after that danger had ceased; but to determine upon that cessation was left to the discretion of the executive, no doubt upon a grave responsibility as to the exercise of that discretion. So much with respect to the law upon this subject; and then as to the grievances and disappointments complained of by the noble earl, who were they by whom that complaint could be consistently preferred? The ballotted man was still entitled to his discharge at the end of five years, for which he was originally bound to serve; and as to the substitute, he was engaged to serve for years, or so long as the regiment in which he enlisted continued embodied. Such were the terms of his oath. What contract, then, was violated with these men by the plan to continue the militia establishment embodied? They had in fact no reasonable ground of complaint in being retained in the service, while the country unhappily remained in a state of war. The legality of so retaining them could not, he was convinced, be consistently questioned. In this, therefore, he totally differed from the noble earl, while he fully concurred with him in regretting the hardships alluded to; but these hardships arose out of the necessity created by the public exigency, which he alleged to exist, and to require the suspension of the order for disembodying the militia."—The motion for production of papers and returns was agreed to.

Sir Samuel Romilly, on the 28th of November, brought the same subject before the House of Commons, by a motion, "That this country having been for more than five months at peace with all the powers of Europe, and in a state of undisturbed internal tranquillity, the still continuing a part of the militia embodied is contrary to the spirit and plain intent of the act, and a manifest violation of the constitution."—After some discussion the motion was negatived by a great majority.

On the 22d November, Mr Serjeant Onslow moved for leave to bring in a bill for more effectually securing the liberty of the subject.—It was the object of this bill to amend several defects in the existing state of the law relative to the writ of Habeas Corpus. The power of issuing this

writ appears to have been originally confined to the courts of King's Bench and Chancery; the court of Common Pleas was included at a more recent period. But it seemed of great importance, that the whole courts of Westminster Hall should equally be invested with this salutary privilege; and this improvement accordingly formed one of the objects of the bill. Another of its provisions would have bestowed upon the judges the same power of issuing this writ in vacation as in term time; and it seems a glaring absurdity indeed, that a constitutional remedy of the highest importance to every English subject should be inaccessible to him at certain periods, merely because it may be inconvenient that the supreme courts of justice should, at such seasons, hold their sittings.—But the most important of the improvements contemplated by this bill, was a provision by which the judge, or court issuing the writ, should at all times be empowered to investigate the truth or falsehood of the facts stated in the return—a power without which the mere issuing of the writ must, in many instances, prove altogether nugatory.—Leave was accordingly given to bring in the bill, in which, however, little progress was made during the course of the present session.

CHAPTER V.

Proceedings in Parliament relating to Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

THE unbecoming discussions which had occurred during the last session of parliament, upon the differences betwixt his Royal Highness the Prince Regent and the Princess of Wales, had filled with disgust the minds of all honourable men. In the prosecution of our duty as recorders of the events of the times, we must not shrink from the further details of this painful subject; and while we shall state them with all the delicacy due to the elevated personages more immediately concerned, we shall be mindful, at the same time, of the paramount claims of truth.

In the month of June, 1814, England was visited by many illustrious strangers from the continent, and preparations were made to entertain them according to the splendour and magnificence which became the British court. The Queen, therefore, determined to hold her drawing rooms in the course of that month, and accordingly notified that intention to the public. The appearance of the Prince Regent at these drawing-rooms was of course indispensable, but his Royal Highness, for reasons which he himself deemed satisfactory, had determined not to meet the Princess. He therefore communicated to the Queen his resolution upon this point; and her Majesty accordingly signified to the Princess the impossibility of her appearing at the drawing-rooms. To this intimation the Princess returned the following answer:—

"Madam,—I have received the letter which your Majesty has done me the honour to address to me, prohibiting my appearance at the public drawing-rooms which will be held by your Majesty in the ensuing month, with great surprise and regret.

"I will not presume to discuss with your Majesty topics which must be as painful to your Majesty as to myself.

"Your Majesty is well acquainted with the affectionate regard with which the King was so kind as to honour me, up to the period of his Majesty's indisposition, which no one of his Majesty's subjects has so much cause to lament as myself; and that his Majesty was graciously pleased to bestow upon me the most unequivocal and gratifying proof of his attachment and approbation, by his public reception of me at his court, at a season of severe and unmerited affliction, when his protection was most necessary to me. There I have since uninterruptedly paid my respects to your Majesty. I am now without appeal or protector.

But I cannot so far forget my duty to the King and to myself, as to surrender my right to appear at any public drawing-room to be held by your Majesty.

"That I may not, however, add to the difficulty and uneasiness of your Majesty's situation, I yield in the present instance to the will of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, announced to me by your Majesty, and shall not present myself at the drawing-rooms of the next month.

"It would be presumptuous in me to attempt to enquire of your Majesty the reasons of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent for this harsh proceeding, of which his Royal Highness can alone be the judge. I am unconscious of offence; and in that reflection, I must endeavour to find consolation for all the mortifications I experience; even for this, the last, the most unexpected, and the most severe; the prohibition given to me alone to appear before your Majesty, to offer my congratulations upon the happy termination of those calamities with which Europe has been so long afflicted, in the presence of the illustrious personages who will in all probability be assembled at your Majesty's court, with whom I am so closely connected by birth and marriage.

"I beseech your Majesty to do me an act of justice, to which, in the present circumstances, your Majesty is the only person competent, by acquainting those illustrious strangers with the motives of personal consideration towards your Majesty which alone induce me to abstain from the exercise of my right to appear before your Majesty; and that I do now, as I have done at all times, defy the malice of my enemies to fix upon me the shadow of any one imputation which could render me unworthy of their society or regard.

"Your Majesty will, I am sure, not be displeased that I should relieve myself from the suspicion of disrespect towards your Majesty, by making public the cause of my absence from court at a time when the duties of my station would otherwise peculiarly demand my attendance."

There was something inconsistent in the request made to the Queen, to communicate to her visitors the causes of the absence of the Princess of Wales, while the latter expressed her determination to make the whole case known to the world; and the Queen accordingly replied to this demand in the following terms:—

"The Queen has received, this afternoon, the Princess of Wales's letter of yesterday, in reply to the communication which she was desired by the Prince Regent to make to her; and she is sensible of the disposition expressed by her Royal Highness, not to discuss with her topics which must be painful to both. The Queen considers it incumbent upon her to send a copy of the Princess of Wales's letter to the Prince Regent; and her Majesty cou'd have felt no hesitation in communicating to the illustrious strangers who may possibly be present at her court, the circumstances which will prevent the Princess of Wales from appearing there, if her Royal Highness had not rendered a compliance with her wish to this effect unnecessary, by intimating her intention of making public the cause of her absence."

The correspondence which followed was immaterial; but on the 3d of June the Speaker of the House of Commons received from the Princess of Wales a note in the following terms. This paper was communicated to the House.

"The Princess of Wales desires Mr Speaker will inform the House of Commons, that his Royal Highness the Prince Regent has been advised to take such steps as have prevented her from

appearing at court, and to declare his Royal Highness's 'fixed and unalterable determination never to meet the Princess of Wales upon any occasion, either in public or private.'

"The proceedings of 1806 and 1807, and last year, are in the recollection of the House, as well as the ample and unqualified vindication of the Princess's conduct, to which those proceedings led.

"It is impossible for the Princess of Wales to conceal from herself the intention of the advice which has now been given to the Prince Regent, and the probability that there are ultimate objects in view, pregnant with danger to the security of the succession, and the domestic peace of the realm.

"Under these circumstances, even if the Princess's duty towards herself could suffer her to remain silent, her sense of what is due to her daughter, and to the highest interests of the country, compels her to make this communication to the House of Commons.

"The Princess of Wales incloses copies of the correspondence which has passed, and which she requests Mr Speaker will communicate to the House."

After this letter had been read, Mr Methuen moved, "That an humble address be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to pray his Royal Highness that he will be graciously pleased to acquaint this House, by whose advice his Royal Highness was induced to form the 'fixed and unalterable determination never to meet her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales upon any occasion, either in private or public,' as communicated by his Royal Highness to her Majesty; together with the reasons submitted to his Royal Highness, upon which such advice was founded."

In support of this unreasonable motion, Mr Methuen exclaimed, "What, sir, shall the boasted liberty of this country be henceforth considered but as an empty name! Shall that soil, which has been hitherto said to confer, instantaneously, freedom on the most abject slave who had the good fortune to tread it—must this sacred soil lose its long-acknowledged charm, and sink to the lowest level in the scale of nations! Shall this House, distinguished as it has been in the cause of humanity, in the cause of the poor African, deny the smallest portion of the same christian-like balm, to heal the wounds of a princess! Or is it for the slave alone that the manly heart can feel, or the eloquent tongue can plead? I should like to ask the House, if the very circumstance of the Princess Charlotte being at all permitted to see her mother, is not a strong proof of her innocence; as her visits ought to be altogether prohibited, if her mother were an unfit person for her society? I should be glad to know if the Hereditary Prince of Orange does not consider her as innocent, when he writes to her, as a proper compliment to his future mother-in-law, to inform her of his approaching nuptials with her daughter? She has received also letters of congratulation from the Prince and Princess Dowager of Orange. I should not be at all astonished to hear the publication of these letters objected to. But, sir, I cannot see any other course she had left to take. She had already written to you, sir, who so ably and so honourably fill that chair which I am now addressing. She next wrote to the Chancellor, and afterwards to the Regent himself. I need not inform the House with what effect. She had therefore no resource, but an appeal to the hearts and understandings of her future subjects. But, sir, if a precedent were wanting to vindicate her conduct on this occasion, it would be easy to find one, and that of the highest authority. It must be

fresh in the memory of the House, that in the year 1804, his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, with a spirit well worthy the heir-apparent of the British throne, desirous of being foremost in command in case of invasion, then threatened by that restless and merciless scourge of mankind, whose sun of glory is now set, and whose dreams of mad ambition are now happily at an end, applied to his Majesty for a command. His Majesty refused the request; the Prince felt his character concerned, and appealed to the tribunal of the public, publishing his letters to his Majesty and the Duke of York. The Annual Register of that year will assist any gentleman's memory which may be defective on this subject. Among many strange and undefined charges, for want of proving criminality, I have heard the charge of bad taste most commonly urged against her. But, sir, though I consider bad taste as by no means a desirable ingredient in the composition of a princess, yet when we reflect upon the various perils with which her paths through life have been beset, when we reflect upon her education abroad, and her situation at home, ought no allowances to be made for a princess who has not had the happiness to have the taste, or at once to understand the feelings or manners of this country? But, sir, I agree with her Royal Highness, that the time chosen to proscribe her is peculiarly galling; and I feel the full force of that part of her letter which applies to the approach of her daughter's nuptials and the event of her own coronation. And I should like to ask if she is to be excluded from either of these ceremonies? I hope when the necessary supplies for the marriage are granted by parliament, they will be granted conditionally, that the marriage shall be a public one, and that the Princess of Wales shall appear at it with all the consequence and splendour due to her situation.

"I could have wished, sir, that at a time when the peace of Europe is settling, that of England might have been confirmed; and that no unhallowed difference might have intruded itself on the presence of imperial and royal visitors, to quench the flame of enthusiasm, and check the full tide of gratitude flowing towards those to whom, under Providence, we are so signally indebted. Under all circumstances, her Royal Highness, to use her own words, is entitled to be proved guilty, or treated as innocent. She has a right to claim this, which is the common birth-right of the English; she has a right to claim it as a subject, as a fellow-creature, as the wife of the Prince Regent, and as the mother of our future Queen."

Mr Bathurst, in answer to this gentleman, said, "He must observe that there was no prohibition against the Princess of Wales attending her Majesty's drawing-room. The Prince had only signified his determination of not meeting her there; and if she had persisted in what she was pleased to term her right of attending, it would have then been a serious consideration for the Prince Regent, whether he could go himself or not. Any discussion on this subject would come with more propriety when the future establishment of the Princess Charlotte should be moved for, in case of her marriage, and that her mother was not present at that ceremony. Another honourable member had intimated his intention of discussing the subject, should that occasion take place. It was not an unusual thing for members of the royal family to be excluded from the court of the sovereign. It was a thing which had frequently happened, without any imputation against the character of those branches of the royal family who

were so excluded, or without any enquiry as to the cause of the exclusion. This had happened at different times during the reigns of George the First and George the Second, when dissensions between the reigning monarch and the Prince of Wales had been carried to a greater height than any dissensions which had since occurred among the members of the royal family. The object of the hon. gentleman appeared to be, to restore the Princess of Wales to the Queen's drawing-rooms; but could the House call upon his Royal Highness the Prince Regent to change that sentiment which had obtained such full possession of his mind, as to lead him to wish for her exclusion? With regard to future considerations, which had been alluded to, they were not now before the House. The only thing which they had under their consideration was, the restriction of the Princess from attending the Queen's drawing-rooms during the present month. He did not conceive that this restriction necessarily imputed any animosity to her Royal Highness. Those unhappy disagreements between the Prince Regent and the Princess of Wales might have originated in difference of taste, and in many causes wholly unconnected with guilt or innocence. He had omitted to state, that two royal duchesses (the Duchesses of Cumberland and Gloucester) had been excluded from the drawing-rooms of the Queen, because their marriages were disapproved of; and yet parliament had never thought it proper to interfere on the occasion. With regard to the minute of council, on which so much stress had been laid, it must be recollected, that it made a distinction between criminality and other minor charges. The acquittal was, therefore, not altogether so complete as the hon. gentleman had maintained. He could not avoid expressing his opinion, that the more appeals were made to the public, and the more this unhappy subject should be agitated, the more irritation would be produced by it, and the more injury would be done to the peace of the royal family. The House were now called upon to interfere merely about the etiquette of a drawing-room. This was what he thought they ought not to be called on to do; and therefore he should give his negative to the address proposed."

Even Mr Ponsonby could not agree to the motion. He said that "he had listened to the honourable gentleman's resolution or address with much attention, but could not vote in its favour, because he had ever found, in the history of the councils of princes, that resolutions such as that of the Prince Regent were liable to change, and no overt act had been stated which, in his opinion, called for the interference of the House. He, however, deeply lamented the letter sent to the Princess of Wales by the Queen; and had hoped that what had passed in this House last year would have put an end for ever to this disgraceful and injurious subject. It was natural to the Princess of Wales to publish the correspondence, to vindicate herself in the eyes of the public, when this new indignity was cast upon her. Although he objected to the present motion as unparliamentary, there were constitutional modes of proceeding, which, if resorted to with a view of putting an end to these dissensions, should have his best support."

Mr Tierney took a different view of the subject, and maintained, "that as parliament knew only of an *income* belonging to the Princess of Wales of 5000l. *per annum*, the House of Commons ought at least to be satisfied that her revenue was equal to the wants of her high station. At present, the

House did not know it. They would recollect, that on her marriage with the Prince of Wales, the nation allowed 150,000l. for their joint establishment; but of this there was only 5000l. a-year at her own disposal, and at present the nation could not tell how she lived, or where she found resources. The remaining 120,000l. was for their joint use, for the maintenance of the splendour of their illustrious situation in the state; but the House must judge what her situation is, when it is declared that they can no longer breathe the same air together. The House ought at least to be satisfied that her Royal Highness was properly provided for."

Mr Methuen was afterwards prevailed upon to withdraw his very unconstitutional motion.

Mr Methuen, however, still persevered in his object; and on the 23d of June moved a resolution, that the House should on the following Tuesday take into consideration the correspondence communicated to the Speaker by the Princess of Wales. In support of this motion he observed, "Although I deeply regret being under the necessity once more of addressing you on a subject so painful and distressing as the present situation of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, I feel it my duty to persevere in the object which I have in view; intending, however, in deference to the opinion of the House, as pretty distinctly expressed in the recent discussion on this subject, not to retrace the steps which I took on that occasion, but to confine myself to the consideration of her Royal Highness's income; and for that purpose alone shall I call the attention of the House to the correspondence of her Royal Highness with her Majesty and his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, as the only parliamentary document on which the proceeding, which I mean to propose, can be founded. Sir, in the same spirit of deference to the opinion of the House, (an opinion which, I trust, I shall never, under any circumstances, be so presumptuous as to undervalue or disregard,) which induces me to abstain from other matter, I shall endeavour to give a direction to that generous sentiment—the expression of which on the late occasion was so universal and so loud within these walls—that something ought to be done to ameliorate the condition of her Royal Highness. Sir, I do most deeply regret, and I am indeed astonished, that no step has been taken—that no communication has been made to this House, in consequence of the memorable discussion to which I have alluded. I sincerely lament it; for much rather would I see the hand of government liberally and spontaneously stretched forth on such an occasion, than that an act of bare justice should be wrung from it, by the voice of the parliament and the country. But, since the temperate advice given to his Majesty's ministers by a right hon. gentleman opposite, since the unequivocal expression of the sense of the House, since the delay that has occurred, have been unproductive of any desirable event, if in the agitation of the subject unpleasant feelings should be excited, either in this House or out of it, let the blame rest with those who, having the means in their power of stifling further discussion, by giving his Royal Highness the Prince Regent temperate and constitutional advice, and by telling him the real sense of the parliament and the people, either neglected to avail themselves of those means, or despised the object for the attainment of which they might have used them. There is no man who deprecates the necessity of such discussions as the present more than myself; but while that necessity exists, I cannot avoid continuing to call the attention of the House to the subject.

No man laments more than myself, that any thing in the shape of dissatisfaction should cloud the brilliance of the present moment. But is it to be expected that, because others are basking in the sunshine of happiness, her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales is to be content in the cold shade of obscurity and neglect? Is the hour of the triumph that she is not permitted to partake that in which she is likely to forget the unjust degradation that she is enduring? What must the illustrious foreigners, so lately among us, have thought of British generosity, when they heard the disgraceful fact, that the allowance to her Royal Highness was so parsimonious that she was unable to give them a welcome or to appear before them in a way becoming her exalted situation? Is such a circumstance consonant to the character of a feeling, of a liberal, of a high-minded nation? Sir, I assert on the best authority, although I am almost ashamed to assert it, not only that her Royal Highness is unable to maintain the dignity of her station, but that she is even without those comforts with which her habits have hitherto familiarized her. Let us forget, sir, that this illustricus personage is a princess. Let us consider the subject only as fathers or brothers. Let us contemplate our daughters or our sisters so branded, so degraded. Let us ask our consciences if an innocent woman, thus deserted, has no claim on our defence and support?—Sir, when the Princess of Wales married, she had an allowance of 17,000l. a year from his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, besides 5000l. a year which she received from the Exchequer. In 1800 his Royal Highness sent her a message informing her, that in consequence of his own embarrassments he could allow her only 12,000l. a-year. In 1809 his Royal Highness undertook to pay her Royal Highness's debts, amounting to 49,000l.; and to restore her annual allowance to its original sum of 17,000l. For nine years, therefore, her Royal Highness had 5000l. a-year less than when she resided at Carleton-house, and had no separate establishment to maintain. The consequence was obvious. Her Royal Highness's income was so inadequate to her expenditure, that in July last she was under the necessity of reducing her establishment to seven domestics, and of almost entirely giving up seeing company. To this and other reductions; and to the generous and disinterested conduct of Mr St Leger, who had insisted on relinquishing his salary, and who, as well as Ladies Carnarvon and Glenbervie, was now without any salary whatever, were owing the happy circumstance, that at the present moment her Royal Highness did not owe a single shilling. But is this a situation in which the future queen of this country ought to be left? Ought she to depend for her freedom from actual pecuniary embarrassment on the generosity, however magnanimous, of her household? The proposition which it is my intention to make on this subject is by no means unprecedented. In the case of the Princess Anne, in 1690, a grant was made by this House, not only without a message from the crown, but in direct opposition to the wishes of the crown. It is impossible, sir, that the House can refuse to interfere. The only income which her Royal Highness possesses, independently of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent's pleasure, is 5000l. a-year, a sum utterly insufficient to the maintenance of the dignity of her station. I cannot, therefore, but anticipate a favourable result to my motion. It is not a party question. It is a question of common justice to an individual, and that individual a female of the most exalted rank. But whatever may be the issue, I shall have the satisfaction of know-

ing that this is a duty which I have conscientiously undertaken. Had I heard the slightest hint of any intended arrangement or amelioration of her Royal Highness's situation, I would have refrained from any agitation of the subject: but not having received any intimation of the kind, I had no alternative. If in the course of my observations I have alluded in strong terms to her Royal Highness's situation, those terms have been forced from me by the strong conviction which I entertain of the unmerited hardships to which her Royal Highness has for a length of time been subjected. I cannot conclude, sir, without assuring the noble lord how mortified I am, immediately on his return to this place, and after the warm reception which he has so deservedly experienced from the House and from the country, to require his attention to a question, the consideration of which, I have no doubt, must be as painful to him as it is to the nation at large."

Lord Castlereagh replied to the following effect:

"Sir,—I am much obliged to the hon. gentleman for the kind manner in which he has expressed himself with respect to me; and I feel very happy at the nature of the proposition which the hon. gentleman has brought forward, however inconsistent it may be with his original line of proceeding. Perhaps, if the course which the hon. gentleman has this evening taken, had been earlier adopted, many discussions on this subject would have been very desirably avoided. But certainly this is the first time that we have been told in parliament that an extended provision for her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales is the object which her Royal Highness's friends have in view, and which they think calculated to set for ever at rest a question which it had been much better for the honour and happiness of the country had never been agitated. But, sir, although I am disposed to confine myself as closely as possible to the question to which the hon. member has also limited himself, I shall depart from that dry consideration as far as will be necessary to distinguish those topics which have unfortunately been brought forward in this House—unfortunately, because the only tendency they can have is to disturb the tranquillity of the public mind, and by no means to effect any advantage for the illustrious individual to whom they immediately relate.—Sir, I had almost resolved that I would not be provoked by any question that might be raised, to become a party to a discussion on the affairs of the royal family, to the regulation of which the functions of parliament are not competent to apply remedy. I should deeply deplore the situation in which parliament would be placed, if we were obliged to listen to questions with respect to the royal family, the discussion of which, if they related to the humblest individuals in the land, would be considered a gross breach of delicacy and propriety. If there be any thing which could deprive the royal family of all those social enjoyments so dear to human nature in every rank and condition, it would be the dragging forth into public view, under the pretext of the public interest, all the interior circumstances of their lives, the exposition of which would not be tolerated by any private family in the country. Sir, I know that it has been endeavoured to justify some recent attempts of this nature, on the ground that his majesty's ministers have neglected to advise his Royal Highness the Prince Regent to make a communication to the House on the subject to which I allude. But, sir, whatever information her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales—whatever information the world may have obtained through indirect channels on that sub-

ject—whatever confidential communications may have been made to foreign powers with respect to it, yet never could any notice of such a transaction be given to parliament, until in its progress it had assumed such a shape as would allow of its reduction to a formal document. Sir, I am particularly anxious to remove an impression which has been endeavoured to be made by an attempt to confound two transactions which are in fact wholly separate. It has been insinuated, that the difficulties in the way of a marriage deeply interesting, not less to the people at large than to the illustrious individuals more immediately concerned, are connected with supposed difficulties, arising out of the exclusion of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales from the court; now this assertion is completely rebutted, by the fact that the negociation for the marriage was in active progress long after that exclusion. It was in active progress so late as the 10th of June, not only after the declaration of exclusion, but after the drawing-room had been held, from which her Royal Highness was excluded, and after the discussions in the House upon the subject. All this is sufficient completely to disprove the supposition, that between the circumstances which I have mentioned, there exists any connection whatever. When the hon. gentleman gave his notice of the present motion, I had no ground for supposing that his object was that which my mind is very much relieved by finding it is. I had no ground for supposing that an increase of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales's pecuniary means was the point he had in view. Sir, whatever difficulty I might have felt on any other ground upon which the discussion of this evening might have rested, I have none upon this; for I have no reason to suppose that at the present, more than at any preceding moment, it is the wish of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent to connect the feelings which arose out of his separation from her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, with any disposition to create or to suffer the existence of embarrassments on her part of a pecuniary nature, which can with propriety be removed. It was not, therefore, to this part of the subject that I supposed the hon. gentleman would apply himself. I had apprehended that he would refer to the letter of her Royal Highness, with a view to found upon it some claim of right, as asserted in the letter itself; for really as to any addition to her Royal Highness's income, the consideration of the letter is calculated to lead the attention of the House from, rather than to, that circumstance. It is as little mentioned in the letter as it was (as I am given to understand) in the speech of the hon. gentleman on a recent occasion, and in the speeches of the other hon. gentlemen who took a part in that discussion, with the exception of the hon. gentleman near the pillar (Mr Tierney.) I certainly did suppose, therefore, that the debate of the present evening would have taken any range rather than that to which I have had the satisfaction to find it is the hon. gentleman's object exclusively to confine it. I certainly did expect to hear asserted to-night the claim of her Royal Highness, as advanced in her letter, to be received at the drawing-room as a matter of right. Sir, if his majesty's ministers do that which it is their duty not to do, or if they omit to do that which it is their duty to do, there is a power in this House to correct them. From the controul of parliament there is no appeal but to the discretion of parliament. Without going into any minute constitutional enquiries, the fact is, that the moment we cease to possess the confidence of parliament, that moment our functions

are at end. But, sir, it distinctly appears to me, that parliament and his majesty's ministers will best do their duty to that country which we are all anxious to serve, by keeping within those limits which the constitution prescribes. The legitimate authority of parliament will never be so respected or respectable, as while we abstain from attempting to do that which never can be practically executed without our having first fallen into an utter misconception of our duty. Any endeavour to regulate the sovereign's court,—to declare who shall or who shall not be there admitted, is of that description. Any thing so preposterous as to talk of her Royal Highness's 'right' to be admitted to her majesty's drawing-room, I should hardly have expected to find in any letter from her Royal Highness, and still less in a letter of so grave a nature as that included in the correspondence to which the motion of the hon. gentleman refers. Her majesty's drawing-room is certainly the place in which we pay our duty to her majesty; but, nevertheless, it is the court of the sovereign. It is called by the king's officers, and not by those of the queen, who merely attend at her majesty's right hand for the purpose of introducing the visitors. Parliament has nothing to do with the sovereign's court. They are not the fit judges who ought to be received at that court, and who ought not—who should be treated with kindness, and who with indifference. It is not essential to the sovereign that he should have a court at all. If the sovereign were compelled to receive or to deny those whom his ministers or parliament chose that he should so receive or deny, his situation would indeed be most degradingly miserable and abject. He would not enjoy that freedom in his court to which the meanest individual in the land was entitled in his own habitation. In his court, as in his family, the sovereign is unquestionably the fit master of his own regulations, and has the undoubted right to receive whom, and when, and how he pleases.

"Sir, I know that attempts have been made to connect the motives which have operated on the mind of the illustrious person now exercising the sovereign authority in this country, in the late transaction, with the supposed revulsion of feeling which he experienced at the time that his royal father directed that her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales should be received at court. I deny that there is any proof direct, or by inference, of such a connection. Whatever may have been the feelings of his Royal Highness which occasioned the separation of the royal pair (and I am sure no man more deeply laments that separation than myself) the fact is, that he had met her Royal Highness in the drawing-room long after the event to which I have alluded. But, sir, no one who has observed any thing of the course of public events since that period, can remain unconvinced that, either by design or by misconduct, circumstances have assumed a very different complexion from that which they then bore. Her Royal Highness had been made the vehicle of direct insult on the character and conduct of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, exercising the sovereignty of the country. It is impossible to disguise the fact, that persons have been permitted to approach her Royal Highness who have been detected in a cabal through the medium of the press, for the purpose of degrading the royal family in general, and more particularly of vilifying the illustrious individual at the head of the state, and of attempting to debase him in the eyes of his family, of his country, and even of his children.

"It never could be maintained as a principle," continued the noble lord,

"that a person ought to be admitted to court who had not sufficient firmness to prevent herself from being made the vehicle of the most illiberal attacks against the sovereign of the country. It must not, by any means, be supposed that the exclusion of the Princess of Wales from court rests now on the same grounds as it did on a former occasion, when his majesty was pleased to admit her again to court, after the investigation of a subject of a very different nature. His majesty's ministers were disposed to rest the case on the ground of the facts which really existed. Every man in the House and in the country must feel undisguised the misfortune which I am compelled to admit, that from causes which cannot now be explained, and which the House are but little likely to understand in their bearings, or to be able to heal—in point of fact, the separation is as complete and final, and as hopeless, with respect to remedy, as any transaction in human society can be supposed to be. I cannot, therefore, suppose that the difference will at any future period assume a different result; but I think it will administer some light to the House on the present occasion, without looking minutely into the transaction, and without endeavouring to come to an understanding of it in all its bearings, to learn the fact, that the view which I now take of this unfortunate variance, is that which was taken by his majesty. His majesty considered it so hopeless a matter ever to bring the parties together with any thing like satisfaction to their own feelings, that he viewed it in the light of a misfortune which had arrived to such a degree of height, that it was in vain to think, by any discussion, to put an end to it, and the only thing that remained to be done was to see how the matter could be managed in the way least painful to the parties who were the object of it. Without being considered as very forward in laying before the House information with respect to a transaction of so painful a nature, I trust I shall be excused for stating to them, that there is in existence a solemn instrument, signed by the parties, approved of by his majesty, and to which the signature of his majesty is adhibited, as well as that of the greatest part of the ministers of that day. This instrument provides for a distinct establishment to the Princess of Wales, and admits the fact of the separation being inevitable—(Here the noble lord was asked across the table the date of this instrument? He answered, 1809.) The king knowing all the circumstances of this disagreement, and as the head of his family, and from his moral character, being the person best qualified to form a judgment respecting it, considered the separation as so complete, that he lent his sanction, as sovereign and father, to the separation. The Princess of Wales accepted the arrangement, which was then made satisfactory to herself, and undertook to live on the income which was allowed her, without incurring any further debts. Without meaning to contend that what was a satisfactory sum at that period was one which ought not to be unsatisfactory now, or without going so far as to say, that if the House is inclined to think that a more liberal allowance ought now to be made to the Princess of Wales, a new arrangement should not be entered into, I trust, before I conclude, I shall have established this fact, that whatever may be the feelings of the Prince of Wales as to the circumstance of living with her, he never wished to visit on her the consequences of the disagreement in a pecuniary shape. In 1809, when the feelings of his Royal Highness must be supposed to have been warmest on this subject, he came forward himself to pay her debts, and

those debts were paid out of his own income. There never was, I am fully convinced, a feeling in his Royal Highness's mind, that any thing like money ought to be a question between them. At the period of 1809, (for, as was stated by the hon. gentleman in consequence of the reduction of the Prince of Wales's income, that of the Princess of Wales had been reduced to 12,000*l.*, which, with 5,000*l.* she received out of the Exchequer, made in all 17,000*l.*) he found her in debt, and that the income which she received had not been sufficient to keep her out of debt. At this time his Royal Highness said, rather than this should be thrown on the public, he was ready to take on himself the payment of her debts, and to add 5,000*l.* to her income, making it in all, 22,000*l.*, provided that he had any reasonable assurance that no debt contracted by her should in future be brought forward against his Royal Highness.—Rather than bring this subject before parliament, he consented to pay her debts, and to grant an addition to her income to secure her from the necessity of contracting debts in future. I trust the House will feel the delicacy with which the Prince of Wales acted in thus witholding from parliament and the public the discussion of this subject. At this time there was a solemn deed prepared, assuming the separation of the parties, which gave his Royal Highness the security of his majesty and his majesty's ministers, that he should be freed from future debts on making the proposed addition to the income of the Prince of Wales. This addition was then accepted as sufficient. At the time I allude to, the Prince of Wales had an income of 120,000*l.* which, after deducting the property-tax, amounted to 108,000*l.* From the high and delicate regard of his Royal Highness to the interests of his creditors, although many of his debts were contracted at a period of life which rendered them extremely questionable, he devoted the sum of 40,000*l.* annually towards the payment of his debts. After deducting the property-tax, and the sum set apart for the payment of his debts, the revenue of the Prince of Wales amounted to 70,000*l.*; but even before the addition to which I have alluded, 12,000*l.* out of that 70,000*l.* was paid to the Princess of Wales, so that the 5,000*l.* additional allowed in 1809, with that 12,000*l.*, made in all a deduction of 17,000*l.* from the income of the Prince of Wales, reducing it to 53,000*l.* The debts of the Princess of Wales amounted to 49,000*l.* (they amounted in reality to 80,000*l.*, but they had been reduced to the former sum in consequence of a grant from the droits of Admiralty,) and the Prince took that debt on himself, and undertook farther to set apart 10,000*l.* a-year to liquidate that debt, reducing himself to the sum of 43,000*l.* of income as Prince of Wales; and this, with 13,000*l.* which he derived from the duchy of Cornwall, was the whole sum on which he was reduced to live. I have no doubt that the House will agree with me in thinking that he made a very large provision for the Princess of Wales, when his own income was merely 53,000*l.*, in allowing her 27,000*l.* a-year. However the House may feel with respect to the adequacy of this income at the present period, whether she is now liberally provided for or not, I question if ever there was a husband who made greater sacrifices for the comfortable establishment of his wife than the Prince of Wales then did. However the conduct of his Royal Highness may be tortured, and whatever unfavourable constructions may be put on it, I defy any person to say that he ever betrayed any thing of a vindictive nature towards her, or the smallest wish to in-

terfere with her social comforts. On the contrary, he made sacrifices which no other husband in the land, had he been brought before parliament, would have been called on to make. So far from the existence of the colour of mind which has been falsely attributed to his Royal Highness, if he could have possibly increased her income without being supposed to be truckling with the base attacks which were continually made on him, he would not have waited for the suggestion of his ministers, had she disentangled herself from the base cabal by whom she was surrounded. With the greatest satisfaction he would have entered into the feeling of her wants himself, and not have suffered his family to be dragged, as it has been, before the public. His Royal Highness has not made the addition hitherto, and the House will see why he did not. He was not disposed to perform an act of indulgence till he had performed an act of justice, or to give that to the Princess of Wales which her creditors had a title to enjoy. Till the month of January in this present year, the 10,000*l.* annually has been applied in extinguishing the 49,000*l.*, and his Royal Highness considered that her creditors had a claim on him for that sum. I have not seen, till the present day, any moment when his Royal Highness could, with propriety, lend himself to any object of a pecuniary nature, which the Princess of Wales might have had in view—and when that object was masked and covered by attacks against the Prince Regent. And, in my opinion, his Royal Highness's ministers would have disgraced him, had they advised him to listen to any question of a money nature when his honour was attacked. It was our duty to brave all these attacks; but in a country like Great Britain,—a country of truth and justice—we felt that a moment must come when the truth would be apparent——when justice would be done to the sentiments of his Royal Highness—and when we might, with propriety, call on the parties to say, if money was their object, whether it had ever been refused? and when we might assert, that there never was a feeling in his Royal Highness's mind to make the crown an instrument for placing the Princess of Wales in an uncomfortable and embarrassed situation.

"Sir, it is with the greatest struggle of mind that I have been able to bring myself to trespass so long on the attention of the House. But if there is any regard in the House for the family which brought liberty with it into this country, and preserved it amidst all the struggles which have rent and torn so many other parts of the world, they will not lend themselves to an attempt to degrade that family in the eyes of the nation, and suffer their names to be bandied about in a way which would not be tolerated in the case of the meanest family in the country. With respect to the hon. member's suggestion, I have no objection to meet any proposal which may be hereafter made on the part of the Princess of Wales; but I must object to the present motion, as being so little calculated to lead to the object which the hon. member professes to have in view, because I am satisfied that nothing advantageous could grow out of it, and that, on the contrary, it would be the means of introducing those circumstances of degradation which we all lament should ever have been brought before the House or the country. It is impossible, therefore, that on the part of the crown I should ever give my consent to a proposition so little expected as that of the hon. gentleman, and so little agreeing with the shape he now gave to the question. But if it is the feeling of parliament that the establishment of the

Princess of Wales should be placed on a footing more agreeable to her feelings, and suitable to her rank, and if this question shall be separated from those circumstances under which it has hitherto been veiled, I have no hesitation in saying, that I shall, on a future day, be enabled to give that consent which is necessary on the part of the crown to give effect to the wishes of the House. In doing this, the House will, I have no doubt, feel that they are doing little more than his Royal Highness has already done out of his limited means, when the feelings of reluctance towards the Princess of Wales must have been in full force, and that if the arrangement, which may be hereafter given, has not taken place earlier, it is merely because those who conceived themselves, or pretended to be, the friends of the Princess of Wales, advised her to claim that arrangement on grounds which were not tenable, or because they had other objects in view; and that it is only now, when they were pleased to be more candid, after doing irreparable mischief, by unnecessarily agitating the feelings of his Royal Highness and the country, that such a proposal could with any propriety be listened to. On these grounds, I must resist the present motion, but, as I have already stated, I shall, on a future day, be authorised to give the consent of the crown to such reasonable addition to the income of the Princess of Wales, as shall seem to meet the sense of parliament."

Mr Grattan said, "that he approved of the object of the motion of the hon. gentleman, because that object was, by an exertion of the ordinary power of the House, practically to repel the calumnies thrown on her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales. This object was to be effected, not by restoring her to her dignities, but by increasing the means of maintaining her establishment. But the object of the noble lord was the same, provided it could be done in a manner respectful to the Princess of Wales. It was proper that the Princess of Wales should be supported by parliament, provided for by parliament, but not in such a manner as to give her a victory over her husband. As the noble lord had in view the same object, not perhaps as the Princess of Wales had, but as the parliament ought to have, he was glad to accede to his suggestion, and to suffer the motion of the hon. gentleman to be withdrawn; because if the hon. gentleman persisted in his motion, and failed, he would injure the cause he espoused; and if he succeeded, he would do no more than the ministers consented to do. The dispute was about the manner, and the manner of the hon. gentleman would fail, while that of the noble lord would succeed: He could not, therefore, but prefer the manner of the noble lord. The case was this: papers had been communicated to the Speaker, and by him to the House, containing a correspondence, which stated that the Prince of Wales would not enter any company where his wife should be. What did this prove?—An entire separation in mind; as what had been said by the noble lord, proved a complete separation by instrument between the Prince of Wales and his wife.—By parliament, what course was to be taken, if they were to enter into the quarrel? (which certainly should never be done but in the last instance.) To attempt to oblige his Royal Highness to take back his wife would be unjustifiable—to interfere to procure her admission to the queen's drawing-rooms, was a power which it might be doubted whether or no it was within the province of the House to exert, it being a matter not strictly political, but comparatively trivial. How, then, could the House act, but

by providing for the lady—by declaring, that as she was not admitted to share in the establishment of her husband, parliament would give her one of her own? This he thought the best possible way of proceeding for the interest of the wife, the feelings of the husband, and the dignity of the House."

Lord Castlereagh said, "that, as he found the sense of the House to be in favour of an addition to the revenue of the Princess of Wales, though he had no positive instruction upon the subject, yet from his general knowledge of the sentiments of the Prince Regent, he felt himself justified in giving his consent to any measure that had in view to effectuate that object."

Mr Methuen accordingly withdrew his motion once more.

On the 4th of July, Lord Castlereagh, after some unimportant discussion as to the matter of form, moved, in a committee upon the documents referred by the Princess of Wales to the House, "that it is the opinion of the committee that his Majesty be enabled to grant the annual sum of 50,000l. out of the consolidated fund of Great Britain, for the maintenance of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales." In support of this proposition Lord Castlereagh observed, "it is my wish, before I proceed further into the subject, to correct some misapprehensions as to the nature and extent of the income of the Princess of Wales, which have gone abroad at various periods, but which do not vary the result. An hon. member has repeated the statement made by an hon. gentleman (Mr Methuen) on a former night, that previous to the year 1800, the income of the Princess of Wales was 17,000l., besides the 5,000l. for her privy purse, paid out of the Exchequer. If I am correctly informed, drawing my intelligence through the most authentic channels, the Princess of Wales, previous to the year 1800, had no fixed annual income, and that after that year 12,000l. were allowed. While her Royal Highness continued to reside at Carlton House, her fixed income was only 5,000l. allowed by act of parliament, her other expences being paid out of the general fund for domestic charges, as the bills of the Prince of Wales. It is entirely a mistake to suppose, that upon any occasion I spoke of a formal deed of separation: That which amounted to the same thing was signed in 1800, which first established a fixed income for the Princess of Wales. It is not the fact that the Princess of Wales was allowed 20,000l. before she quitted Carlton House; but it is true, that on leaving it 12,000l. a-year was granted, not as any deduction, but as a new arrangement, and a fixed income. I must repeat, what I said upon a former night, that, considering the existing circumstances of his Royal Highness, this allowance was as liberal or more liberal than any individual so situated would have given; it exceeded one quarter of his whole income. I will not enter now into any arguments respecting extravagancies on either side, but on the part of the Prince of Wales, I do maintain, that he acted in this engagement with the same liberality that has ever marked his conduct towards the Princess of Wales. He took upon himself, in 1809, the payment of 49,000l., the debt of his wife, who lived in a state of separation, and rather than allow her creditors to suffer, he put himself to great personal inconvenience. With respect to the amount of the debts of the Princess of Wales, the hon. member and the House will see that if the sum of 49,000l., paid in 1809, be divided into an annual income between that date and the separation in 1800, it will appear that the annual income of the Princess of Wales was more than 22,000l. per annum. This was ex-

clusive of the sums paid out of the droits of Admiralty, amounting to 32,000l. and 6,000l. The actual reduction, however, of the Prince of Wales's income, from 1800 to 1809, was 22,000l. per annum. It now came to the question, what addition it was fit to make to the revenue of the Princess of Wales, and what sum it was expedient for parliament to grant?

"At the time the arrangement was made in 1809, it was intended to be final and binding upon the parties who treated, as in a state of absolute and complete separation. However conclusive it might be upon them, it does not, however, preclude parliament from interfering to enable the Princess of Wales to maintain an establishment more suited to her station in the country. The measure which, under all the circumstances, I think most desirable, is to raise the income of the Princess of Wales to that point to which it would be raised in the event of the demise of the Prince Regent; for, without entering into legal details as to the nature of the separation, it is universally known to be as complete, in fact, as any separation which can take place between two persons. As, therefore, the Princess of Wales cannot be in the enjoyment of those advantages which, if both these illustrious persons lived together, she would receive, and as it is not within the province of parliament to investigate the causes of these differences, nor consistent with the interest or dignity of the royal family that any question respecting their differences should be entertained in this House—it seems consistent with justice that her Royal Highness should be placed in the same situation pending this separation, in which she would stand in the event of another calamity. By the proposition which I shall submit to the committee, the income of her Royal Highness will thus be raised to a net amount of 50,000*l.* per annum. The manner in which I wish to propose this income to be payable, is, that the whole charge of it should rest on the consolidated fund, instead of being in part issued from the income of the Prince Regent, and in part from the Exchequer, as is the case at present; and that the public shall be indemnified to the amount of the sum which is at present paid to the Princess of Wales, out of the income of the Prince Regent.

"As to the nature of the arrangement formerly made between the Prince of Wales and the Princess, the object was, that his Royal Highness should not be, subsequently to the signing of that paper, liable to the debts contracted by the Princess. It is true that it was only on the generosity of his Royal Highness that the creditors of the Princess had any claim; as they had not complied with the rules of the law enacted for the regulation of the Prince of Wales's income, in which it was enacted, 'that unless all debts were given in within three months after they had been contracted, they should not be re-claimable.' Thus it was to the generosity of his Royal Highness, that the creditors of the Princess of Wales were indebted for the payment which has been alluded to, and not to any want, on the part of his Royal Highness, of legal protection. But his Royal Highness was not secure against being liable to the future debts of the Princess, as he might at any time have been obliged to pay any debt contracted by the Princess, if her creditors had taken the trouble to give in their claims to the Prince within the stated time. It may be doubted, indeed, whether it would not have been a sufficient bar to the recovery from the Prince of all debts contracted by the Princess of Wales, that the two illustrious persons were

notoriously in a state of separation, and that her Royal Highness had a separate allowance assigned for her sustenance. If in such a case, independently of all deeds of separation, the creditors of the wife could not recover, *à fortiori* with a deed of separation they could not have any claim. But it was the peculiar situation of the Prince of Wales at that time, that, for the purpose of justice to his actual creditors, the parliament had taken away from him the ability of incurring debts, and from entering into any deed which might affect his income. It was thus that his Royal Highness required the protection of the law more than any other subject, and it was to this purpose that the paper which has been presented to the House was drawn up, and his majesty's signature affixed, not only as a proof of the separation of the illustrious parties, and the separate maintenance, but that there was not only the separation *de facto*, but such an improbability, or rather impossibility, that a termination of this separation should take place, that his majesty was induced to lend his sanction to the deed of arrangement. From motives of delicacy, his Royal Highness had, at the same time, undertaken to pay the debts previously contracted by the Princess, with the assurance on the part of his majesty, conveyed in the paper which has been mentioned, that in future cases, if any such occurred, he should be allowed to seek protection from parliament.

"As to the nature of the regulations of the measure, it will be unnecessary for me to detail them minutely, untill the bill itself shall be submitted to the consideration of parliament. It will not be adviseable to place her Royal Highness under the same disability in which the parliament has thought fit to place the Princess of Wales, because, in fact, no debt has been lately incurred by her Royal Highness to call for the interference of parliament. Another object of the measure I shall propose is, to protect the Prince Regent from the payment of any debts which may in future be contracted by the Princess of Wales, as her Royal Highness will now have a distinct separate income charged on the consolidated fund. I wish to propose that the net annual sum of 50,000*l.* be granted to the Princess of Wales, and that the 5,000*l.* per annum, and the 17,000*l* per annum, which she at present enjoys, be withheld from the Prince Regent's income."

Although the House of Commons had thus expressed its readiness to provide in a very handsome manner for the establishment of the Princess of Wales, yet this illustrious person declined to profit by a disposition so liberal; and, in a letter to the Speaker, expressed her wish that 35 in place of 50,000l. per annum should be granted her. The ministers of the crown were thus placed in an awkward situation, the larger grant having been proposed by them. Lord Castlereagh accordingly, when the report of the committee was brought up, "rose to call the attention of the House to the letter to the chair from her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, in which she was pleased to intimate to the House, that it would be more satisfactory to her if the vote of the committee of 50,000l. was reduced to 35,000l. per annum. It was certainly his duty to conform to whatever was most acceptable to her Royal Highness. He merely wished at present to state what were the considerations which had influenced his conduct on this occasion. He should not have thought of submitting the proposition which he made to the House, if he had not previously apprised her Royal Highness of the measure which he had in contemplation. On the evening of the day on which

he had laid the papers connected with this subject before the House, he made a communication to her Royal Highness of these papers, and of the course of proceeding which he meant to follow. He was honoured with a reply from her Royal Highness, stating her willingness to accept the grant offered her, because it was not clogged with any conditions derogatory to her rights or her honour, and was not an act of grace or favour on the part of the crown, but one of mere right and justice. Thus he had had every reason to consider this provision as having been accepted by her Royal Highness, being, as she was pleased to state it, not an act of grace or favour, but of justice. On the evening when the vote took place, he informed her that in a day or two he hoped to be able to lay the bill before her, and that no regulations should be inserted in it of a nature differing in any degree from the regulations in the resolution of the committee, and that as she was possessed of those regulations, she could judge whether they were not in every respect conformable to her wishes. He afterwards transmitted to her Royal Highness a copy of the bill, framed in conformity with the actual vote which had taken place. He had been honoured with a reply, in which her Royal Highness still intimated that she accepted of the provision, and again stated that she considered it not in the light of an act of grace or favour, but an act of justice. Now, what he wanted at present was to be assured of what her Royal Highness's wishes really were; because, if this renunciation of part of the sum voted to her was the spontaneous wish of her Royal Highness, he would feel himself precluded, on a principle of public duty, from voting any part of the public money to a subject who was not inclined to receive it. He must conceive, that the letter to the chair was more conclusive on that subject than the one to himself; because, while the letter he had received was couched in general terms, the other was specific. In following his present intention, therefore, he conceived himself to be acting in the spirit of her Royal Highness's wishes on the subject. If parliament, however, thought proper on this occasion to relax, and to agree to the diminution of what it had voted as an act of justice, he hoped that no persons would be allowed, on that account, at any future period, to revive in that House discussions connected with the royal family—discussions which were painful to every person in the country who felt a proper respect for the royal dignity, and could not be sufficiently deplored by every person in the House. If they now receded from what they were pleased to vote to her Royal Highness as an act of justice, he hoped they would not again hear the question of an act of justice revived. He trusted it would now be considered that every disposition had been shewn to make every arrangement in this case consistent with her Royal Highness's comfort; and that parliament would be relieved from all future application on her behalf. If there were any individual who could give the House fuller information of her Royal Highness's sentiments, he could wish him to lay such information before them. He understood the letter to the chair came by the hands of an hon. gentleman opposite. Both letters, that to himself, and the one to the chair, were of the same date, the 5th instant; but the former being more general, he should feel no hesitation, if he received the assurance of the hon. gentleman opposite, that in so doing he was fulfilling the wishes of her Royal Highness, in moving, that the vote of 50,000l. a-year to the Princess of Wales be reduced to 35,000l."

Mr Whitbread said, "he had to complain of the noble lord for putting an interpretation on the conduct of himself and his friends, as if they had been the agitators of the questions in that House regarding the Princess of Wales. This was a construction, the justice of which he for one would always strenuously deny. The noble lord had correctly enough stated the communication which had taken place between her Royal Highness and himself. When the noble lord, on presenting the papers relating to her Royal Highness to the House, was first asked, if he had made any communication of those papers and of his intentions, the noble lord answered that measures had been taken for making that communication. The noble lord did communicate the papers, and in the letter to her Royal Highness he informed her that he had made a communication of them to the House, and that it was his intention on a future day to move an augmentation of her allowance. To this letter her Royal Highness returned an answer without any advice from himself, or any person with whom he was in the habit of acting. He would repeat part of the contents of his lordship's first letter. After stating that he had made that evening to the House a communication of the document relating to the separation in 1809, he acquainted her that those papers had been referred to a committee of the whole House, in which it was his intention to move that her allowance should be augmented to 50,000l. per annum. He thought he was correct, then, in his assertion, that the noble lord had not made any communication to her Royal Highness till after the statement in that House. The noble lord had communicated correctly the substance of her Royal Highness's first letter; the consent and acceptance in that letter were expressed in very general terms. When the noble lord sent the bill, a written answer was then also returned to him, intimating also a general acquiescence in the measure. This letter was also written by her Royal Highness without any adviser. After that, he had no hesitation in saying, that when he was consulted on the subject by her Royal Highness, he stated to her that the sum was disapproved of by him, as being larger than circumstances required—larger than what he could consent to vote for,—and larger than what he thought the noble lord ought to have proposed. Her Royal Highness did then say that she approved of the proposition of the noble lord, but the amount of the sum had never entered into her consideration; she then wrote the letter to the chair in her own hand. He thought that the sum of 35,000l. a-year was amply sufficient for her situation at this time, till the period should arrive, fixed by act of parliament, at which she would have to receive 50,000l. a-year. Her Royal Highness therefore gratefully and thankfully accepted of the 35,000l. a-year as fully sufficient for all her purposes. However painful any discussions on the subject of her Royal Highness, or any member of the royal family be, all he could say was, that whether the allowance should be 50,000l. or 35,000l. a-year, things were precisely in the same situation in every respect. There was not entertained by the friends of the Princess of Wales, the slightest idea that she was less in need of the protection of the House, by receiving 50,000l. a-year than by receiving only 35,000l. Her Royal Highness had accepted the provision on the condition that it was not derogatory to her honour; and whether the sum should be 50,000l. or 35,000l., she had not the slighest idea that the difference of the sum made in that respect the slightest difference in her situation. He should have

voted against the 50,000l. because he thought that sum improper, and he would now vote for the 35,000l., because he considered it what the circumstances of her Royal Highness required."

Lord Castlereagh said, "that he should not have proposed the grant of 50,000l., had he been informed that it was the wish of the Princess of Wales that the sum should not be considerable, but from the note of her Royal Highness he naturally implied directly the reverse. It was impossible that she could think, at the time he communicated the intended proposal, that the vote had already been passed for a sum, the whole of which, he imagined, was in justice due to her. The hon. member had fairly avowed that he had been the adviser of her Royal Highness, but he (Lord Castlereagh) should be sorry to find hereafter that the council given had induced the Princess of Wales to adopt a different line of conduct from that which her real feelings dictated. The design of the House was to give a liberal income, but if the Princess of Wales had now finally receded, on consultation, from what his lordship had first understood to be spontaneous and uncontrolled desire, he should most cheerfully accommodate the resolution to her wishes, by altering the vote to 35,000l. The same amendment must also be made in the bill. The determination of parliament would, undoubtedly, make a beneficial change in the circumstances of her Royal Highness; instead of being dependent upon the voluntary provision made by the Prince Regent, her income would, by right, be derived from the consolidated fund, and that sum must, *pro tanto*, form a part of the income she would receive in case of the death of the illustrious individual now placed at the head of public affairs."

After much discussion, in which Mr Whitbread and others, who had advised the Princess of Wales during these unfortunate proceedings, endeavoured to vindicate their conduct, the question was put, and on the suggestion of Lord Castlereagh, the amendment of 35, instead of 50,000l. per annum, was introduced. A bill was ordered to be brought in to carry the resolution into effect.

Upon the 14th July, when the order of the day for the second reading of the bill was moved, Mr Tierney said, "that he felt it necessary to trouble the House with a few observations upon this measure; but he begged to premise his remarks by stating, that in offering them he did not act either with the knowledge of the Princess of Wales, or after consulting with any of the gentlemen who had been accustomed to advise her Royal Highness. His observations proceeded intirely from his own view of the subject. He was much surprised at the enactments of the bill before the House: the preamble stated, that it was to enable his Majesty to settle an annuity upon the Princess of Wales. In framing it, the noble lord was authorised to go no further than he was warranted by the terms of the resolution of the House, augmenting the income of the Princess of Wales; but the whole of this measure, two clauses excepted, related entirely to transactions of the year 1809, regarding the arrangement then made between the Prince and Princess of Wales. What relation they had to the present bill he could not understand. The bill, among other things, recited, that the Prince Regent was not in future to be liable to any of the debts of the Princess of Wales. Whether a provision declaring 'that his Royal Highness was under no legal obligation to pay those debts,' was sou[illegible] law, he was not competent to decide, but it did seem as if the greater part of the bill had been devised in

order to prevent any liability on the part of the Prince Regent. The main objection he had to it was, that the bill dealt most unfairly by her Royal Highness, and perverted to the most invidious purposes the arrangement of 1809. One of the papers brought down by the noble lord purported to be an agreement between the Prince and Princess of Wales. It appeared that, in 1809, the creditors of the Princess of Wales represented to Mr Perceval and the Duke of Portland, that her Royal Highness was indebted to them in the sum of 49,000l. which circumstance Mr Perceval stated to the Prince Regent, who took upon himself the payment of that sum. In order, however, to guard himself against future demands, he proposed to obtain the sanction of an act of parliament, or of an order in council to the same effect. Of the last, he was informed that it was not customary to make such a use; and to the first, it was not then convenient to resort, since it was not deemed expedient to come to parliament at that time. The House would bear this circumstance in mind, because it was the duty of the noble lord to shew why it was now more expedient and fit to resort to parliament than at the former period. What he contended was, that nothing new had occurred to justify such a proceeding. Since the Prince Regent could be provided with neither of these safe-guards, a paper was signed by the parties, which augmented the income of the Princess of Wales 5000l., and was deemed, under the sanction of his Majesty, adaquate to the purpose, which was given in another document, laid upon the table. He then read to the House an extract from this last document, stating that such a guarantee was extremely reasonable, and providing, that if the Princess of Wales should again be found to have incurred debts, application should be immediately made to parliament, praying that an act might be passed to indemnify the Prince Regent from the payment of those debts. Now, he would ask what had happened since 1809, that could subject the Princess to the provisions of the present bill? No application, it appeared, was to have been made to parliament for any enactment to secure the Prince of Wales from debts contracted by the Princess, unless she exceeded the income settled on her, or contracted debts which she had refused to discharge. Had this happened? So far from it, the Princess of Wales had discharged, out of her income, a debt of 3600l. due at the time of the agreement. And was it not hard, that, at the time when the House was professing to do an act of liberality, they should mislead the country into a belief, that they were obliged to provide some security for the Prince of Wales against the debts of the Princess, because her word or signature was not sufficient? And this while, instead of asking for money, the Princess had been the first of the royal family who had refused money! The noble lord seemed to treat this matter with great levity; but the paper, which was before the House, was drawn up only because his Majesty would not consent to bring the Princess before parliament in 1809; while now she was brought before parliament as a person who had violated her word. He had thus stated his opinion on the second reading, with the intention to go further into the subject in the committee. What he at present wished to ask of the noble lord was, Did he say that the Princess of Wales had departed from the agreement of 1809? Did he bring her before parliament as a person who had exceeded her income? If, on this head, the noble lord could give him satisfaction,--if the noble lord could prove that the Princess had ever exceeded her income since the agreement of

1809,—he should give him no further trouble."

Lord Castlereagh said, "that he had, on a former night, distinctly disclaimed any belief that the Princess had incurred any debts; and, on that account, he had not thought it necessary to put her Royal Highness's proposed income under the regulations to which the income of some other branches of the royal family had been placed. It was for reasons, perfectly distinct, that he had proposed the bill as it stood. It was said that the title covered nothing but a grant of money to the Princess, and that the resolutions of the committee went only to this extent. But he contended, that it was naturally open to parliament, in granting any money, to accompany it with any regulations which they might think fit. As to the title merely, it would be open to the right hon. gentleman in the committee to propose an amendment. It had been said, that the papers, which had been laid before the House, had nothing to do with the grant to the Princess. He apprehended that they had most materially to do with the grant; for it would have been a reasonable ground of complaint, if the House had not been informed of the incompetency of the Princess's income, before any addition to it was proposed. It was also most proper, on account of the other provisions in the bill, to know what income the Princess derived from the Prince of Wales. As to the agreement of 1809, the only motive why it had not, at that time, been thought fit to come to parliament, (though a parliamentary enactment, even then, was thought the only measure which would be perfectly satisfactory,) was, that it was deemed most expedient, if it could be avoided, that the concerns of the royal family should not at all be entered into by parliament. And as the Prince of Wales, at that time, had found means to pay the debts contracted by the Princess, and to increase her income, an application of the kind was unnecessary. The right hon. gentleman had said, that the paper stated that the Prince of Wales was not liable to the debts of the Princess. As a general principle, the contrary was stated in the papers; but, for the debts to the amount of 40,000l. at that time owing by the Princess, it was true, that he was not liable, because the creditors had not complied with the regulations of the act of parliament respecting the Prince's revenue. But as the Prince was prospectively liable, it was then thought proper that he should be secured against any fresh debts. But, it was said by the right hon. gentleman, why make a provision of that kind at present, but to throw a reflection on the Princess? The obvious answer was, that by the bill before the House a total change was effected in the Princess of Wales's income. The income of the Princess, or any part of it, was not now at the discretion of the Prince Regent; but it had been thought proper to give the whole income out of the consolidated fund, and to take from the Prince the 22,000l. a-year which he was in the habit of paying to the Princess. At present, therefore, the state of the case was very different from that in which it stood under the agreement between the parties. For, at that time, though the creditors of the Princess might have made their claims legal debts of the Prince, by complying with the regulations of the act of parliament, yet, not only might the Prince have secured himself prospectively by an application to parliament, but he had in his power the 22,000l. a-year, from whence he could deduct the debts contracted by the Princess, for which he was made liable. As the bill before the

House took from the Prince all dominion over the Princess's revenue, it was but just that the Princess should not be entitled to make any claim on that of his Royal Highness. Such an enactment, which was only that which the natural justice of the case between the parties required, conveyed no imputation on the Princess. For it would be to invert the order of nature, to make his Royal Highness dependent on the Princess while there was no dependence on her part. The right honourable gentleman might have known, though not admitted to that intimacy with her Royal Highness to which some other members were, that the Princess felt no such apprehensions on this subject as the right honourable gentleman entertained for her. In that letter to him (Lord Castlereagh), in which she had not, as he thought, shewn that repugnance to accept the public money which the right honourable gentleman had mentioned—which repugnance did not, in fact, exist, until her advisers had created it—in that letter, she stated that there was nothing in the proposed measure inconsistent with her rights, her rank, and her honour. He hoped this would relieve the right honourable gentleman from the fears which he entertained."

The bill ultimately received the sanction of parliament.

Soon after obtaining from parliament the pecuniary grant of which the history has now been traced, the Princess of Wales intimated her determination of retiring to the continent. This resolution seems to have alarmed some gentlemen very much; and on the 30th July, the very day on which parliament was prorogued, Mr Tierney appeared in the House of Commons, and observed, "that, as he saw Lord Castlereagh in his place, he wished to ask him some questions on a subject of great public importance. It had been currently reported, that her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales had made an application, through his Majesty's ministers, for permission to return to the continent. Whether that application had been made with a view merely to a temporary visit to her Royal Highness's brother, at Brunswick, or whether it was to be understood as involving an intention on the part of her Royal Highness to leave this country altogether—in either case, he could not contemplate it without deep regret. Unquestionably he could conceive the possibility of the existence of such a claim on her Royal Highness, as would demand her temporary preference of another country, although it required the utmost strain of his imagination to do so. If, therefore, the noble lord should reply, that her Royal Highness's absence would be but temporary, and if the noble lord would pledge himself to take proper precautions for insuring her Royal Highness's early return, he should have no great objections to the visit. But if he should find that it was the intention of her Royal Highness, as expressed either by herself, or by any of the ministers of the crown, to leave this country for the purpose of taking up her permanent abode on the continent, against such a step he must protest most solemnly. The present was not a time that would admit of many observations [the usher of the Black Rod was every moment expected]; but he could not refrain from taking the only opportunity which was afforded him of declaring that he stood perfectly clear from any interference or knowledge on this subject. This he felt himself to be the more imperiously called upon to state, because on the recent question with respect to the augmentation of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales's income, he

and an honourable friend of his, not then present (Mr Whitbread), had been the only two members on that side of the House who had taken an active part in the proceedings. On that, and on every other occasion in which the consideration of her Royal Highness's situation had been involved, he had uniformly and distinctly declared, that so far from having either directly or indirectly advised her Royal Highness, he had never in his life uttered a single word to her Royal Highness, and had never even had the honour of being introduced to her. That declaration he solemnly repeated, because out of doors it was not impossible but that an impression of a contrary nature might be made by what had occurred. For the increase of her Royal Highness's establishment he certainly had voted; but he protested, that he had not done so on mere pecuniary grounds, but because he conceived, that by obtaining that additional grant her Royal Highness would shew the world that she had the countenance and support of the House of Commons, and that they considered her to be entitled to their protection. But if, at the bottom of that proposition, there existed any arrangement savouring of an understanding that the public should be deemed to have paid the price of her Royal Highness's quitting the country, in that arrangement, if it did exist, he solemnly protested that he had no hand. He would not have voted for the additional grant had he supposed such a thing possible. He was sure the House would not have acceded to it had they supposed such a thing possible. He was sure that the House acquiesced in the proposition only because they wished that her Royal Highness should be enabled to maintain her rank with adequate splendour in this country. If any such scheme as that to which he had alluded was actually in contemplation, he trusted that the noble lord was not a party to it; and he hoped that the noble lord would take care that the public should not be burdened by its consequences. He repeated his conviction, that parliament had not entertained any such idea as to vote an additional income to her Royal Highness for the purpose of its being spent abroad. The only justifiable ground of that vote, even in its reduced state, was, that it was necessary to the proper splendour of her Royal Highness in this country. If, notwithstanding, her Royal Highness should go abroad, he trusted that the ministers of the crown would take care that no remittance should be sent from this country without the leave of parliament. He had been induced to make these observations by the persuasion that the course which he had pursued on this subject had exposed him to much misconstruction, from the effects of which he was desirous to guard himself by once more protesting against the departure of her Royal Highness, and calling on ministers to prevent any remittances from being sent abroad, without the sanction of parliament."

Lord Castlereagh confessed, "that he felt great difficulty to determine in what light he was to consider the observations which the right hon. gentleman had just made. He had understood him to say, that he wished merely to ask some questions; instead of which he had thought proper to make a speech—and a speech of considerable extent. As to the questions themselves, he must say that the right hon. gentleman was a little unfortunate in his selection of the person to whom he addressed them. An hon. friend of the right hon. gentleman's, not then present, must be much better acquainted with her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales's intentions, being much more

in the confidence of her Royal Highness than he had the honour to be. For his part, he knew nothing of her Royal Highness's intentions. All he knew was, that her Royal Highness had signified to one of his Majesty's ministers, in order that it might be communicated to the Prince Regent, her Royal Highness's intention to go to the continent. What the right hon. gentleman's motives had been in voting for the late addition to her Royal Highness's income he knew not; but he was persuaded that, in agreeing to that proposition, the House had no intention of imprisoning her Royal Highness in this country, or of preventing her Royal Highness from residing wherever considerations of her own pleasure or convenience might induce her to take up her abode."

This conversation, of course, led to no result; and, in a short time afterwards, the Princess of Wales repaired to the continent.

Thus ended, and let us hope for ever, the discussion of a matter painful and humiliating to all the well-disposed and reflecting part of the British public. It is one of the many disadvantages attending exalted rank, that those subjects of a delicate and domestic nature, which men of inferior station contrive successfully to withdraw from public observation, are, in their case, dragged forward into light, and, like an ill-treated wound, galled on all hands by the officious tampering of ignorant or designing intermeddlers. It is now vain to enquire whether prudence and forbearance might not have prevented the original quarrel from widening into a public breach; but when, unhappily, it became so, the result was easy to be foreseen. When a passage was opened to malicious tale-bearing and artful misrepresentation,—when each word or line that passed upon a subject so painful was to go through the ordeal of examination by those whose interest it was to discover matter of offence in it, the discord of the royal pair was no longer their own quarrel, but the food and maintenance of all who were willing, on either part, to court the temporary favour of the party on whose side they were arranged, by being loud, clamorous, and indignant in their behalf. We have no wish to recal to memory the humiliating circumstances which have attended this rupture,—the intrigues of knights and fair informers on the one side, or of hack-scribblers and ladies of honour on the other. Only thus far we must say, that much of the sympathy which the general feeling of the British nation attached to the situation of the Princess of Wales, while she bore with dignified silence a situation attended with many hardships, was lost so soon as the cry of party opened in her behalf. Men remembered who were the friends and confidants of the Prince Regent at the time when the celebrated enquiry into her conduct took place, and marvelled what new light rendered them so sensible, in 1814, to the wrongs which, when first inflicted, had neither received oil nor balm at their hands. The affectation of zeal and activity, with which these statesmen became suddenly animated, in a cause which, when they had better opportunities of defending it, they had regarded with supine indifference, had a suspicious air with every impartial person above the mere mob, and occasioned it to be generally remarked, that the loss of the husband's favour, rather than the alleged wrongs of the wife, was at the bottom of this untimely clamour. We have little doubt that the royal personage, whose interest was assumed as the pretext for these discussions, must have become sensible, that, for the sake of her daughter, and of the nation over which she

is, in all human likelihood, destined to reign, it was fit to remove the possibility of their being renewed. Her departure for the continent was supposed to have been resolved without much previous communication with those who had been her late champions and advisers, and some of whom expressed no small displeasure at the last court-card, if it may be so called, being thus unexpectedly conjured out of their hand. If it was an unsuggested measure, adopted by her Royal Highness's own reflection, it was a wise and generous one, and we hope will be rewarded by that family peace and concord to which she offered the sacrifice which her departure from England involves; and we sincerely trust that it has ended the painful necessity of recording discussions, gratifying only to that malignant curiosity which loves to dwell on those weaknesses that level rulers with their subjects, and diminish the wholesome respect due to those in lawful authority over us.

CHAPTER VI.

Discussions in Parliament on the Slave Trade.—On the Conduct of Great Britain towards Norway.

THE attention of parliament was directed during the present session, not merely to the great features of the policy of the British empire, but to questions in which the general principles of humanity and the common interests of the species were deeply involved. The parliament had strenuously and faithfully maintained by its firmness the honour of the empire; and by its well-directed zeal in supporting the measures of the government, Great Britain, and with her the other states of Europe, had been rescued from the grasp of a relentless despotism. The task which parliament had already performed was great and honourable, but it had a mixture in it of that selfishness (if selfishness indeed it can be called) which forms the basis even of the virtue of patriotism. But it was now to shew itself resolute and ardent in defending not only the liberties of the British empire—not the independence of Europe alone—but the interests of justice and humanity all over the world. England, although more deeply interested than any other European nation in the supposed advantages of that nefarious traffic, which, to use the language of a celebrated orator, "kept down a great continent in bondage, ignorance, and blood," had been the first to break the chains of the enslaved Africans, and to set an example to the world of the triumph of liberal and humane principles over blind and sordid cupidity; and her legislators were now determined that so far as her influence might extend over other nations, it should be exerted to put down for ever that disgraceful and scandalous system which had so long stained the character of the most enlightened nations of Europe.

It was well known to the enlightened advocates for the abolition of the slave trade, that the restoration of peace among the nations of the continent would inevitably lead to the revival of the slave trade, unless some effectual measures were taken to avert so dreadful a calamity. Mr Wilberforce, therefore, on the 2d of May, made the following motion in the House of Commons, "That an humble address be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to assure his Royal Highness, that this House, relying with perfect confidence on the solemn assurances received by parliament in 1806 and 1810, that his majesty's government would

employ every proper means to obtain a convention of the powers of Europe for the immediate and universal abolition of the African Slave Trade, beg leave humbly and earnestly to represent to his Royal Highness, that the happy and glorious events which promise the general pacification of Christendom, the present union and assembly of its greatest sovereigns, and the great and generous principles which they proclaim as the rule of their conduct, afford a most auspicious opportunity for interposing the good offices of Great Britain to accomplish the above noble purpose, with the weight which belongs to her rank among nations, to the services which she has rendered to European independence, and to the unanimous and zealous concurrence of her parliament and people:

"That we feel ourselves authorized, by our own abolition of this trade, of the guilty profits of which we enjoyed the largest share, by the fellowship of civilization, of religion, and even of common humanity, to implore the other members of the commonwealth of Europe to signalize the restoration of its order and security by the prohibition of this detestable commerce, the common stain of the Christian name, a system of crimes by which the civilized professors of a beneficent religion spread desolation and perpetuate barbarism among helpless savages, whom they are bound, by the most sacred obligations of duty, to protect, to instruct, and to reclaim:

"Humbly to represent to his Royal Highness, that the high rank which this kingdom holds among maritime and colonial states imposes a very serious duty upon the British government at this important juncture; and that, unless we interpose, with effect, to procure a general abolition, the practical result of the restoration of peace will be to revive a traffic which we have prohibited as a crime, to open the sea to swarms of piratical adventurers, who will renew and extend, on the shores of Africa, the scenes of carnage and rapine in a great measure suspended by maritime hostilities, and the peace of Christendom will kindle a thousand ferocious wars among wretched tribes, ignorant of our quarrels and of our very name:

"That the nations who have owed the security of their navigation to our friendship, and whom we have been happy enough to aid in expelling their oppressors, and maintaining their independence, cannot listen without respect to our voice raised in the cause of justice and humanity; and that, among the great states, till of late our enemies, maritime hostility has in fact abolished the trade for twenty years, no interest is engaged in it, and the legal permission to carry it on would practically be a new establishment of it, after the full developement of its horrors:

"That we humbly trust, that in the moral order by which Divine Providence administers the government of the world, this great act of atonement to Africa may contribute to consolidate the safety and prolong the tranquillity of Europe, that nations may be taught a higher respect for justice and humanity by the example of their sovereigns, and that a treaty, sanctioned by such a disinterested and sacred stipulation, may be more profoundly reverenced, and more religiously observed, than even the most equitable compacts for the regulation of power or the distribution of territory."

In support of this motion, this great advocate of the principles of humanity observed, "that in rising to make the motion which he now intended to propose, he felt gratified in reflecting that it would not be necessary to take up the time of the House, by detailing, at any length, those considerations which

rendered such a step advisable. The House had already recognized and acted upon them in 1806 and 1810, when they consented to an address to the throne, similar, in effect, to what he now wished them to adopt. It was impossible for any one to open his eyes, and look abroad upon the world, without feeling that there never was a period when the general circumstances of all nations were more favourable to such a motion than the present, and when there existed such powerful motives for them to accede to its object. It was something to have an occasion like this presented, when all the great powers of Europe were assembled in congress to consider and discuss the very elements, as it were, of their own political rights; it was something to have such a moment presented for urging the consideration of the wrongs of Africa. When, indeed, he reflected upon these circumstances, and when he recalled to memory that extraordinary succession of providential events which had placed the world in its present state of hope and security, he could not but contemplate in them the hand of the Almighty stretched out for the deliverance of mankind. And what more acceptable token of gratitude could be displayed towards heaven—what more acceptable proof of our delight and thankfulness for such mercies, than a measure like the one he now meant to propose? It might be truly said, that the great continental powers had been acting in its very spirit and effect; and when, too, were considered the provocations that all of them had received, and some in particular, and the glorious revenge they had taken, saving from ruin instead of inflicting it; the recognition of the principles he was about to recommend was so plain, that it afforded a sure ground and confident hope that they would be acknowledged, in all which he now wished to obtain, as a sequel merely of what they had so nobly begun. There was but one objection that he had ever heard made against the proceeding he meant to recommend; and that was, when he had been talking of the continental powers acceding immediately to a general abolition of the slave trade, the reply had been, why we ourselves did not abolish it till after eighteen or nineteen years of enquiry, and how can we expect that they should do it precipitately? But this was not the fact. When the features of that trade were truly developed, when its character was fully known, when its effects were thoroughly understood, we got rid of it directly. It was on its trial during that time, and its sentence followed immediately upon conviction. When the whole system was unfolded, every one acknowledged that we were bound to abolish it, as a traffic inconsistent with every feeling of justice, religion, and humanity. When the question was first entered upon, no one properly understood its details; by degrees, however, the light broke in upon that den of serpents; and when it did so, and it was seen in all its hideous deformity, there existed but one opinion among men of any sense of duty, or any feelings of humanity. It should be remembered too, that great and powerful interests were opposed to it. It was said, our commerce would be destroyed, our marine would be destroyed, and that our settlements in the West Indies could not subsist at all without a regular importation of slaves; while in Africa they would continue to be brought down to the coast, and when no market was open for them they would be murdered. Thus it was foretold, that nothing but disaster would take place in Europe, in the western hemisphere, and in Africa itself, by the abolition; yet all these predictions proved fallacious; and therefore, in soliciting other coun-

tries to adopt the same course, we call upon them to run no risk, nor to attempt any untried scheme. But, in fact, the greater nations of Europe, and particularly France, had no direct interest in the continuance of this trade. With regard to France, the war had practically abolished it for many years past; and, therefore, if carried on by her, it would be creating it anew. In that country, therefore, there was no commerce to be destroyed, no marine to suffer, no manufactures to decay, as a consequence of not participating in this traffic. The hon. member then drew a parallel between what had been the conduct of Buonaparte with respect to the slave trade, and the difficulty which Mr Fox had found in persuading him that our abolition of it arose from any principle of justice; and what might be expected from the virtues, humanity, and religious feelings of Louis the 18th. With regard to Spain also, happier results might be anticipated. She was not now in a situation where she feared to displease any particular city; she was no longer placed in those delicate circumstances; her power was more secured, and she was now placed in a condition that enabled her to think of safety and honour in the way that nations and individuals always secured it, by a rigid adherence to just and honourable principles. Looking to Portugal, he entertained similar hopes; and he would not now go into a paper which he held in his hand, and which had been issued by that government. It was a sort of vindication of what is called the Middle Passage; and the principle of it was, that the slave trade should be carried on by the ports of Brazil, till the population of that extensive country was in proportion to its magnitude. He had really never read a paper which contained so much feeling and humanity. Any person perusing it might think that its whole object was, to diffuse the greatest possible happiness among the most favoured individuals. It was, in truth, a melancholy document; and yet he was pleased with it. It at least shewed, that the Portuguese government were attentive to the calls of humanity, though in this instance it had been perverted, because they were deceived as to the occasions for exerting it. When they were reminded, that this trade was wholly incompatible with humanity, and when the Prince Regent of Portugal was convinced of the impolicy of supplying the Brazils with a factitious population, there could be no doubt that he would resolve to co-operate cordially with this country. This co-operation would be more prompt and effective also, when the removal of the court of Portugal to Europe should have taken place. With regard to the other powers of Europe,—Russia, Austria, and Prussia, who were unstained by a traffic which we, to our shame be it spoken, had once participated in, let it not be supposed that they would be indifferent to its annihilation, or that they would be tardy in assisting to complete that object.

"In sparing Paris, and in the sudden and complete abandonment of every hostile feeling, the allied powers had afforded a pledge of further magnanimity and humanity of conduct. He trusted, that all would concur in this grand object. Government had already obtained the acquiescence of Sweden. Denmark had abolished the slave trade at an early period. America the same. And here he begged to guard himself against the imputation of being supposed to wish, by this motion, to remind his majesty's ministers of that sacred duty which he was persuaded they were ready cheerfully and spontaneously to perform. His object was merely to strengthen their hands, and by the renewal of a solemn declaration from parliament, to show that their

former proceedings had originated not in a transient or mistaken fit of humanity, but in a just and sound view of all the bearings and relations of the subject. He must repeat, that he really thought there was something in the present state and circumstances of things which justified the most favourable expectations. It would be refreshing to the mind, after so long a period of calamity, to witness a general acknowledgment of the grand and immutable principles of justice and humanity. It would raise Great Britain still higher in the scale of nations, if, after all she had done and suffered for Europe, she should ask, as a compensation, not any political or commercial advantage, not territory or wealth, but only an acquiescence in the establishment of a principle so intimately connected with the happiness of mankind. The most dreadful consequences would result to Africa, should foreign powers not consent to unite in this desired object. That wide continent would again be made the scene of horror; and our praises and thanksgivings to the Divine Being for his recent blessings to us, would be accompanied by the shrieks and screams of those whom we were persecuting. But he trusted this would not be the case. Whatever might be his opinion of the Roman catholic religion, to the professors of that religion Europe owed much of its existing liberty; and he hoped that they would feel that their religion, no less than protestantism, called on them to abolish that inhuman traffic, which Mr Pitt had truly called "the greatest practical evil that had ever been suffered to exist in the world."

Mr Canning rose, "not to express his sentiments on the abolition of the slave trade; that was unnecessary, as they were already well known to the House; he rose to declare it to be his opinion, that the vote which they were about to come to that night, would not be a barren vote; but one that would materially aid the great cause they were anxious to promote. Their unanimity on this occasion would not merely support what they had already done, but would do much towards persuading the great powers of Europe to unite with England to put down the slave trade. Let it not be said, when this language was held, that the English were always vaunting of their importance in, and influence over, Europe. On such an occasion, they had a right to expect that their authority and example would produce the happiest results. With those powers who had not acknowledged the injustice of this traffic in human blood, the authority of Great Britain must have some weight; and with that larger portion, who, approving the principle acted upon by England, feared the application of it in their own case, our example must prevail. The apprehensions they at present entertained, must be in a great measure removed, when they saw that we, after cutting off that trade, which was to us a source of wealth and power (if it ever had been a source of wealth and power to any nation on earth,) had lost nothing by obedience to the dictates of humanity, but had still been able, not only to defend ourselves, but to contribute largely to the restoration of the independence of Europe. With those powers who had not recognized the propriety of abolishing the slave trade, he would now take a higher tone than he thought would have been wise in the day of their distress, when struggling with difficulties, they looked to this country; and he would take a higher tone with them for this reason: were they in some sort dependent on us, a strong remonstrance on this subject would have gone with too much of authority; but now that the danger was past, and they had recovered their indepen-

dence, we might assume a loftier tone without appearing to insult them, by holding out a threat if they refused to comply with our wishes. Spain and Portugal could now defend themselves without our assistance; and they could decline attending to our representations without fear of being abandoned to ruin. This then was the time when we could speak with most freedom; for as we could urge it with more of delicacy than formerly, so we could press it with more firmness. The happy adjustment of the affairs of the world, which seemed now about to take place, would be incomplete, if an attempt to put an end to the slave trade did not form one grand feature of it. The technical consent to its abolition of those powers who were not actively engaged in it, ought to be obtained; for if this were not done, their flags would be abused by individuals belonging to other countries, who would be ready to avail themselves of this subterfuge to avoid punishment. The sanction of all the great nations of Europe to its being done away was necessary, and of vast importance; not so much for the mighty power they possessed, as for the use they had made of that power. If their consent were not given to the abolition of the slave trade, things would not merely remain as they are in this respect; but the traffic in slaves would be greater than it had been for many years. The question then was, whether the æra of a general peace in Europe should secure the repose of Africa, or furnish a new starting-post for the plunder and devastation of that quarter of the globe. He hoped the voice of the people, heard through the unanimous vote of that House, in favour of that which justice, humanity, and sound policy, combined to recommend to every nation, would not appeal to the assembled majesty of Europe in vain."

This motion was carried without a dissenting voice.

Notwithstanding these measures, however, and the attention which was paid to them by the British ministry, it was found impossible to persuade the French government to agree to the immediate abolition of the slave trade. Prejudices on this subject prevailed in France which had been long banished from this country, and the ministers found, in their negociations, that they must either yield to these prejudices in some measure, or make up their minds to a continuance of the war. They determined on the former course; and the consequence was, that although the treaty betwixt this country and France contained a sort of speculative censure of this nefarious traffic, upon the general principles of humanity, a stipulation was introduced, by which it was continued for the space of five years. This article of the treaty naturally roused the resentment of the abolitionists in England; and on the 27th June Mr Wilberforce made the following motion in the House of Commons:—

"That an humble address be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, representing to his Royal Highness, That, while we learn with great satisfaction the successful exertions of his Royal Highness in obtaining the consent of the government of Sweden, and still more that of Holland, to an immediate and unqualified abolition of the slave trade, we are bound in duty to express the deep regret of this House, that the late unanimous address of this House, praying his Royal Highness to interpose his good offices to obtain a convention of the powers of Europe for the immediate and universal abolition of the African slave trade, to which address his Royal Highness was pleased to return so gracious an answer, has failed to produce those consequences which

this House and the country had most anxiously and with confidence anticipated.

"That the objects to the attainment of which that address was directed, do, in the opinion of this House, so deeply affect the best interests of Europe, and the happiness and civilization of Africa, as to render it our imperious duty again to press them on the attention of his Royal Highness.

"That although the government of France, whether from the effect of partial and colonial interests, or from not being sufficiently aware of the enormities attendant on the slave trade, have not agreed to a stipulation for the immediate abolition of it, yet that the consent of that government to abolish the trade in five years, and to unite its efforts with those of his Britannic majesty, at the approaching congress, to induce all the powers of Christendom to decree its abolition, so that it shall cease universally at that time, together with the disposition the French government is supposed to have manifested, to subject their own slave trade to some restrictions during the intervening period; above all, that government's distinct and unequivocal recognition of the radical injustice of the traffic in slaves, induce the House to entertain a confident hope, that farther stipulations, with a view to the abolition or limitation of the slave trade, may be obtained at the approaching congress.

"That, independent of the unspeakable evils to Africa which must arise from the permission of this nefarious traffic on the most extended scale for a further term of five years, and of the increased inducements for carrying it on which will then exist, it is obvious that new and formidable obstacles to the execution of our own laws against the slave trade must be created, that occasions of differences with those powers will be multiplied, that the evils and miseries produced in Africa, from the multitudes of human beings obtained by fraud or by violence being forcibly dragged into perpetual slavery in a foreign land, must be most lamentable and extensive; but they will be particularly afflicting in those parts with which his majesty's dominions have of late had the greatest intercourse, because the restoration of the French settlements and their dependencies, with the right of an unrestrained slave trade, must subject those populous and extensive districts where, by the laudable exertions of Great Britain, peaceful industry and social happiness have been in some measure produced, to a renewal of the miseries inseparable from this odious traffic: the colony of Sierra Leone, also, whence European knowledge, the blessings of order, and the arts of peace, have begun to diffuse themselves through the neighbouring country, will be deprived of its beneficial influence, and even be exposed to imminent danger of ruin.

"That, with a direct view to the considerations and points above-stated, this House humbly, but most earnestly, implores his Royal Highness to endeavour to obtain, if possible, from the government of France, some diminution of the term permitted to the slave trade, but, in any case, its restriction at least within certain limits, and its total exclusion from the parts of Africa where the exertions of Great Britain have already succeeded in suppressing the trade, that the inhabitants of those regions may be left in the enjoyment of that exemption from its ravages, which they have so recently and so happily obtained.

"That this House feels most deeply anxious that no exertion should be omitted in the approaching congress, to procure a final and universal extinction of the slave trade, because it conceives that no opportunity can ever

again be expected to occur so favourable, for effacing from the character of Europe its most opprobrious stain, or for delivering the unoffending, but much injured, inhabitants of Africa from the heaviest of all possible calamities, from intestine war, excited too often by the basest avarice, and the fiercest passions raging without intermission, and productive only of unmixed evil, and of invincible and interminable barbarism, and from practices which, having been exposed to the public eye, have induced the legislature to class slave traders among the vilest of criminals.

"That, to produce a universal condemnation of this murderous system, displayed as its horrors now are to the view of mankind, it appears to be only necessary to appeal to those feelings which must exist in every mind capable of reflection, and not steeled against the claims of humanity and justice; that as this system insults and outrages those sacred and fundamental principles which are common to every sect and denomination of Christians, it cannot be doubted that every Christian state is required to take part in its condemnation; those who have participated in its guilt being bound to abandon and to reprobate it; while none who enjoy the privilege of innocence are thereby either deprived of the right, or exempted from the obligation, of joining in the sentence.

"That this House, therefore, again expressing its profound regret that more has not been accomplished in this great work, and convinced that, by the endeavours of his Royal Highness, exerted with renewed energy, much may still be effected in the appointed congress, humbly, but most urgently, entreats his Royal Highness, that the most strenuous exertions be there made, on the part of this country, to obtain, as far as may be possible, the objects which have been specified, and that all proper means may be used for urging on the assembled powers, the duty, the expediency, and the lasting glory of promulgating to all the world, as the judgment of the states of Europe, a general and solemn engagement, under the most binding and effectual sanctions, that this traffic, the foul and formidable enemy of the happiness and civilization of Africa, will at a definite and fixed period, certainly not more distant than five years, be abolished utterly and for ever."

On this occasion Mr Wilberforce said, after a few preliminary observations, "that at the present moment, after the conclusion of so long a war, and when we first began to witness peace, when the intoxication of our joy was the greater by our having among us our great allies, whose conduct in so eminent a manner contributed to the happy termination of hostilities; at a period like this, when we could not be supposed to have so much time and disposition to attend to the sufferings of others, so far as his observations had extended, there prevailed but one feeling of regret and disappointment throughout the country, and a wish that, if it was still practicable at the approaching congress, an effort might be made to save it from the disgrace of this sad article respecting the slave trade. Whatever was consistent with the sum and substance of the treaty might be yet obtained. As there was a considerable portion of Africa where the exertions of this country had been successful to a considerable degree, and where a legitimate commerce had been introduced sacred from any of the miseries of the slave trade, he thought that a compact might be made by no means inconsistent with the article of the treaty, exempting all that part of Africa which was not suffering at present any of the calamities alluded to, from being again plunged into them by the renewal of the trade.

"Another part of the motion he intended to submit to the House was, to request his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in any other treaty to be concluded between this country and other states, or in any other cession of colonies, to secure the abolition of the slave trade, at least by the sanction of an article in the treaty that it should not be carried on by the power to whom the cession is made. It was with pleasure that he had to communicate to the House that he understood Holland had agreed to an immediate and unconditional abolition of the slave trade. With regard to Sweden, the conduct of that power was not now of such importance as it would have been had it retained the great island of Guadaloupe; but Sweden had still some small possessions in the West Indies, and the accession of every power to the abolition was an object not to be neglected. Denmark had already abolished the trade; but that which before rested on her own declarations was now secured to us by a solemn treaty.

"When he had just before said, that it was with a heavy heart and a feeling of the deepest concern that he rose for the fulfilment of his duty on this occasion, it was chiefly because, before he knew that he only had to establish the facts and lay down the principles applicable to this trade, and that when he had done so he would obtain his final object; but now he could not but with pain reflect, that he was opposed not by any arguments or facts arising out of the trade itself, but by a circumstance arising out of the nature of our constitution; for, when a definitive treaty of peace was once sanctioned, there was no course left for the country but acquiescence. He could not, therefore, but regret, that we had not on this occasion had an opportunity, as we had had at former periods, of first considering the articles in a preliminary treaty, reserving the details for consideration and arrangement afterwards. He regretted that the House had not had an opportunity of forming their judgment in the first instance on the preliminary articles; because, had such been the case, he should have felt it to be his duty, and the country from one end to the other would have joined with him, to interfere that this article might not receive the sanction of government, and to say that no sacrifice would be refused which could purchase our freedom from this disgrace, and that there was no price which we would not have been willing to pay. Had this country had an opportunity of expressing their feelings, no effort which the government could possibly make would have been found too great if it freed us from this stain. But we had now the article irrevocably before us; and all that we could now do was to try to get the article altered in the approaching congress.

"He expressed his regret that information upon this subject had not been more generally diffused through France, which would doubtless have excited a feeling among her inhabitants that would have made the government of that country ashamed of insisting upon the insertion of the objectionable article. As to the trade being limited to five years, it might be feared, that when France had involved herself in this traffic, and embarked great sums, and mighty interests, at the end of five years she would be able to use the plea of necessity, of which at present she could not avail herself. Colonies of great value and magnitude were now restored to her unconditionally; St Domingo would in itself be an immense vortex of human calamity; the cultivation of that island might be carried to any extent, and on a moderate calculation it might be estimated, that for that island only, during the five

years stipulated, the happiness and the lives of 500,000 human beings would be sacrificed. This statement made the blood run cold, but it by no means was equal to the extent of the evil; it might be computed, that in the whole no fewer than between two and three millions of our fellow-creatures would be torn from their homes, and annihilated, for the supply of the colonies just ceded to France, and the evils that Africa would suffer could not be remedied by the exertions of benevolence during the space of two or three centuries. Was this a prospect that could be beheld without horror?

"It had not been his intention to express any opinion upon the conduct of the negociators of this treaty, but in vindication of his own principles, he felt it necessary to say, that no considerations, however weighty, could have induced him to give up any settlements to the enemy that were to be cultivated in a way so abhorrent to humanity. Yet at the same time it was but giving due credit to government to say, that on all occasions, when this subject had been discussed, they had warmly condemned the traffic, or when any assistance was required to execute the law, they had been most willing to afford it. He could not avoid apprehending that this topic was not introduced at so early a period as its importance merited; it ought to have been made a question of the earliest deliberation, when the first mention was made of the conquests we were to cede to France; we ought to have said plainly, that we were willing to make these great sacrifices gratuitously, only qualified by one condition, that the slave trade should be abolished."

Lord Castlereagh "felt himself called upon to vindicate his conduct in the negociation. He concurred cordially and warmly in all the sentiments expressed by his honourable friend, with respect to the slave trade itself, and the propriety of such an address as that now proposed. But nothing done on the part of France, either on former occasions or on the present, could lead this country to suppose that she would comply with the wishes of our government in this respect, or that we should make the abolition of the slave trade a *sine qua non* in the negociation for a peace. What he was about to say upon the subject now did not come from him as an individual. If France could not be persuaded to act in the manner desired, she could not be compelled to it, nor was it to be expected that she should be taught morality at the point of the bayonet. For the conduct pursued towards her in the late treaty upon this subject, there were precedents to be found in former governments. Such were to be found in the negociations carried on in the time of Mr Fox, who, from his zealous support of the measure, might be supposed inclined, if any was, to make it a *sine qua non* of negociation; and in the treaty with the court of the Brazils, made by the right hon. gentleman (Mr Canning) below him, it was only stipulated that the abolition should be prospective, and as little was that made a subject of reproach, even by the hon. mover of the present address himself.

"It was not," Lord Castlereagh continued, "consistent with the progress of the human mind to adopt valuable truths at once. It took a considerable length of time before the abolition of the trade was adopted, even in this country of liberality; and other countries could not be blamed for not adopting it immediately, particularly when it was proposed to them in the shape of a *dictum*. However high the hon. gentleman's mind might be upon the subject, and however disposed he and the nation might be to make sacrifices for it, he could assure him that such was not the impression in France, and

that even among the better classes of people there, the government here did not get full credit for their motives of acting on this question. The motives were not there thought to arise from benevolence, but from a wish to impose fetters on French colonies, and injure their commerce; and if it was made a question of power, he was convinced that interest would be supposed to have a share in it. If this country retained the colonies, unless upon the condition of abolition, it would be said we retained them for commercial views, and that it was only a pretence for keeping up the war, and retaining possession of those settlements. Would it have been right, by insisting upon the abolition as a *sine qua non*, to dissolve a union which had saved the world? He had no hesitation in saying that they gained what they did upon the subject by not mixing it with the question of colonial cession. If the correspondence with the different powers, relative to this part of the treaty, were produced, he had no doubt but it would prove that the government had performed their duty; but at present he should feel it his duty to resist the correspondence. What had been done was undervalued; what remained undone was rated too highly. Sweden had shewed every disposition to concur in the abolition, and so did Denmark."

His lordship then proceeded to observe, "that, in the present state of things, France was, perhaps, that very country, in which his hon. friend would be least justified in expecting a sudden change of system, with reference to the slave trade; for it was most notorious, that the dreadful tyranny by which France had been so long oppressed, and which was now happily terminated, had precluded the people from that knowledge and information, with reference to political events, which existed in almost every other state. In the internal parts of France the inhabitants were absolutely ignorant that the slave trade was abolished in the British colonies. There was no part of Europe, he believed, in which such profound ignorance prevailed as in France. His hon. friend seemed to regret that the colonies had been restored without a specific stipulation for the abandonment of this trade. Now he (Lord Castlereagh) knew the impossibility of procuring any such stipulation. He was told by the French ministers themselves, that, if they took back the colonies, without the right being allowed to carry on the trade in slaves, the feeling of the French people would be, that peace had been made for the purpose of having their colonies restored, but that they had recovered them in a way extremely disgraceful to the nation. He conceived that they were now placed in a situation to do more good on the subject, than if a formal stipulation, of the nature alluded to by his hon. friend, had been entered into. He was convinced, that the trade would ultimately be abandoned by France; and if it were at all carried on, it would be on the principle, that, after a certain period, it would be abolished. Surely his hon. friend would permit him to suggest, that if a stipulation to put an end to the trade, at the expiration of five years, were not available, as little available would be a contract to abolish it immediately!

"He could assure the House, that every endeavour was made, as long as a prospect of success remained, to have this traffic destroyed. When it was found that could not be completely effected, an effort was made to restrict its existence to three, instead of five years; when that failed, it was attempted to procure a stipulation to prevent the trade being introduced on that part of the African continent to which his hon. friend had alluded. But

this could not be effected. What, then, was done? The present article was agreed to—the French ministers declaring, that, being masters of the question themselves, the French government would, as a voluntary act of their own, put down the trade at the end of five years—and were determined to assist Great Britain in procuring the principle to be recognised as the general law of Europe. They did, however, stand on this principle, which could not be mistaken, that they would be masters of the question themselves—at liberty to act on the decision of their own judgment—and determined not to obey the dictation of any other power. It was on this general ground of reasoning, that the French ministers shewed the strongest objection against any proposition which would seem to deprive them of a perfect jurisdiction over the question—such a deprivation, they conceived, would lower them in the estimation of the people, and weaken their hands on other points of very great importance. But, when they made this declaration, they gave him (Lord Castlereagh) official assurance, that they were ready to adopt the principle of abolition as soon as possible. He was ready to admit, that Guadaloupe and Martinique being permitted to be points of depot, did, to a certain degree, increase the probability of an illicit trade being carried on from those islands with our colonies. But if France had even consented to abolish the trade, the number of depots which would have otherwise existed, was sufficiently numerous for the illegal introduction of slaves into the islands belonging to Great Britain. From the Havannah and Porto Rico, the possessions of Spain, slaves might very easily find their way into our colonies.

"He hoped that gentlemen would not encourage a disposition to underrate every thing that had been done, and to magnify the importance of that which could not be effected. He thought the influence and example of France were invaluable, as they operated with respect to this question. France was not the only power whose colonial importance made the slave trade a question of interest. Spain and Portugal were also connected with it; and he thought his hon. friend was wrong in dashing from his lip the cup of enjoyment, by indulging the supposition, that if a final regulation had been made with France to abandon the traffic, it must necessarily have been abolished. Even if such a regulation had been agreed to, great and substantial difficulties would still have remained. Russia, Prussia, and Austria, were ready to assist in effecting this most desirable object, and he believed France was most sincere in her wish to abolish the trade. Much surely had been gained; and it was a great matter, when gentlemen recollected, that the negociation ended in mutual respect and confidence, instead of terminating in anger and dissatisfaction. Now, if France had taken back her colonies on a principle which she felt dishonourable to her character as a nation, it must have led to eternal disputes; and his hon. friend must be perfectly acquainted with the advantage to be derived from entering into explanations with a friendly rather than an adverse power. Instead of shutting their eyes to the difficulties which opposed themselves to the abolition of this system, they ought boldly to examine them; and he felt that he should be deceiving the House, if he said, that they were to expect to find either in Spain or in Portugal the existence of that feeling on the subject of the slave trade, which he stated France to possess. With respect to the two former powers, their colonial interests were so deeply concerned in the trade, that the mother country was not fairly able to master the question. This arose

from the extent of foreign possessions, and from the long continuance of the system. If, therefore, the question were settled with regard to France, the great difficulties would remain with respect to the courts of Spain and Portugal. Now, though he did not despair of succeeding even with them, yet surely it would not be asserted that the difficulties which they had to overcome were trifling. If the treaty with France had been as perfect as his hon. friend could have wished with respect to the slave trade, still, even in that state of things, much would have been left to do, with reference to the powers which he had mentioned.

"On the grounds he had already stated, he had no hesitation in agreeing to the address. He conceived that it would assist the cause of abolition, by shewing to the world the continued determination of the government and parliament of this country never to abandon a measure to which they were solemnly pledged, and which they would support by every means, consistent with the peace and good order of the world. He trusted the House would give his majesty's government credit for the exertions they had made, and which they intended to make. Anxious as they were for the adoption of the principle contended for by his hon. friend, they did not think it right to force it upon other nations, at the expence of their honour, and of the tranquillity of the world. Morals were never well taught by the sword; their dissemination might sometimes be made a pretext for ambition, but the real object could not be long concealed; and it was to the light of experience, to the promulgation of wisdom, and not to the exercise of violence, or the influence of war, that they could look with any prospect of success, for the abolition of the slave trade."

The motion made by Mr Wilberforce for an address was agreed to.

Lord Grenville afterwards, upon the 27th of June, moved in the House of Lords, "That an humble address be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, praying that he will be graciously pleased to direct that there be laid before this House copies of such representations as have been made by his majesty's ministers in the late negociations for peace, in consequence of the unanimous address of this House for the immediate and total abolition of the slave trade, together with the answers returned thereto; and also extracts from such parts of the dispatches of his majesty's ministers as relate to the same subject."

On this occasion, Lord Grenville exerted his great abilities, and made a very excellent speech; but as it was obvious that the measure of immediate abolition was strongly resisted by the French people, and that no violence or intimidation could accomplish it in the present circumstances of Europe, the motion was negatived by a large majority. A similar motion to that made by Lord Grenville in the House of Lords was made the following day in the House of Commons by Mr Horner, with the same result.

Although the attempts of ministers to prevail upon the French government to accede to the instant abolition of the slave trade had proved ineffectual, yet the advocates of a humane and enlightened policy were not discouraged. They looked forward to the congress of the European powers for justice, and implored the ministers of the crown to use their most strenuous endeavours upon this great occasion. On the 30th of June the Marquis of Lansdowne moved an address in the House of Lords, "expressive of the deep regret felt by their lordships, that the exertions of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent for the abolition of the slave traffic had not been attended with more complete suc-

cess; and also expressing the earnest hope of their lordships, that his Royal Highness might be able to form new arrangements with France for the purpose of bringing about this desirable result. At the same time, entreating that his Royal Highness would use his utmost influence at the approaching congress, to procure a declaration that this traffic was contrary to the law of nations, and one which ought to be abolished over the whole of the civilized world."

In support of this motion the marquis addressed the House at some length, discussing with much ability all the topics which had entered into the reasoning upon this vast subject on former occasions. The Earl of Liverpool heartily concurred in the motion, but proposed to introduce into the address, words expressive of their satisfaction at the abolition by Sweden and Holland, especially by the latter, preceding the expression of their regret at the failure with regard to France.

The Marquis of Lansdowne had no objection whatever to this amendment.

The proposed address was unanimously agreed to.

The fate of Norway had excited great commiseration throughout England. In a most difficult and ardent crisis of European affairs, the British government, with the view of securing the assistance of Sweden, had agreed to guarantee to that country a portion of the territory of a hostile power, and to co-operate, should it be found impossible to bring over the Danish government to the general confederacy of Europe, in severing from it the territory so much coveted by our ally. It may be equally difficult to ascertain, or to disprove, the justice or the policy of this arrangement; but as the Norwegians, whose interests were thus chiefly committed, manifested a spirit of decided hostility towards the Swedish government, to which they were thus transferred without their own consent; and as it became evident, that to execute the conditions of this treaty, the most severe measures must be resorted to, and a blockade of the Norwegian ports undertaken by Great Britain, strong feelings of sympathy with the sufferings of this people began to prevail. Earl Grey, whether in obedience to the impulse of such a feeling, or in conformity with what he supposed to be the dictates of a wise and liberal policy, made a motion in the House of Lords, on the 10th of May, "That an humble address be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, humbly to request that his Royal Highness would be graciously pleased to interpose his mediation to rescue the unoffending people of Norway from the dreadful alternative of famine, or of subjugation to the yoke of a foreign and hostile power; and that during the discussion of such proposals as his Royal Highness may be advised to make for this most desirable object, all hostile operations on the part of this country, against a people struggling for the sacred right of national independence, may be discontinued."

"In times like these," he said, "marked by so many extraordinary transactions, fraught with so many vicissitudes, and replete with so many dangers, whose auspicious termination is, I trust, about to re-establish the tranquillity of Europe; even in this eventful period, it would not be possible to bring before your lordships a question of greater importance, one more intimately connected with all those principles of justice and honour which establish the security of nations, than that to which I now mean to solicit your lordships' attention. Every maxim of good policy—every maxim of political and moral justice, all those

feelings which are imprinted on the hearts of men by the unerring hand of divine truth, before they are transferred into our public codes of legislation, all these must be deliberately considered by your lordships this night, ere you decide upon the fate of Norway, ere you determine her rights as a nation, ere you dispose of the destiny, perhaps the existence, of her people. And what people is it whose fate you are thus to decide?—A people who have never done you any wrong, who have never injured any of your interests; a people who are known to you only by their virtuous character, by their meritorious services, by their interchange of good offices, by their extension of your commercial relations, and by their constant and unremitting discharge of all those duties which constitute the moral greatness and happiness of a nation—I will not do your lordships the injustice to suppose that it is necessary to bespeak your patient and impartial attention to this subject, still less to suspect that you can be disinclined to the consideration of it at all. I shall proceed, therefore, to lay before you those views of it which I entertain, and which, if adopted by your lordships in your decision this night, may be sufficient ground to induce you to controul the executive government in what may appear contrary to sound policy, contrary to that which is essentially characteristic of all sound policy, justice, or which is incompatible with the honour and dignity of the British crown. There is one thing, however, which I wish to premise. It cannot be necessary to recal your lordships' attention to the treaty that was signed with Sweden last year, which was laid before your lordships, and which your lordships sanctioned, notwithstanding the opposition which was made to it by myself and some of my friends. It may be prejudice, it may be obstinacy, or it may be ignorance in me; but the opinion I then expressed I still retain in its fullest extent; I still think that British policy never sustained a deeper shock, the British character never received a deeper stain, than in that transaction. I do not wish that you should retrace your steps, or recal a sanction, which, perhaps, it is no longer in your power to withhold—neither do I wish you to recommend any evasion of stipulations, or to escape any conditions, to the performance of which the good faith and honour of the country are pledged, however much it might be wished that such obligations had never been contracted. I know how weak my influence is in this House, and that whatever I may possess, little as it is, depends upon the credit, I trust, I have in it for sincerity and candour; but I will say, that there is no inducement on earth would urge me to persuade you to recede from objects which are stipulated and secured by the solemn guarantee of treaties. I am incapable of pleading for such a cause by any trick of argument, or any subtleties of distinction; and if it shall appear that under a fair construction of the Swedish treaty, we have contracted an engagement of assisting by the co-operation of force in the reduction of Norway; if that can be shewn; if it can be shewn that the conditions agreed to require us now to act, and that the measures taken to blockade Norway can be justified by honour and justice; then, my lords, I call upon you to reject the motion I propose to submit to you. But, on the contrary, if it shall appear that you have contracted no such engagement, that while your good faith remains free and untouched, the measures you are pursuing are in direct violation of national honour, of social rights, and of political justice; why, then, I hope I shall not plead in vain at a moment

like the present, when all these principles are acknowledged and respected in the great questions that are now under discussion, as affecting the whole of Europe.

"The subjects which naturally present themselves for your lordships' consideration are,

"First, Whether under a fair construction of the treaty with Sweden such obligations can be urged as must be contended for to justify the measures that are now pursuing;

"Secondly, Whether the obligations themselves are such as can be vindicated, according to the established principles of the law of nations, and the political rights of mankind;

"Thirdly, Whether the King of Sweden, by the faithful performance of his part of the contract, was entitled to call upon us for the full discharge of our part of it; and,

"Lastly, Whether the maxims of sound policy could justify such measures as are now pursuing with regard to Norway.

"The first of these is a question of construction merely, and here it will be necessary to refer to the treaty of last year, to carry back our recollections to the period when it was framed, to the objects contemplated at the time, and to the explanations given of it by the framers themselves; that is, by his majesty's ministers. It will be unnecessary to recal to your lordships the circumstances under which that treaty was entered into. The invasion of Russia had taken place: an invasion which characterised, more than any other event I can remember, that system of violence and injustice pursued by the late government of France, and which has recently been so nobly revenged in the way that led to the present auspicious situation of public affairs in Europe. We acceded to the terms of a treaty concluded between Russia and Sweden, by which we agreed, provided Sweden performed certain conditions, not to oppose the annexation of Norway to Sweden, but to use our good offices in obtaining that annexation, and even to employ force for the purpose, if necessary. Upon what conditions, however, did the employment of force depend? Force was not to be employed unless the King of Denmark refused to join the northern alliance. If, therefore, by the co-operation of force we made the King of Denmark join the allied powers, then we accomplished all that we undertook, and every stipulation was thus fulfilled. This, and this alone, was what we specifically undertook. As to what might be the subsequent condition of the people of Norway, it formed no part of our engagements; we did not guarantee the peaceable possession of the country by Sweden. I wish your lordships' attention to be particularly fixed upon this; because, in the treaty between Sweden and Russia, the possession is guaranteed, while it is excepted and excluded in our treaty with Sweden. It cannot, therefore, be contended, that we are bound to any such guarantee; and with regard to the mere construction of the treaty, the case is clear and distinct. But I should be sorry to stop here: I should be sorry to rest upon any judgment of my own, when so much higher authorities are within my reach, and which amply support my construction. I have, I say, the authority of the framers of the treaty themselves: his majesty's ministers are my authorities. And here I beg leave, in the first place, to refer to a paper, which, for reasons that I am unacquainted with, has not yet found its way to the public eye, in the usual course of such documents. In the treaty signed with Denmark on the 14th of last January, I find, in the tenth article, the following declaration:—"Whereas his Da-

nish majesty, in virtue of the treaty of peace this day concluded with the King of Sweden, has to his said majesty ceded Norway for a certain provided indemnity; his Britannic majesty, who thus has seen his engagements contracted with Sweden in this respect fulfilled, promises, &c." Here is an acknowledgment on the part of those who framed the treaty, that the cession of Norway by Denmark (I shall say a word or two presently upon its validity and execution) was a complete fulfilment on our part of the conditions which we had stipulated. But the question does not even rest here. I have referred your lordships to what passed last year, when the terms of the Swedish treaty were discussed. It will be remembered that questions arose, and doubts were stated by myself and others, as to the extent of our engagements with regard to ensuring the peaceable possession of Norway and Guadaloupe; and it was answered, that no guarantee of their peaceable possession was either expressed or implied. In another place, my lords, I have also, in support of my argument, the authority of that particular minister (Lord Castlereagh) whose peculiar duty it is to watch over our foreign relations, and whose authority, if there can be any difference of weight between the authority of one minister and another, is most entitled to prevail. He, in reply to some questions that were asked, expressed his surprise in the first place, that any one could be so unacquainted with the nature of public treaties, as to imagine that any guarantee could be contracted which was not expressed; and in the second, declared, that no guarantee was contracted with Sweden for the peaceable possession of Norway. Why, then, if this be correct, and from the manner of the noble lord opposite he seems to assent to it, I call upon you, my lords, to declare, whether the cession of Norway to Sweden was not the only object in view, and not the securing its peaceable possession. I do say, therefore, that I think a plainer case upon the construction of a treaty never existed, and that we are fettered by no such obligation as that by which the blockade of Norway is now defended. The employment of force, as I have already shewn, was made to depend upon the performance or non-performance of certain things by Denmark; and even if force were resorted to, it was to be used with every possible regard to the comfort and feelings of the inhabitants of Norway. At what a moment, too, are we now called upon to co-operate with Sweden in forcing the Norwegians to submission? After Denmark has acceded to the northern alliance; when her troops have marched in support of the common cause; and when she has not only ceded Norway, as far as she could cede it, but has fulfilled that condition upon the refusal of which the co-operation of force was distinctly made to depend. Upon the question of construction, therefore, if it rested upon that ground only, I think a clearer case is made out than was ever submitted to parliament. But there are other grounds. When there is any thing ambiguous, nothing is more obvious, than that where two meanings are contended for, the one lawful and the other not, we are bound in any case, and especially in a doubtful case, to do that which is lawful. But when we come to consider a question of right, and whether this is an obligation which we did or can contract, I maintain that it is fundamentally void, as contrary to the most acknowledged principles of law and justice. I speak in the hearing of lawyers, who are not unused to subtleties of distinction, nor to those evasions which they so often defeat; and I ask them, whether any individual, seeking

the fulfilment of a contract depending upon an unlawful obligation, would be listened to in a court of justice? He would be told, and justly told, that his loss was his own fault; the consequence of his own dishonesty, in attempting to evade those moral ties which are binding upon every man of honour. This would be the language of the law, with regard to individuals; and, my lords, amongst nations, though there is no such superior tribunal to appeal to, yet the principles are the same in the one case and the other, whether between individuals or between states. No matter to what degree the impunity of power may silence the claims of right, its nature cannot be altered; it is equally sacred, equally important, and is equally to be recognised in every attempt to protect the weak against the strong. Let us examine now, what are the rights of kings in relation to their subjects. If the question stood upon that single foundation, the common advantages and the common consent of the people, if it were limited by that condition which imposes the mutual obligation of allegiance and protection, it would be easily decided. The rights of the sovereign over his subjects are not the rights of property; they do not confer the privilege of transferring them from one owner to another, like cattle attached to the soil. If this were all we had to consider, I, in speaking to a British house of parliament, speaking in the nineteenth century, and at an era like the present, should only need to state the principle, and obtain its sanction by universal acclamation. His majesty sits on the throne in virtue of the recognition of this fundamental principle; we stand here, and enjoy freedom of speech, upon its basis, that a prince using his power to the injury of his people, or, in the words of our ancestors, having been guilty of violating the original compact between the sovereign and the people, forfeits his right to the crown. If James, instead of invading the rights and liberties of the subject in the way he did, had meditated the monstrous scheme of transferring the people of this country to the jurisdiction and possession of a foreign power, would that have been considered a less crime against the general rights of mankind, or a less infringement upon that compact by which kings reign and subjects obey?

"The King of Denmark," his lordship contended, "had no right to alienate the sovereignty of Norway without the consent of the people. He might withdraw himself from their protection, he might absolve them from their allegiance to him, but he had no right to transfer that allegiance to any other state; it became then the right of the people to decide to whom their allegiance should be given. Was it necessary for him to quote authorities in support of this doctrine, which was upheld by the first principles of natural right and justice? If, however, authorities in support of so plain and clear a principle were to be considered requisite, the best writers upon public law were undoubtedly on that side." His lordship here read passages from Grotius, Puffendorff, and Vattel, all clearly maintaining the doctrine, that the sovereign of a state could not transfer the allegiance of the people; that he might, in case of necessity, withdraw his garrisons from their towns, and give up all claim to their obedience; but that it then rested with the people to determine to whom they would submit. "It might, perhaps, be suggested on the other side, that there was a difference between a sovereignty and a patrimony. Nothing, however, could be found in these writers to render this question at all clear; and the notes on Grotius shewed its absurdity, by stating the reasoning in a circle,

which was alone applied to it, namely, that a patrimony was a state or dependency which might be transferred, although an integral state could not. Upon this point, however, there could be no doubt with regard to Norway, that the King of Denmark was the sovereign, and not the proprietor, and therefore had no right to transfer the allegiance of the people. Norway, in the earlier period of its history, was, like England, divided into many petty states, which were subsequently all united under the dominion of Harold Harfager. Much division afterwards arose in consequence of the claims of his numerous family. They were at length united with Denmark, under Canute the Great. Subsequently Norway belonged sometimes to Sweden and sometimes to Denmark, with intervals of independence; but ultimately, about the year 1360, was united to the latter by the marriage of the King of Norway to the heiress of Denmark. It was, however, only united under one sovereignty, the states of Norway being an independent legislature, as the parliament of Ireland was before the union of that kingdom to Great Britain. Norway was, therefore, an integrally independent state. Instances of transfers of territory were noticed in the writers whom he had quoted, such as Franche Comte and Lorrain, and fiefs in Germany; but in none of them was there any instance given of the transfer of an integrally independent state without the consent of the people. Cases might also be mentioned of the transfer of colonies and dependencies, such as Martinique and Guadaloupe; but none of these had any bearing whatever upon the question, nor in these instances had any opposition been made by the people transferred. He trusted, however, that no argument of this kind, which referred merely to colonies and dependencies, would be brought forward as an endeavour to justify the attempt to transfer the allegiance of the whole people of an independent state, without their consent, an attempt made in contradiction to the established maxims of public law, and the first principles of right and justice. To try the effect, as to public opinion, of attempting to force the people of Norway to submit, they need only look back to an event within the recollection of many of their lordships, the subjugation of Corsica by France: who was there that thought of justifying the conduct of France towards Corsica? who was there that dreamed of stigmatizing the opposition of the people of Corsica to the unjust pretensions of France, as rebellious? And was it to be supposed, that an attempt to compel by force the people of Norway to submit to the domination of a foreigner would not be viewed by all mankind with feelings of detestation? In what light was the project of Edward the First upon Scotland, and the means he took to carry it into execution, viewed by impartial posterity, and justly stigmatized by the historian; means which bore a strong resemblance to those recently used with regard to Spain. Edward having got into his power Baliol, the claimant to the Scottish crown, forced him to sign an absolute renunciation of all his claims; and then endeavoured to compel, by force of arms, the people of Scotland to submit to his sway? Who was there that now stigmatized Wallace as a traitor for defending his country against the unjust pretensions of Edward? who was there that did not consider the execution of that hero as a foul stain upon the character of the greatest captain of his age, which obscured all the glories of his reign?

"Scots, wha hae wi' Wallace bled,
Scots, whom Bruce has often led,
Welcome to your gory bed,
Or to victory!"

" Who was there that heard these lines who did not feel his heart beat high with the fervour of patriotism, who did not feel his muscles dilate with sensations of ecstacy at the patriotic sentiments manifested by a whole people in defence of their independence? The same spirit was displayed by the Scottish barons in their declaration. The same principle was also acknowledged by the French king, when the Pope declared this kingdom forfeited, and transferred it to him; who stated, that it could not be transferred without the consent of the barons of England.* When the cession likewise of some parts of France was made by Richard II., the people resisted it, upon the ground that there existed no right to transfer their allegiance. Every thing, therefore, clearly proved the principle, that no sovereign possessed a right to transfer the allegiance of the people over whom he ruled—a principle distinctly understood and distinctly recognised—a principle founded in natural right and justice, and supported as such by every writer of any authority upon public law. The King of Denmark had done all that we were by treaty bound to assist in compelling him to do, namely, to cede the kingdom of Norway; to transfer the allegiance of the people was beyond his power—was what he had no right to do, and what therefore no country had any right to interfere to bring about by compulsion, where no legal power existed to make the demand."

His lordship then entered at considerable length into the question, how far (laying aside the general point of policy and just feeling) Sweden had deserved this great sacrifice, by her exertions in the common cause; and strongly contended that she had not. This his lordship endeavoured to prove by a variety of statements; and insisted, that Sweden having so failed, was not entitled to call upon our government to perform its part of the treaty. His lordship then proceeded in the following terms:

" It is said by the advocates for the policy of ministers, and with some air of triumph too, that very important advantages have been promised to the Norwegian people, if they would submit to be transferred to the dominion of Sweden. I have seen, no doubt, a proclamation upon this subject containing many promises; but how and when this proclamation was circulated, it is unnecessary to observe. I shall, however, observe, that similarly flattering promises were made by France to Corsica; but were they ever performed? Still the proclamation of the Swedish government was accompanied by a demand that the Norwegians should submit; or if not, that force would be employed to compel their submission. Therefore, no alternative was left to these people, while promises of liberty were made, backed by the threat of a military force. But even admitting these promises were made in perfect good faith, is it to be argued, that any country shall be obliged to accept what a foreign state thinks proper to consider as happiness? No sort of tyranny can, in my judgment, be conceived more complete, than that a government should undertake to choose and force a people to submit to that system which such government may regard as happy, although the people might think quite the contrary. Upon the authority, however, of the agent for Norway, now in this country, who is, in my opinion, eminently entitled to peculiar respect and regard, I can undertake to state, that the Norwegian neither is, nor has been, a despotic government; but, on the contrary, that, although nominally despotic, the people have always enjoyed the utmost practical happiness, and that of course the people of Norway would

" ——— rather bear the ills they have,
" Than fly to others that they know not of."

"But, I repeat, that rather, infinitely rather, than have Norway transferred to Sweden, I should wish to see it erected into an independent state.—Therefore, I maintain, that whatever terms or promises may be held out to the Norwegians by the Swedish government, I should deprecate the hostility waged against Norway, because the feeling of the people of Norway is decidedly adverse to the connection.

"I have quoted many cases to your lordships from the highest authorities on record; but I will now quote one case which must be immediately present to your memory, and which is quite analogous to this question, I mean the case of Spain; in the delivery of which country from the yoke of a foreign state, our army was so gloriously triumphant. Ferdinand the Seventh ceded his government and crown to Buonaparte; and if it was the right of Ferdinand to make that cession, it was equally the right of Denmark to cede Norway. Yet the Spanish people resisted the cession, and we seconded that resistance—although this country had at a remote period asserted the right of Baliol to surrender the Scottish throne to Edward the First, which is a precedent, however, I should think not likely to be quoted upon the present occasion. The 'universal Spanish nation,' as it was denominated, rushed into insurrection against the act of its monarch, and we, I repeat, supported the right of that people. If it be stated, that Ferdinand yielded to the compulsion of circumstances, I will ask, whether any circumstances of compulsion existed to extort from Denmark the surrender of Norway, and whether the same principle which justified an interposition in favour of the Spanish people does not equally call for interposition in favour of the people of Norway—or whether we could consistently maintain that principle with respect to Spain, and suddenly turn round and abandon it with respect to Denmark?

"We have been told, that a negociation has been instituted with respect to Norway; but if it were said that this negociation left any opening for an arrangement agreeable to the will of the Norwegian people, I should instantly withdraw my motion. Understanding, however, that it leaves no alternative to this gallant people, but submission to a power which it detests, and that force is employed to compel that submission, I feel it my duty to persevere. I feel it a duty which I owe to humanity to rescue it from outrage,—I feel it a duty which I owe to my country, and to your lordships, not to allow its character and yours to be stained by an acquiescence in that outrage. I have therefore thought it my duty to bring forward the motion with which I mean to conclude; and as to the capability of the Norwegians to resist foreign domination, and especially Sweden, let your lordships judge from their conduct in the days of Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII. I do besides feel a lively interest in favour of a nation struggling so valiantly as the Norwegians continue to do, in support of their rights and privileges; and it will be consistent with the honour and character of this country, and your lordships, to manifest a similar feeling. If it be said, that the tendency of my motion would be to engage this country in a war with Russia and Sweden, still I should say, that, whatever result might follow, I would ask my country, for the sake of its credit and character, for the sake of justice and humanity, to co-operate in the honourable and glorious cause of Norway."

The noble lord concluded with moving, "That an humble address be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, humbly to request that his Royal Highness would be graci-

ously pleased to interpose his mediation to rescue the unoffending people of Norway from the dreadful alternative of famine, or of subjugation to the yoke of a foreign and hostile power; and that during the discussion of such proposals as his Royal Highness may be advised to make for this most desirable object, all hostile operations on the part of this country, against a people struggling for the sacred right of national independence, may be discontinued."

The Earl of Harrowby said, "that as he felt at all times considerable difficulty in addressing their lordships, that difficulty was greatly increased, from his being obliged to oppose the noble earl who had last addressed their lordships, in a speech replete with all the considerations that could affect mankind, dressed in the most glowing eloquence, and supported by all the advantages which could arise from the most extensive review of the subject. But if their lordships would not permit themselves to be dazzled by the brilliancy of eloquence, or confounded by the light of antiquarian research, but would admit a little practical common sense into the discussion, he hoped he should be able to persuade them to reject the proposition which had been submitted to their judgment by the noble earl. He (Lord H.) should, in the consideration of the important subject before the House, take as the first that topic which the noble earl had taken in that order, viz. the construction of the treaty of this government with Sweden. The noble earl (Grey) had contended, that after having procured the nominal cession of Norway to the Swedish crown, we had performed all which by treaty we were bound to perform, and that our present efforts were gratuitous. The contrary, however, he trusted, he should be able to persuade the House, was the true construction; for what was the intention of the parties at the time of contracting the treaty? It was the desire of this country, at a time when the co-operation of Sweden was most essential to the interests of Europe, to obtain the assistance of that power against the common enemy; and to that end we engaged to put Sweden in possession of Norway; which being in the possession of a hostile state, rendered it insecure for Sweden to withdraw from its own territories its military force. Our intentions, therefore, were such, that even if the words had not been so binding as they actually were, there would be no doubt but that we should *bona fide* be held to secure to Sweden the possession of the country in question. In the treaty between the Emperor of Russia and King of Sweden, the former power pledged itself to the latter that it would, by negociation or by military co-operation, procure for the crown of Sweden the possession of Norway. The crown of Great Britain, also, pledged itself to effect the same object, either by its good offices with Denmark, or by its naval co-operation. It was certainly provided, that we should not attempt to employ force without making fair offers to Denmark to induce it to accede to the general confederacy. He (Lord H.) therefore, contended, that unless in the nature of the treaty there was something which rendered it null and void, or in the conduct of the other contracting party, something which should absolve us from our engagements, we ought not to stop short at the nominal cession. He was unwilling to detain their lordships longer on this subject, because it appeared to him as plain as any proposition possibly could be, that this was the true construction. But there was another circumstance adduced by the noble earl (Grey), that Russia had guaranteed the possession of Norway to Sweden, and that we had not guaranteed it;

whence he concluded, that it was merely the cession by treaty that we undertook to procure. But why did we not guarantee the possession? Because it had been a part of the wise policy of this country, which had been adhered to in this as in every other case, that we should avoid guaranteeing the perpetual possession of any country. As to the justice of the treaty in question, the noble earl (Grey) had quoted several grave authorities, which he (Lord H.) much rejoiced were not now, as they had at one time been, disregarded, as he considered them most important landmarks in the wide field of politics; but though these writers were good judges of political property, yet they could not be held to possess that infallibility which even good catholics denied to the supreme pontiff, whose dictates were not supposed to be infallible, unless they were consistent with the consent and practice of the universal church. If, however, these writers were unanimous, it would be a great stretch of presumption in an individual to oppose their decision; but there was certainly great difference among the writers on the law of nations on this subject; some asserting that a patrimonial sovereignty could not be conveyed by its sovereign, while Grotius maintained that any sovereignty might be alienated by him to whom it clearly belonged. The noble earl (Grey) had quoted an author of great weight (Vattel), to prove that a kingdom could not be alienated without the consent of its inhabitants; yet that same author states, that if any town or province be wrested by arms from its sovereign, it had no cause to complain. There was another author for whom their lordships would have a great respect—he meant Dr Paley, whose opinion on this subject might not be useless. He said, that the law of nations depended on the fact of its being established—no matter when or by whom. Looking, therefore, at those treaties by which long wars had been concluded, as the practical exposition of the law of nations, we should find, that on many occasions had cessions been made of whole states. By the treaty of Westphalia, and by that of Utrecht, as well as by that of Amiens, which terminated the late war, cessions of whole countries had been made. This last treaty had been considered as unjust, by several lords who were then present; but among the great men of all parties—among all those who inculpated that treaty, there was no one found who thought it unjust merely because it ceded countries; though some thought it unjust because it ceded countries which had been guaranteed by former conventions. Among the countries ceded at different times by these treaties, were the small states of Italy, Sicily, (formerly as much an independent state as any other), Naples, and the Low Countries: indeed, almost every state, except the great countries of Europe, had at times been transferred from one power to another. If the proposition of the noble earl (Grey) were adopted, what would become of the saying of the great Lord Chatham,—that he would conquer Germany in America? If it were denied that Sweden could justly conquer Norway in Holstein, the saying of that great man would be founded on gross injustice. No sovereign, he would allow, could cede the whole of his dominions; but when sorely pressed in war by a foreign power, he might, for the salvation of the remainder, cede a part of his territories; the inhabitants of which were then bound to submit peaceably, for the general good of the whole state. To bring this proposition to the test of all public law, general utility, how would it be found to stand? Unless this proposition were adopted, it would be found that there could be no alteration in the state of Europe without the

complete conquest of some state. If it were necessary to obtain the consent of the people in order to authorise the cession of any state, what would be the consequence? A power might find itself in possession of a province belonging to another state, which it would willingly relinquish for some other portion of territory, which its enemy would be willing to cede; but yet this arrangement, however wished for by both parties, could not be carried into effect, because it was impossible that the power which was willing to cede could secure the consent of the inhabitants of the territory which it wished to deliver over. By reason of this state of things, it would be necessary for the conquering power to resort to means for disarming the inhabitants, and every species of tyranny, because their submission could never be calculated on. No such thing as a treaty of peace could exist; all things must remain at the end of the war as they were at the beginning, or one of the contending countries must have been completely subdued by and incorporated with the other. Rather than admit the confusion to which such a rule of action would necessarily lead, he was disposed to admit the general rule,—subject certainly to many exceptions,—that every part of a sovereignty ought to hold itself bound, if ceded by its legal government, quietly to submit to the government of the power to which it was ceded; and that every part of a state should consider itself liable to be ceded at any time for the general welfare of the state. In the same manner, for the safety and happiness of the whole community was the welfare and liberty of individuals restrained and impaired. He would ask the noble earl (Grey) whether there could really be any parallel between the cases of Norway and that of Spain? If that noble earl thought the two cases were parallel, there was some such radical difference between the mind of that noble earl and his own, that he (Lord H.) despaired of making any of his arguments comprehensible to the noble earl. Was there no difference between the cession of the whole of a sovereign's dominions and the cession of a part for the good of the whole? Was there no difference between cession produced by personal compulsion, and cession necessitated by the danger of the state? When a sovereign yielded a part of his dominions through personal compulsion, he had no will of his own; whereas in the other case the monarch acted deliberately for the good of the nation. Was there no dissimilarity in the cases, in one of which the whole Spanish nation was driven to resist the oppression of the French government; and that of Norway, which had been ceded by the Danish government, and was thus delivered from an arbitrary power to a free government, with all the blessings offered to it which a free constitution could bestow?"

With respect to the performance of the treaty on the part of Sweden, the Noble Lord went into some detail to shew, that Sweden had not neglected its due proportion of exertion in the great cause. As to Norway, on the other hand, he contended "that that country had no claims on our forbearance; they had never, during the struggle for the deliverance of Europe, called on us to allow them to be independent of Denmark, but had assisted to the utmost that power in its co-operation with the tyrant who then governed France and oppressed Europe. Was it to be considered, that a province, which its government was not able to protect, became safe when that government deserted it? Was a state to be considered as a polypus, whose head or tail, severed from it, became an entire being? There were facts rather suspicious attending the declaration of the Norwegians; the heir pre-

sumptive to the crown of Denmark went from Copenhagen to Norway, and was declared sovereign of Norway. The terms also on which Sweden was willing to receive the Norwegians under its government, were sedulously concealed from them. But even if the people of Norway were in some degree sacrificed, concerning our engagements with the crown of Sweden, and that this was the only sacrifice to the general liberty of Europe, while liberty was secured to the Norwegians by the prince to whom they were ceded, and guaranteed by one of the most powerful nations of Europe, he trusted their lordships would not think it consistent with the best policy, with honour, and with justice, to interrupt the executive government in the proceedings which it had adopted in pursuance of our national engagements."

The Earl of Liverpool also joined in the debate; and without arguing the general principles of international law, which had been commented upon by Lord Grey and his friends, maintained that the special circumstances of this case fully justified all that had been done. He observed, "that at an early part of the campaign of last year, Holstein and Gluckstadt had been conquered from Denmark, the ally of France, by Russia and Sweden—that the King of Denmark, to save the most valuable parts of his dominions, had consented to abandon Norway; and that Russia and Sweden had accordingly made a sacrifice of their conquests. That by every treaty which had for many years been concluded in Europe, cession of territory had been made by the different powers—that the validity of these cessions, where the necessity was apparent, and the sovereign ceded no rights which he himself did not possess, had never been questioned. That the King of Denmark had in this instance ceded no rights which he himself did not possess—that since 1660, when the nation voluntarily bestowed upon him absolute power, he had become the most despotic sovereign in Europe—that his power to cede was therefore beyond doubt; and that the necessity for making such a sacrifice was not less obvious, since, in return, he had received back conquests made from him, compared with which, the other parts of his dominions were of small value. That the pretended resistance of the Norwegians was of little importance—that, as they had during the course of the war calmly acquiesced in the measures of the Danish government, and had thus done an infinite injury, they had no right now, by asserting their independence, to prevent the allies from punishing their former government—that their present governments were not the result of the free will of the nation, but of foreign interference; and that in so far as their liberties were concerned, they were now about to be transferred from a despotism which trampled upon their privileges, to a government which had guaranteed their rights."

The motion of Earl Grey was negatived by a very large majority.

CHAPTER VII.

Army and Ordnance Estimates.—Civil List.—English and Irish Budgets.—Vote of Credit.—Speeches of the Prince Regent, and of the Speaker of the House of Commons, at the Close of the Session.

ON the 24th of June Lord Palmerston brought forward the army estimates for the year. He observed, "that there was no necessity for going into a detail of the various items composing the estimates; he should therefore confine himself to a brief notice of the different heads, pointing out such variations as occurred in each, and leaving, to a future period, those explanations that might be demanded of him. On a general view of the present estimates it would be seen, comparing them with those of last year, that there was an increase of 7,600 men, and of 110,000*l.* This increase arose from the establishment of new corps, and from the augmented rates of pay granted, in the last year, to non-commissioned officers. Much importance was necessarily attached to this branch of our military force, both in the field and in garrison. To know how they had discharged their duty, it was only necessary to look to the many great achievements which had crowned our arms in the peninsula. In consequence of a strong representation from the Duke of Wellington, who conceived that they were not sufficiently distinguished from the common soldier, it was determined to make an alteration in their pay. It was determined to increase the pay of the serjeant-major to 3s. per day, and to introduce another description of officer between him and the ordinary serjeant, under the denomination of colour-serjeant, who should wear an honorary badge, and whose pay should be 2s. 4d. per day. The annual expence incurred by this regulation, in the present state of the army, was 20,000l., a trifling sum when compared with the greatness of the object. Another additional charge arose from the cavalry staff. This body was different from the infantry staff—it was composed of tried and steady soldiers, selected for the purpose of attending to the discipline of the cavalry, when employed in active operations; they were paid more liberally than ordinary men. In our early exertions in the peninsula, the want of such a corps was very much felt, and, under the recommendation of the Duke of Wellington, it was formed. It consisted of 316 men, and the annual charge was 16,000l. But this corps would no longer be continued, as the individuals who composed it would either return

to their respective regiments, or be discharged. There was another corps, denominated the York chasseurs, composed of men who had deserted, which also formed an item of the additional expence. For a considerable time past, every exertion was made to discourage the system of corporal punishment in the army; and, with that view, it was thought proper to send deserters to the *depôt* at the Isle of Wight, to be from thence sent upon colonial or other service, as the commander-in-chief pleased. The number of deserters continuing to accumulate at the *depôt*, it was deemed advisable to form them into a corps. It consisted of 673 men, and would not suffer any reduction in consequence of the peace. They were, he understood, a very effective body of men, and were intended for colonial service.—With respect to the regiments for the East Indies, there was scarcely any alteration. On the staff there was an increase of 56,000l. This arose on the foreign staff. On the home staff there was a diminution of 2000l. occasioned by a reduction that had taken place in the Manchester district. He had not made any estimate of the expence of the staff under Lord Lynedock, the accounts having been made up before that expedition was planted. On this head, however, he did not mean to move for any thing additional, because the saving on the staff of the army under the Duke of Wellington would fully cover that expence. There was an increase under the head of supernumerary officers, receiving full pay, of 25,000l. A diminution of 16,000l. would take place, on account of paymasters-general, acting abroad, as the circumstances of the time rendered them no longer necessary. On the half-pay and allowances, an additional vote would be necessary. This partly arose from the increased number of persons who would now retire on half-pay, and partly from the adoption of a measure to ameliorate the situation of military officers. The operation of the measure would be, to make a better provision for general officers, who did not command regiments; for the House must know, that there was no pay attached to the rank of a general officer, circumstanced as he had described, because all right to pay went by regimental commission; and by a late return it appeared, that, previous to the last *brevet*, there were 29 general officers receiving the half-pay of major, and 66 receiving the half-pay of captain. When an officer, holding a commission in a regiment, was raised to the rank of general, his attendance with that regiment was dispensed with; because, from his rank in the regiment, he ought to obey his superior officer, although, by the rules of the army, he, being a general, would have a right to command the colonel or lieutenant-colonel of that regiment, in which perhaps he only held the commission of major. To prevent this, he was suffered to absent himself, and a supernumerary officer was appointed. But this did not deprive him of his commission, he still received the pay derived from his rank in that regiment, and, if it were reduced, he was entitled to half-pay; and this was all he had to subsist on, unless he was placed on the staff. This situation of things was not consistent with the liberality of the country. It existed in no other nation in the world. Every where else, the different gradations of rank in the army received suitable pay; and even in our own navy a different system prevailed. There the flag-officers had rates of pay apportioned to their rank. It was not, therefore, too much to ask that the same principle should be extended towards the military officer. The arrangement he intended to propose was, to place general officers of the army on the same footing as flag-officers of the navy. A major-general to rate as

a rear-admiral, when unemployed, and a lieutenant-general as a vice-admiral. But it was not proposed to give to a full general the same rate of pay as was received by a full admiral, but to confine him to what the lieutenant-general received. The reason of this was, that a general commanding a regiment possessed advantages which an admiral did not enjoy. When this pay was given to general officers, of course the supernumeraries in regiments would cease to exist. It would appear by the estimates, that this new plan would produce an expence of 83,000l. per annum. The entire charge under this head, part for the half-pay, and part for the general officers, would probably amount to 150 or 160,000l. per annum additional. But it was impossible to speak with certainty on matters that depended on a prospective reduction.—The next head was that of pensions. There was little alteration in the item for in-pensioners. On the out pensioners there was an increase of 26,000l. There was a reduction of 163,000l. under the head of volunteers. Of this 101,000l. arose from not issuing money for clothing during the last year to the Irish volunteers, and 62,000l. saved by the reduction of volunteer corps in England." His lordship here pronounced a very animated eulogium on this meritorious body of men, who had boldly come forward to defend the country when it was threatened with invasion. "In the local militia a great reduction had taken place, and it would only be necessary to provide for the permanent staff of that force, and for those regiments that had been called out upon active service. In the foreign corps, there was a diminution of 1,100 men, and 29,000l. In the Military College, a diminution of 12,000l. In the Irish commissariat department, there was a reduction of 70,000l. occasioned by a fall in the price of forage, and from there being a smaller number of horses to be provided for in the present year than in the last. In the barrack department there was a decrease, in charge, of 38,000l. A vote of 12 millions had been taken on account of these estimates, but it was not his intention to move for the whole of the remaining sum. He proposed to deduct from the gross amount 2,362,000l. In the present state of the country, as his right hon. friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had observed, it was impossible, in any deduction he might make from the vote originally proposed, to proceed on any *data*, which he could depend upon as perfectly accurate. His calculations, in such a state of things, must necessarily be founded on conjectural *data*. It was not possible to calculate with precision, when those calculations depended on the time when colonies would be ceded, when troops would return home, and a variety of other contingencies. Therefore, in deducting the sum he had mentioned, he begged it to be understood, that, if it was found necessary to keep up a greater establishment than he had reckoned upon, he should not feel himself precluded from proposing a larger vote; at the same time, he could assure the House, that it was not more the duty than it was the inclination of government, to reduce the military establishment of the country, as far as was consistent with its interests, with as much speed as possible." His lordship then recapitulated the different heads of reduction, to the amount of 2,362,000l.—amongst which were, land forces 745,000l.; militia 761,000l.; staff 30,000l.; Irish volunteers 50,000l.; local militia 421,000l.; foreign corps 206,000l.; Irish commissariat 80,000l.; Irish barracks 50,000l. He then shortly stated the steps which had been taken to reduce the militia, the corps of drivers, the recruiting districts and the home staff, and concluded by moving,

"That the sum of 1,546,000l. be granted to his majesty for the service of the land forces."

Some observations were made by Mr Ponsonby and other members of opposition, who recommended that the state of our military establishments prior to the war with France should be taken as the criterion in future, so soon as the restoration of peace with America and the settlement of continental affairs might permit.

The resolutions proposed by Lord Palmerston were then referred to a committee of supply. Before the House went into this committee, on the 11th July, Mr Freemantle said, "he felt it his duty to deliver to the House his opinions on the present state of the expenditure of the army. It was to be recollected, that the estimates laid before the House were for the service of the year, from the 25th of December last to the same time in the present year. In these estimates the reductions from the sum voted for last year were only two millions, and those eventual. Now, as far as economical arrangements in our internal system of defence could be followed, they might have been adopted as early as April last; by the reduction thus effected, a greater saving than one-eighth (which was all the reduction at present) of the whole expenditure would have been effected. If as much of zeal had been used by the government in the reduction of the expenditure of the country at present, as they had formerly shewn of energy in proposing enlarged scales of expenditure, they would have been even more entitled than they actually were to the liberal praise of the country. When the details of the estimates presented were looked into, they would appear more objectionable; five millions were required for the foreign troops in the service of this country, and the militia. Now, on these branches alone a saving could have been effected, if early and effectual measures had been adopted, as great as all that which was more held out. For the staff and garrisons, volunteers, local militia, commissariat, &c. there was a charge of seven millions, on which alone there might have been a reduction of much more than two millions. As to the general officers, he agreed in the principle, that they were entitled to larger pay than they had formerly enjoyed. There was one thing, however, to be considered in this regulation, that those who were now captains or inferior officers, would go on in rank during the peace; yet when they became general officers, it would not be said that they were entitled to so large a pay as those who had been actually efficient officers of higher rank during the war.—The hon. gentleman then observed, that it was extraordinary that no one of his majesty's ministers had given any hint of the probable reduction on the peace establishment: it was true, details might be difficult, but some general grounds might be given. It appeared, however, that they were to return to their constituents, after the successful termination of the war, from most extraordinary exertions, without any opportunity of announcing to them any reduction of their burthens; but, on the contrary, after having voted all the estimates on the same scale of expenditure as those of last year!"

Lord Palmerston observed, "it was very easy to say, that reductions ought to be made; but, in details, he defied any person to show that economy had been neglected. It was impossible to reduce the regiments till all the battalions returned; but orders had been issued to reduce the cavalry regiments within reach; the troops having been reduced from 10 to 8, the number of men in each troop from 80 to 60. As to the reduction of the militia, &c. as early as April last, it was to be recol-

lected, the number of French prisoners, for whose safe custody we had to provide. All possible progress was made in the reduction of the militia; all regiments that could be spared being marched back to their counties to be disbanded. As to the staff, it could not be reduced till the troops to which it was attached had returned home. It was sufficient that the peace establishment, in general, would be formed on the most economical arrangements." The noble lord concluded with some general observation in support of the proposed arrangement.

General Gascoyne thought, that as the committee would be the proper place for going into details, any observations upon them would be inappropriate upon the motion before the House.

Mr Ponsonby said, "that he had some observations to make which applied to the principle of the motion. That the military establishment of the empire could not be consistently reduced to the standard at which it stood previous to the war, he was ready to admit; but he contended, that every excess, beyond that standard, ought to be justified upon its own grounds. The excess, created by the acquisition of Malta, the Mauritius, and other places, by the late war, clearly admitted of justification; but no farther excess than that which was equally necessary should be tolerated; and, exclusive of such points as he had alluded to, our military establishment ought to be confined to that which existed previous to the revolutionary war. The noble lord had observed, that our military establishment must be regulated by the amount of force maintained by other European powers, and he confessed that he was much surprised at this observation. Certainly it was not very consistent with the statement of another noble lord (Castlereagh), that we had now to look for a long, a profound, and unsuspicious peace; if so, it could not follow, that because Russia, or Austria, or any other power, maintained 30 or 40,000 troops more than usual, this country should be encumbered with the support of an additional military force. Unless, indeed, the statement of the noble secretary for foreign affairs was too sanguine, the doctrine of the noble lord who spoke last was quite untenable.—Here the right hon. gentleman alluded to the state of Sicily, and the views of government with regard to that country. Upon this subject, respecting which he did not mean to pronounce any blame upon ministers, he felt himself unable to form any opinion, for he could not understand the case. Indeed, it appeared at present unintelligible, and perhaps it was not yet expedient to give any explanation."

Lord Castlereagh said, "the House and the right honourable gentleman must be aware that the affairs of Sicily were at present in a very critical state. That country had, no doubt, great claims upon Great Britain: it was entitled to expect that we should actively interest ourselves in its favour; and he could say, that nothing in our power would be wanting to contribute to its future advantage. With respect to the right hon. gentleman's allusion to the character of the peace, he could not help observing, that rather an exaggerated picture was presented by the right hon. gentleman upon that subject; for the House and the country could not dismiss from its mind, that, however deliberately the peace with France might have been formed, much yet remained to be done. It would be recollected, that all the territory regained from France was yet to be distributed; and, under all the circumstances of the case, he submitted it would be quite impossible as yet to reduce our military establishment to

the standard which some gentlemen had in view, at least to that which existed twenty years ago. It must also be borne in mind, that very material changes had taken place in the external relations and internal condition of the several nations of Europe, which it would be expedient to consider before any resolution should be adopted with regard to the future amount of our military force. Recurring to Sicily, he was not prepared to give any precise information upon that point at present, but he could assure the House that due attention would be paid to the state and destinies of that country."

After this debate, and some further discussion, which it is not important to notice, the original resolutions were put and agreed to; as was also a resolution for granting a sum of not exceeding 30,000l. for the disembodied militia in Ireland.

On the 4th of July, the House having resolved itself into a committee of supply for taking into consideration the ordnance estimates, Mr R. Ward stated, "that considerable reductions would probably be expected in the estimates which he had to bring forward. In fact, a reduction would be found in the present year of 1,500,000l. This sum amounted to one quarter of the whole expence. It would be recollected that half of the year had passed in war, and there had not been an opportunity to reduce the different expences immediately. It was the beginning of April before it was known that Paris had been entered by the allies; soon after, Buonaparte abdicated, and on the 19th of that month, orders were issued by the master-general of the ordnance to reduce the establishments in every possible way. The military department had been reduced one-fourth; the number of horse one-third; and in the course of the year they would be reduced another third—that was, from 7000 to a third of that number. He would not pledge himself to an exact estimate of the future reduction of expence, but he would offer a rough calculation of the probable reduction under the peace establishment. This he conceived would be one-half, exclusive of the total reduction of all the foreign corps. In the engineer corps all the officers would be retained. This arose from the peculiar nature of that service, which required a long and laborious course of education, and which, if once suffered to fall into neglect, could not easily be replaced. It was not possible to speak in too high terms of the skill, the industry, and gallantry of the officers in this corps. He would next advert to what might be considered as an infant service, which had, however, arrived at a state of manhood; he meant the rocket corps. For this service, and for the wonders it had achieved in raising the military character of the country, we were indebted to an hon. friend of his, whom, as he did not see in his place, he should name, Colonel Congreve. The hon. member then read several extracts from officers in the army, to shew the importance of the services which this corps had performed in Spain, and particularly at the passage of the Adour, where 40 men armed with rockets had put to flight 3000 of the enemy. The whole of the officers in this corps would be retained, but there would be a reduction in the number of men. In the works at Woolwich there had been a considerable reduction, and there would have been a greater, but from the necessity of giving the usual orders, and buying up materials as early in the year as possible. The whole amount was 64,000l. every shilling of which he thought himself prepared to justify. One article under this head, which it was proper to account for, was 6000l. for barracks. The fact was, that these

were intended for a new corps of sappers and miners, for whom the barracks at Woolwich were not found sufficient. For the royal powder-mills there was a sum of 12,000l. which arose chiefly from the improvements which had been adopted in the different mills to prevent explosions. There had been also great improvements, and consequently some expence, in the machinery at Woolwich. Of the magnitude and importance of these works, we might judge from the quantity of arms and ammunition which had been sent abroad from the Laboratory at Woolwich since the year 1808, among which were 834 pieces of cannon, 30,000 muskets, 77,000 barrels of gunpowder, and in the last year alone 320 cannon, 20,000 barrels of gunpowder, 48 millions of musket cartridges, 6 millions of flints, &c. Among the improvements in the machinery were two saws, which had cost from 16 to 20,000l. and which had already created a saving of near 8000l. After various statements and details, the hon. gentleman concluded with observing, that he should not have detained the House so long, but that he was urged by a sense of duty to give every information and explanation in his power."

The chairman then proposed the vote of 1,746,000l. on account, for discharging the ordnance estimates. The resolutions arising out of this proposition were agreed to.

On the 14th of July, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a committee of supply, submitted a proposition for making good certain deficiencies which had occurred in the civil list. "He wished particularly to recal their attention to the distinction which he had stated on a former occasion, between the two great branches of the civil list expenditure; that which respected the personal allowances, and the household of the sovereign, and the royal family, and that which comprehended the judicial, civil, and political establishments of the government of the country. It was satisfactory to him to be able to state, that, though in the general aggregate expence of the civil list during the last year, there had been some increase; yet, in the household branch, there had been a diminution; and that the general excess arose from an augmentation of some political expences, which he could easily explain to the committee; and which, he hoped, would not be thought objectionable. In going through the several classes of the civil list, it would be found, that in the first class, that of allowances to the royal family, there had been no increase. In the second, that, of the judges, there was also scarcely any variation. In the third, that, of our ministry abroad, there had been a considerable increase from the happy restoration of our relations of amity with the nations of the continent. The amount of this increase was about 13,000l. and the particular items of which it consisted might be seen by a reference to the printed accounts, to which he should beg leave to refer the committee. But the increase of 13,000l. upon this head was by no means an additional charge upon the public to that extent; as it would be found, by referring to the sixth class, that a saving of 8000l. had been made, by the employment of ministers, who before were in the receipt of pensions. This laudable attention to economy in the foreign departments reduced the actual increase of expence to 5000l. In the fourth class, that of the bills of the household, there was, in the whole, an increase of about 2000l.; the bills in the Lord Chamberlain's departments being about 2000l. less than in the former year; and those in the departments of the Master of the Horse about 3000l. less; while those in the department of the Lord Steward were

increased about 7000l. in consequence, probably, of a greater number of entainments given by the Regent. In the fifth class, that of the salaries of the officers of the household, there was an increase of about 2500l. which also appeared to have taken place in the Lord Steward's department. In the sixth class, that of pensions and compensations, there was scarcely any variation, except in that part which related to the pensions of ministers before unemployed, in which there had been, as he had before stated, a diminution of about 8000l. The seventh class, which comprises a multitude of small payments, due by ancient usage, hardly admits of any variation; and in the eighth class, which comprises the salaries of the lords of the treasury, there was no other difference than what arose from a short vacancy in the office of first lord of the treasury, in the year 1812, occasioned by a catastrophe too well remembered by the House.

"In the remaining class of occasional payments, considerable variations will appear, making, in the whole, an excess of 30,000l. which would be found entirely to arise from an increase of 10,000l. in the presents to foreign ministers, in consequence of the treaties and conventions which had lately taken place; and an increase of 30,000l. in the disbursements of our ministers residing at foreign courts. These two items amounted together to 40,000l.; but from them must be deducted a diminution of 8000l. under the head of special service; and one of 2000l. under that of equipage to ministers at foreign courts, making the actual excess of this class, taken collectively, 30,000l. Among the extraordinary disbursements, to which he had referred, would be found a considerable sum drawn on account of the missions at Lisbon and Cadiz. He had, on a former occasion, explained the causes which led to the extraordinary expence of those missions. The singular situation of the ministers employed there, of whom Sir Charles Stuart was a member of the regency of Portugal, and Sir Henry Wellesley, as the representative of the British government, held a connection with the Spanish government very distinct from that of any other foreign minister, would of itself account for any extraordinary expence. But, in addition to these circumstances, it must be recollected, that both Lisbon and Cadiz were, for a considerable time, almost in a state of siege, and that the loss upon the exchange alone added 30 per cent. to the expences of our ministers. He had the satisfaction of stating, that he understood, that those extraordinary allowances had been discontinued from the 5th of July, 1813; and that the bills, which had since been drawn, were for the discharge of arrears before incurred.

"The total amount of the charge upon the civil list, for the year ending the 5th of April last, had been 1,349,000l.; of which 1,095,000l. had been discharged from the ordinary sources of income, and 136,000l. from the droits of Admiralty, and other funds at the disposal of the crown; leaving an ultimate deficiency of 118,000l. for which he should submit a vote to the committee. He might here conclude all he should wish to state with reference to that vote, but as it was his intention to submit a further proposition to the committee for a grant in aid of the civil list expences during the current year, he preferred introducing here what he had to say on that subject, to troubling the committee a second time. The sum he should propose was 100,000l., a sum by no means adequate even to the ordinary exceedings of the civil list in late years, and much less to those extraordinary expences of which esti-

mates were already on the table; but he thought it much more desirable to wait for the end of the year, and then to submit the account to the approbation of parliament, than to call, by anticipation, for so large a provision as he might expect would then be found necessary.

"By referring to the estimates on the table, it would appear that the excess of the July quarter only, beyond the corresponding quarter of the preceding year, would amount to a greater sum than he proposed to ask. This excess arose from extraordinary expenses and preparations, which chiefly arose from the visit of the allied sovereigns. Upon those estimates, much had already been said in the House, and it was not his intention to renew the discussion. But he wished to ask gentlemen what would have been their feelings, if they had been able, twelve months ago, to have predicted to them that the greatest sovereigns in Europe, after having, in concert with the councils and arms of the country, terminated a glorious war, by an honourable and advantageous peace, signed in the capital of the enemy, designed to pay a visit to the representative of our sovereign, as a proof of respect to his character; and that he, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had proposed to the House a grant of 100,000l. to enable the Prince Regent to make suitable preparation for their reception; whether, in such a case, any other sentiment could have been felt in the House, or any voice uttered, but those of gratitude and exultation? This glorious prospect had, however, been realized; and, whatever might be said of some particular circumstances in the expenses which had taken place, he was sure that the general sentiment of the country, and the strongest feelings of the public, went along with the government in all that had been done. When the expenditure which had been incurred by individuals and corporate bodies on this great occasion, was compared with what had been done by the government, he was sure the House could not think the general amount of the charge extravagant or misplaced. From the shortness of the visit of the illustrious and royal personages alluded to, and from some unavoidable delays, much of the intended preparation had not been completed in time; but that was no ground for condemning it, as it was undertaken in contemplation of a more extended visit.

"Much, both of expense and delay, was occasioned by the sovereign of this country not being possessed of a residence fitted for splendid representation. There were few sovereigns, even of the secondary states of Europe, who did not inhabit palaces much better suited to entertainments on a grand scale. The consequence was, that whenever any thing of the kind was thought proper, much expence was incurred in temporary buildings; which, after having answered their immediate purpose, were of no further use. It might, therefore, even in point of economy, be well worth consideration, whether a palace should not be erected; but this was a question which he undoubtedly thought ought not to be hastily decided; and he was far from suggesting that it would be proper to undertake it at this moment. He did not, at present, feel it necessary to go more minutely into the subject, but should conclude by moving, "That a sum, not exceeding 118,857l. 4s. 11d. be granted to his majesty to make good the deficiency of the civil list, on the 5th day of April, 1814."

Mr Tierney, and other members, complained much of the continual deficiency which occurred in the civil list,—commented upon the large sums appropriated to the Prince's establish-

ment,—upon the profusion manifested in the departments of the Lord Chamberlain and Lord Steward, particularly during the recent visit of the foreign princes. He entered into various details upon these different points, upon all of which he was met with full and candid explanation by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The resolution proposed by the latter was afterwards agreed to, together with another for granting 100,000l. towards defraying the extraordinary expences of the civil list for the year 1814.

On the 13th of June, the House of Commons having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward the budget for the year. He said, " that he rose for the purpose of submitting, for the consideration and approbation of the House, the terms of the loan which had been that day contracted for. From the unavoidable absence of many members of that House, it was his intention to postpone, to a future opportunity, a great part of what he intended to say on the subject of the supplies and the Ways and Means, generally known by the appellation of the Budget. He would, therefore, confine himself to a brief statement of the supplies already granted, what remained to be voted, the Ways and Means to defray those charges, and the terms on which the loan had been contracted for. The House would recollect that many items still remained to be provided for, among which were the army estimates, and also the sums necessary to defray the ordnance service, which would absorb a considerable portion of the Ways and Means of the year. The war taxes, amounting to 21,000,000l. might be considered as applicable to these two purposes; and he would state, in detail, the Ways and Means by which the remaining charges were to be met. By adopting this course of proceeding, he would bring under the consideration of the committee the supplies which had been granted, together with those that still might be wanting; and next, the Ways and Means, before they came to the consideration of the loan. The right hon. gentleman then proceeded to state the different heads of supply, as follow:

Navy (exclusive of ordnance sea service) which had been completely voted - - L.	18,786,509
The sum voted for this, last year, was 20,575,011l.; there was, therefore, a balance in favour of this year, 1,788,502l.	
Army (including Ireland) with barracks and commissariat, of which a part yet remained to be provided - - -	18,121,178
The vote of last year was 18,926,537l.; the balance in favour of this year was therefore 805,364l.	
Extraordinaries,	
England - - L. 9,300,000 / Ireland - - - 200,000	9,200,000
Under this head, the vote of last year was, for England, 9,500,000l.; for Ireland, 200,000l.; the difference in favour of this year, 300,000l.	
Extraordinaries unprovided for last year - -	6,350,132
Ordnance (including Ireland) that had not been provided for - - - -	3,955,658
The amount was short of the vote of last year 1,145,636l.	
Miscellaneous, which was equal to the vote of last year -	2,500,000
Vote of Credit for England, L. 3,000,000 / Ditto for Ireland 200,000	3,200,000
The sums voted on this account last year, were, for England, 6,000,000l. for Ireland, 200,000l.	
Subsidies voted - - -	3,000,000
Ditto to be voted - - -	1,200,000
Bills of Credit already voted to pay the Bills issued according to agreement, by our Allies, and guaranteed by us -	1,000,000

The total amount of the joint charge therefore was -		67,313,472
The Separate Charges were:		
Loyalty Loan -	71,320	
Interest on Exchequer Bills -	1,900,000	
Ditto on Debentures	49,780	
Grant to Sinking Fund, in respect of Exchequer Bills unprovided -	290,000	
For payment of Exchequer bills -	6,000,000	
		8,311,100
		75,624,572
From this was to be deducted the proportion which Ireland was to bear, viz. L. 7,919,232		
Civil List and Consolidated Fund -	187,862	
		8,107,094
Which would leave to be provided for by Great Britain		67,517,478

The Ways and Means which he would propose to meet this sum were—

Annual Duties - - - - -	3,000,000
War Taxes - - - - - -	20,500,000
Lottery - - - - - - - -	200,000
Vote of Credit - - - - -	3,000,000
Naval Stores (English proportion) - - - - - - - - -	508,545
First Loan - - - - - -	22,000,000
Second Loan concluded this day	18,500,000
Making together the sum of	67,708,545

It would here occur to many gentlemen that he had not taken credit for the consolidated fund, but the reason of this was, that it fell so far short in the last year from what might have been expected from it; and therefore he thought it wiser to permit its growing profits to accumulate for some future time, than to make any farther charge upon a fund which had disappointed their expectations. The right hon. gentleman then stated, that in the customs duties there had been a deficiency; but from the unfortunate fire which had happened at the custom-house, he was not able to state on what articles the deficiencies had arisen. The amount of the customs duties received was 9,818,000l. which was two millions short of the expectation that had been formed. In the Excise, the produce had been considerably greater, and all the other branches had been comparatively flourishing. The stamp-duties to the 5th of April, 1813, amounted to 22,957,000l., and for the last year, 23,971,000l., which gave an increase of about a million. The beer was not quite equal to the last year. In 1813, it produced 2,699,000l., and in 1814, but 2,585,000l. The produce of malt, for 1813, was 4,440,000l., and for 1814, 4,875,000l., making an increase of about 430,000l. The produce of British spirits, for 1813, had been 2,632,000l., and for 1814, 2,969,000l. an increase of 300,000l. On foreign spirits an increase had also taken place; in 1813, the produce was 2,325,000l., in 1814, 2,521,000l., being an increase of nearly 200,000l. Foreign wines, in consequence of the destruction of the vineyards in Portugal, had not been productive for many years, but there had been a rise in the last year from 947,000l. to 1,013,000l. Upon teas there had been an increase from 3,547,000l. to 3,652,000l.; and on the post-office, an increase from 1,265,000l. to 1,289,000l., an increase which, although trivial, yet proved the benefit which had arisen from the new measures that had been adopted. The assessed taxes, which included some of the taxes that had not been collected in 1812, in 1813, amounted to 5,880,000l., and in the year 1814, to 6,339,000l., being an increase of half a million. The land-tax, which was a fixed rate, in consequence of the progress of its redemption, was not quite so productive as the former year; its amount in 1813 was 1,081,000l., and in the last year, but 1,000,059l. The remaining branch of the taxes was the property-tax, upon which there had also been a considerable increase. The produce for 1813, was 12,868,000l.; for 1814, 14,485,000l., making a surplus of 1,517,000l.

"He had now stated the general pro-

duce of the revenue in detail, and this he thought the best mode of acting, as the House would be enabled to form a judgment on the produce of the different branches. The unfortunate event to which he had already alluded, namely, the fire at the Custom-house, prevented him from satisfying the House upon the increase of our trade, but he could with confidence state, that our actual exports in the last year had exceeded, in a most flourishing degree, any other year which had yet preceded it. The last thing which he had to advert to was the terms of the loan. He would, however, before he proceeded to make his statement on this subject, anticipate a question which his hon. friend opposite (Mr Grenfell) would probably ask. He would perhaps enquire, whether any attempt had been made, in negociating the late loan, to carry into effect a clause contained in the act of the 23d of his majesty, for appropriating part of the growing produce of the sinking fund to the service of the year. In answer to this, he had to observe, that all the parties who bid for the loan, with the exception of one gentleman, were averse to that proceeding. And looking to this general concurrence of opinion, it was thought that a better bargain could be procured by agreeing to the suggestion, than if any opposition were made to it; because, from the large amount of the loan, it was not probable that a great competition would have been produced, if, in negociating it, they had acted under the provision contained in the clause alluded to. Finding the opinion of the contractors generally hostile to the proposition, and seeing there was no probability, that, for a loan of 18,000,000l. any other bidders would come forward, besides those who attended on the occasion, it was thought advisable to coincide in their terms, and to make the loan on the old principle. The bargain was extremely satisfactory, being very much in favour of the public. Undoubtedly, at the present moment, when this country was at peace with all the world, except America, it was natural to expect that the loan would be negociated upon favourable terms, and he was extremely happy to say, that such terms had been obtained. It was thought necessary that part of the loan should be taken in the 5 per cents. This was not popular amongst the contractors, who were much better pleased with a bargain in the 3 per cents.; it had, however, been carried into effect, and the result would be, a decrease of charge and interest to a very considerable amount. On a casual view of the subject, this would not appear to be the case, but a little consideration would prove, that an amount of nominal capital, of not less than 4,000,000l. would be saved, by taking part of the loan in the 5 per cent. The total amount of the loan was 24,000,000l. of which, 5,500,000l. was for the service of Ireland, leaving to Great Britain a sum of 18 millions and a half. For every 100l. in money, the contractors would receive a capital of 30l. navy per cent.; 80l. 3 per cents. reduced; 23l. 10s. 3 per cent. consols. To avoid increasing the charge on the consolidated fund, they had, for the first time, stipulated, that instead of paying interest for the six preceding months, it should only begin to run from July next in the navy 5 per cents., and from April last in the consols. This system would produce a reduction from the 5 per cents. of 2,500,000l., and from the consols, of 1,500,000l. Calculating the loan on these terms, the interest would be found not to exceed 4l. 12s. 1d. per cent. The first dividend, being exempted from the property-tax, formed a respectable bonus; and, as it was intended to meet the charge created by funding for the

service of the present year, by cancelling redeemed stock in the manner provided for in the last session of parliament, the necessity of burdening the consolidated fund with any additional charge would thus be avoided. The most remarkable circumstance connected with the present loan, and one which he believed had never before occurred, was the improvement which took place in the state of the funds at a time when it was known that so large a sum of money was about to be borrowed. The actual biddings became, in consequence, so much more favourable, that almost a million of stock was saved to the public, which, if government had closed with the contractors on Wednesday last, must have given to them. When the funds rose so high, at the period when a loan was pending, it proved the flourishing state of our public credit, and, at the same time held out the most flattering hope that they would continue, for the remainder of the year, equally elevated. The interest of 4l. 12s. 1d., to which were to be added the sinking fund charge, and the other incidental expences, made a total of something more than 8 per cent. It was his intention to move a resolution for cancelling an amount of stock sufficient to bear this charge; and even when that was done, not less than 50,000,000l. of surplus stock would still remain applicable to the service of the country." The right hon. gentleman then moved, "That it is the opinion of this Committee, that, towards raising the supply to be granted to his majesty, the sum of 24,000,000l. be raised by annuities; the charges of 18,500,000l. whereof shall be defrayed by Great Britain, and of 5,500,000l. by Ireland."

The resolution was agreed to, along with two others relating to the terms of the loan.

On the 1st of July, Mr William Fitzgerald, the chancellor of the Irish exchequer, brought forward the Irish budget for the year. He said, "that many of the difficulties and embarrassments in the finances of Ireland had been considerably diminished by the duties which, in the course of his duty, he had proposed to the House last year. There was one difficulty which resulted from a peculiarity in the situation of Ireland, a difficulty derived from the preceding practice of meeting the necessities of a year of peace by the imposition of taxes when parliament had relieved England from similar taxes. There had, however, been, in the practice alluded to, certain benefits and advantages to which Ireland was, perhaps, indebted for her ability to bear those burthens which were now laid on her. In the statement of the finances of Ireland, which he was about to submit to the House, he should endeavour to occupy as little of their time as possible. The following were the particulars of the supply:—

Deficiency of Contribution, 1813 - - -	L.4,466,471
Estimated Quota of this year	8,732,685
Interest and Sinking Fund on the present debt - - -	5,546,299
Total supply -	18,795,455

The next thing he should advert to was the state of the consolidated fund of Ireland:—

Balance, January 5, 1814 -		L.1,383,758
Remaining of British Loan, 1813		2,953,147
		4,336,905
From this there was to be deducted, as arrears—		
Principal of outstanding Treasury Bills and Lottery Prizes -	28,480	
Inland Navigations -	69,596	
		98,076
Surplus of Consolidated Fund		4,238,829

The total of the supply, as he had already stated, amounted to 18,795,455l.

He would now proceed to state the Ways and Means:—

Surplus of the Consolidated Fund - - - - - - -		L.4,238,820
Revenues, estimated at - -		5,350,000
Profit on Lotteries - - -		120,000
Seamen's Wages - - - -		71,000
Two seventeenths of 576,351l. for Naval Stores, 15-17ths thereof being taken credit for by England 67,806l. Brit. -		73,456
Loan in Ireland	3,000,000	
Loan in England, 5,500,000l. Brit. -	5,958,333	
		8,958,338
		18,811,618

In adverting to the charge for the loan, he might be allowed to state, that the sum borrowed in Ireland this year was the greatest ever yet raised in that country.

Irish Loan, 3 000 000l. at 5l. 11s. 9d. for money - -	L.167,625
English Loan, 5,950,353l. at 5l. 18s. 9½d. for money - -	353,900
	521,525

" Before he went into a recapitulation of the items of the duties and taxes to meet the above charge, he hoped he might be permitted to restate an opinion, which he delivered last year on a subject, perhaps, of the greatest importance of all those which grew out of the act of Union, and that was, that the Union could not be considered as completed till the consideration of the finances of Ireland was taken up in the way pointed out by the act of union. It was a satisfaction to him to find, that that opinion had not been disapproved of by those public men who were looked upon as the best acquainted with the interests of Ireland. That country ought to be brought up to a rate of taxation similar to that of England, at least in those cases where she possessed corresponding resources. With this view, he should propose an equalization of duty on all foreign articles imported into Ireland. The expectations which he held out last year in proposing new duties had been more than realized; for there was not one of those duties which had not in collection more than exceeded the estimate. He could see no grounds for Ireland being exempted from a particular species of taxation; but with respect to articles liable to custom-house duty, he could also see no grounds why a difference of rate should have existed so long between the two countries. It was his intention, therefore, to include, in his arrangement of this year, some articles which had never yet been subject to taxation. He should propose a resolution, to impose a duty on several articles used in the manufactories of Ireland. He hoped that the grounds by which he was actuated would satisfy those interested in manufactures, that these duties were necessary to prevent gross abuses against the revenue system. Several articles, hitherto exempted from duty, such as ashes, barilla, and also a congregated set of articles, known under the name of dye-stuffs, he conceived to be proper objects of taxation. The truth was, that a great number of those articles imported into Ireland were never used in the manufactures of that country, but were conveyed to England, to the great loss of the revenue. To do away this mischief, and at the same time raise a revenue in Ireland, he should propose that the duties on those articles should be the same in Ireland as in Great Britain. He conceived it proper, however, to allow a drawback for those articles used in the bleaching of linen; and every facility, therefore, would be given to the manufacturers to obtain the drawback. He should estimate the increase

of custom-house duties from the equalization of rates at only 200,000l.—The next means of providing for the deficiency was a duty on spirits. This duty, while it provided for the wants of the Irish revenue, would accomplish another object, that of facilitating the intercourse between the two countries. The duties which he had proposed the former year had, in a great measure, prevented smuggling in Ireland, and were not only beneficial to the revenue, but advantageous, when considered in a national point of view. In consequence of this duty, England ought to give, on every principle of sound policy and national faith, every facility to the intercourse in spirits. He estimated the produce of the new duties on spirits at 300,000l. The next means were the stamp duties. The duty on legacies had not been found so productive in Ireland as was expected, and, in fact, had yielded almost nothing.

"One source of revenue that he should propose was, a duty upon letters of attorney, which, whether it was productive or unproductive, being equally beneficial to Ireland, he hoped would meet with full concurrence. The resolution he should move would augment the stamp duty to 1l. 10s. upon every letter of attorney for the receipt of 60l. and it would rise in proportion to the sum. The effect would be to decrease the number of factors or middlemen in Ireland, who went between the owner of the soil and the occupant to receive the rents; by these means, the landlord and the tenant would be approximated, and the residence of wealthy proprietors in Ireland would be promoted. The amount that this increase of duty would produce he calculated at 15,000l. A new excise upon glass, beyond the countervailing duty, would likewise produce 15,000l.—The next and only remaining item regarded the postage of letters: the committee was aware that last year an alteration had been made by augmenting the sum paid upon letters sent direct between the capital and the principal towns of Ireland, and his object now was, to adopt the same regulations with regard to the cross-post of the sister kingdom, and, as in England, the utmost extent charged would be three hundred miles. The produce of this new regulation would be about 5,000l. per annum."—The right honourable gentleman then proceeded to detail the increase of the various sources of revenue, excepting malt, which had fallen off at the time of the stoppage of the distillery. He also detailed the measures adopted last year, and the amount produced beyond what was calculated. "The amount of customs for the whole year had been estimated at 250,000l., whereas, in the first seven months the sum obtained was 190,000l. The duty of 3s. per barrel upon malt, estimated at 115,000l. per annum, in the first three months, had given 60,000l.

"He congratulated the House upon the prospect afforded in another division of the subject—exports and imports. Comparing the produce of the twelve years preceding, with the twelve years succeeding 1802, there was an augmentation on the exports of twelve millions, on the imports eighteen millions; on ships 19,000l. and on tonnage 187,000 tons, proving an increasing prosperity in the commerce of Ireland. He adverted to some of the objections made to assimilating the custom duties of England and Ireland, and to establish the benefit of the latter system, he referred to the gross amount of the customs of Ireland up to the last year. The sum at the close of the last quarter was 2,790,409l. although it had laboured under great disadvantages. The average on the three preceding years was only

2,474,080l. giving an increase of 316,329l. The sum paid on the importation of French wines had been greatly increased, another proof of prosperity. The duty upon spirits and malt had also risen; in the three last years, as compared with the three years preceding 1793, the additional revenue gained upon the above articles was 3,335,000l. He went on to controvert the opinion that, since the Union, the same exertions had not been made to collect the revenues as previous to that event; he quoted the amount of the net revenue before the Union, 39 millions, and the amount for the thirteen years posterior to the Union, 116 millions, and argued that the difference was to be attributed to the greater activity in the collection of the revenue.

"On the only former occasion, on which it had been his duty to bring under the consideration of parliament the general state of the resources of Ireland, he had expressed that opinion, to which he still adhered, namely, that it was mainly owing to the system on which we had acted with respect to Ireland, that she had increased as she had done in these resources, and had advanced so rapidly, in despite of the comparative augmentation of her burthens, to wealth and to prosperity. He had then cautioned the House not to press too strongly on these nascent sources of our strength.

"I then laid before you," said the right honourable gentleman, "what Ireland had done. I did not conceal from her the sacrifices which she would be called upon to make. I expressed that hope which parliament has fulfilled, a hope that would not anticipate the resources of Ireland, for if you anticipate, you crush them. I presume to say, that in the propositions which I lay this day before you, I give no indistinct evidence of a disposition to meet the difficulties of our situation, of a desire not to shrink, through any personal feelings, from the imposition of such burthens as I think the country is able to bear: and if, sir, at the close of this long, eventful, and triumphant war, in which Great Britain has made such sacrifices, and in which Ireland has contributed such as were corresponding to her means; if England has set a splendid example to surrounding nations, her sister island has been far from backward in those exertions, by which our national character has been raised to its present proud pre-eminence. Let us not be told, then, that we have been but a burthen to the empire, to whose success we have contributed so essentially. We have given you him, whom you have this day, for the first time, seen within your walls, since he ran his race of glory, and whose presence shed a lustre round the House. He could have told you, in the language of one of her most eloquent sons, that the heart sluices of Ireland had been opened in your cause. I will not speak of any one who may be present, for my noble friend is present, under whose councils that treaty has been accomplished, by which convulsed Europe has been restored to its ancient and regulated form; and if Great Britain is justly proud of the battle she has fought, Ireland has a claim to participate in her triumph."

The right honourable gentleman then moved his first resolution.

Sir Henry Parnell agreed, "that the progressive amelioration of the finances of Ireland had been considerable, but thought that the adoption of some new and striking financial regulation was absolutely necessary. According to the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the net revenue of Ireland was 5,350,000l. The charge on the debt 5,540,000l. which then alone exceeded the net revenue

by nearly 200,000l. The lowest calculation of the peace establishment of the united kingdom was 17,000,000l. of which the charge on Ireland was 2,000,000l. which, together with this excess of 200,000l., and other separate charges of Ireland, would amount next year to a charge exceeding by 2,400,000l. the net revenue. How was this deficiency to be met? A loan to this amount could not with good grace be proposed in a year of perfect peace, taxes to this amount must then be proposed according to the usual course of proceeding. But this deficiency, however, could be made up without either new taxes or loan. The existing taxes, if well levied, would amount to the sum required. It would be considered perhaps extraordinary, that an increase of 2,400,000l. could be effected by an improvement in the collection of the revenue; but if the able reports on the table of the House, on the subject of the Irish revenue, were read, it would be seen that he was not extravagant in his expectations. The abuses in the collection of the revenue in Ireland were very great, but the reformation would be extremely easy, and he hoped some measure to that purpose would be proposed. The system of patronage applied to the collection of the revenue was the cause of the evils in this department in Ireland At the time of the Union, no regulation was made as to the executive power of Ireland. It was well known that, before that measure, the patronage of the revenue was applied to the purposes of parliamentary corruption; and since that event this practice had not been checked. The consolidation of the treasuries of the two countries was a measure greatly to be desired, and without this no effectual controul could be exercised over the collection of the revenue. Because the Irish treasury, though intended to serve as a controul, was a complete nullity, and was likely to continue so. The manner in which this consolidation of the treasuries would be productive of so much good, would be by depriving the Irish executive government of the revenue patronage; the board of treasury sitting in this country, under the immediate direction of the first lord of the treasury, would exercise all those powers in regard to patronage and controul, as it exercises them here, and would allow the several boards of revenue in Ireland to appoint, promote, or dismiss their officers, in the same way the boards here are allowed to do. It was absurd to consider the Irish boards responsible, or capable of collecting the revenue, so long as the interference of the castle in all the patronage prevailed. If the taxes in Ireland were well managed, they would not only meet the joint charge on that kingdom, but leave a surplus to be applied to the assistance of the English revenue.—As to the tax on powers of attorney, as it was to amount to one per cent. on the sum to be received, when it exceeded a certain amount, and as the power was necessarily renewed yearly, it would, in effect, amount to a property tax of one per cent. on those Irish landlords who did not collect their own rents—a trouble which no landlord would give himself, as in that country it was not possible, as in England, to call the tenants together on a certain day, to receive the rents from all. Besides, it would be utterly impossible to collect this tax, unless regulations were enacted to ascertain every man's income, and unless the whole system of collecting the property tax in this country was introduced into Ireland.—With respect to the post-office, it was satisfactory to find some improvement had taken place in the revenue of it, as, until a late period, it was by far the worst-conducted department in Ireland. This

revenue was capable of still farther improvement, by such regulations as would expedite the conveyance of letters, and thus lead to an increased correspondence. A custom prevailed in Dublin, which could not be justified by any sound reason, of detaining all letters which came there for the purpose of going forward twelve or fourteen hours, by having the hour of the arrival of the mails fixed at six o'clock in the morning, and the hour of departure to England, or to the interior, late in the evening. By this regulation, an answer to a letter written from the country to England, or to any other part of the country, was on an average delayed unnecessarily twenty-eight hours. If no such regulation was necessary in Liverpool or Bristol, where the correspondence was greater than in Dublin, it could not be wanted there. If, again, the carrying of the mails between London and Holyhead was regulated properly, a saving of six hours might be made on each journey, without requiring the mail to travel faster than the usual rate of seven miles an hour. These regulations would be highly beneficial to the mercantile and other interests, and, at the same time, productive of a great increase of revenue.—On the subject of the spirit duties, it was desirable the discretionary power which was vested in the commissioners of excise, to grant or refuse licences, should be taken away, and that, in regard to the establishing of small stills, the large ones might be protected, by providing, that no small still should be set up within a prescribed distance. No complaint was now intended to be brought against the commissioners for any particular act of theirs, though many had certainly been made; but such a discretionary power over the capital and industry of the country ought not to have existence any where, it being the unquestionable right of every man to employ his money and his labour in whatever way he thinks proper, subject to no other restraint but that of clear and unerring legislative regulations." The honourable baronet concluded by stating, "that what he had said in regard to the necessity of a general and immediate reform in the financial system of Ireland, was of extreme consequence to the people of that country; for, if no such reform took place, then the necessity would exist in the next session of imposing new taxes adequate to produce a no less additional revenue than 2,400,000l. If a proper reform was effected, as it might very easily be, simply by assimilating the practice of Ireland to that of this country, then such a heavy burthen might be entirely avoided."—This charge of corruption in the management of the revenue was resolutely denied by the Irish government.

The several resolutions proposed by the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer were agreed to.

The present circumstances of the country,—the re-establishment of the legitimate government of France, and the restoration of tranquillity to Europe, seemed extremely favourable to a spirit of economy on the part of the British government. Yet the necessity which still existed for maintaining a considerable force on the continent, until a final settlement should be accomplished of the affairs of Europe, as well as the continuance of the American war, rendered it expedient that a considerable fund should be placed at the disposal of government, to meet any exigency which might arise. The usual message from the Prince Regent, respecting a vote of credit, was accordingly brought down towards the close of the session; and the ministry required from the legislature the sum of three millions on this account. On

the 20th of July a debate, of which what follows is the substance, occurred in the House of Commons.

Mr Whitbread said, "he should have hoped that the right hon. gentleman would have stated to the House some ground for this vote. Excepting last year, when the vote of credit was five millions, the three preceding years this vote had been but three millions, and this was at times of great difficulty, and when emergencies might have been expected. At the present period, no emergencies were to be apprehended—no circumstance was existing in the world, in fact, which could make it necessary that so large a sum as that which had been intimated by the right hon. gentleman, should be placed at the disposal of the crown. He knew of no hostilities which existed, or could be anticipated, except the war with America; and the character of that war was not of a nature which could require the expenditure of any very great sums. While upon the subject of America, he thought it expedient to ask the right hon. gentleman whether any negociations were going on with respect to that country? and whether any persons had been appointed to meet the American deputies at Gottenburgh, with a view, if possible, of putting an end to the war, without a further effusion of blood? That such negociations were going on, would be a fact extremely pleasing for the House to hear. There was another point, to which he was also desirous of adverting, and that was, the fact of a large British army being yet employed in the Low Countries; the whole of which was placed under the command of the hereditary Prince of Orange. He thought some ground ought to be stated, why the command of these troops was taken from British officers and given to the Prince of Orange. With respect to Sicily, too, this was a subject which required attention; and he could not help expressing a hope, that, at the approaching congress, some representative from the Genoese states would be allowed to be present, so as to have an opportunity of pleading the cause of that republic. To return to America, he had heard that, of late, a mode of warfare had been adopted in that country, under Sir Alexander Cochrane, which he considered not a legitimate one, and which, he feared, would recoil, in the most disastrous manner, on our colonies. He alluded to proclamations which, he understood, had been issued, specifically inciting the negroes of America to rise and revolt against their masters; and he held in his hand a proclamation, which indirectly held out incitements, by inviting persons either to enter the British navy, or, if they did not like that, promising them settlements in the British colonies. He hoped that these proclamations would be disavowed by his majesty's government, as they were not legitimate weapons of war. In conclusion, he trusted the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer would give some explanation before the Speaker left the chair, which would satisfy the House that the vote he was about to propose was necessary in the present situation of affairs."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, "that if the country had been in an actual state of peace, some justification might be necessary for proposing the vote, the amount of which was not yet under consideration, but which he had no hesitation in stating would be three millions. The war with America would, of itself, be considered a sufficient ground for placing this sum at the disposal of the crown. That this was a war by no means of a trifling or insignificant description, he believed the House would admit; and, he apprehended, it would be conceded

with equal readiness, it was a war which might call for the assistance of very great resources; consequently, the proposal which he should make in the committee would stand fully justified. Independent of this, however, those who had observed the state of Europe must have remarked, that we had not yet arrived at that state of ultimate security which usually succeeded the signing of a definitive treaty. It was a matter of public notoriety, that the future state of Europe was a subject which had yet to undergo discussion at the approaching congress; and, on such an occasion, he need hardly say it would be prudent to place the crown of this country in such a situation as would enable it to support its interests with vigour and effect." The hon. gentleman then shortly replied to Mr Whitbread respecting the employment of a British army in the Low Countries, and placing it under the command of the Prince of Orange, both of them measures which, he contended, were equally politic and necessary; and he concluded by saying, "that these circumstances, combined with those he had previously stated, he imagined, would induce parliament to think that the vote he intended to move in the committee would be neither exorbitant nor unnecessary."

Mr Tierney thought, "it was extremely important that the country should know, as soon as possible, whether the income-tax was to be continued; for although this was a circumstance which he did not consider very likely, yet the doubt which existed upon the subject placed the landed interest under very peculiar embarrassments, in consequence of many leases having expired, which could not be renewed under the uncertainty which prevailed on this head."

Lord Castlereagh observed, "that his right hon. friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had given a very correct outline of the circumstances under which the intended vote of credit was to be submitted to the House. The war with America would require to be carried on with extraordinary vigour; and demands, of an extended description, might, in consequence, become necessary on the treasury. There was another branch, however, to which it was extremely important to call their attention. The other side of the House seemed to conclude, that the moment peace was established all further solicitude should cease. It should be recollected, however, that the whole state of Europe was yet to be discussed; and that, although there was every moral certainty of a satisfactory peace being finally concluded, it was both wise and politic that we should be prepared, in the event of other results, to maintain our own power and dignity with becoming strength. It should also be recollected, that at the treaty of Chaumont, exclusive of our contribution of soldiers, an engagement had been entered into by this country, to furnish a subsidy proportionate to the troops of the other powers; and a convention had since been entered into between the four powers, Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Great Britain, which had not yet been exchanged, and which, of consequence, he had not been able to lay before parliament, in which this agreement had been again recognised—[Mr Whitbread here asked across the table, what was the date of this convention?] He did not exactly recollect the date, but he should be able to state it before he left the House. This fact, however, added to the policy of being prepared for the worst, he trusted, would operate as a sufficient ground for the vote in question. With respect to the general state of the negociation with America, he had to observe, that commissioners had been nominated by this country, and were proceeding to the

place appointed for meeting the deputies. He knew of no unnecessary delay to their immediately commencing their functions; but when he last heard from Paris, he understood M. Gallatin had not left that city. With respect to the proclamation of Sir Alexander Cochrane, inviting the blacks to revolt against their American masters, he believed no such document to be in existence, although he did understand, that in consequence of several persons resident in America having expressed a desire to place themselves under British protection, a proclamation had been issued, offering them an asylum in the British colonies. As to Sicily, he was not able to state what system his Majesty's government might hereafter deem it expedient to recommend with respect to this island."

After a few words more from Mr Whitbread, and from Lord Castlereagh in reply, the sum demanded by government was voted by the committee, and a bill was brought in and passed for making the grant effectual.

At the close of the session of parliament upon the 30th of July, the Speaker of the House of Commons on presenting to the Prince Regent the vote of credit bill, addressed to his Royal Highness one of those energetic and manly speeches, for which Mr Abbott is so distinguished.

"We, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland," said he, "do now attend your Royal Highness with our last bill of supply for the service of the present year.

"Assembled at a period, when the fate of Europe was still doubtful, and balanced by alternate hopes and reverses, we have been anxious, but not inactive spectators of those great transactions, which have wrought so fortunate a change in the state of the civilized world.

"During this portentous interval, we have pursued our legislative labours, according to our accustomed course, applying practical remedies to the practical evils incident to old establishments, or arising out of new occurrences; in some cases, proceeding experimentally, by laws of a limited duration; in others, collecting such materials of information, as may lay the ground for future measures; and those who shall come after us will see traces of that progressive improvement, which the sober habit of this country, cautiously, but not reluctantly, adopts into the system of its domestic policy and jurisprudence.

"With respect to our financial arrangements, by the provident measures of a former session, we have been enabled to refrain from augmenting the burthens of the people; and, at the same time, to make our military exertions correspond with the scale of passing events.

"Whilst we have been thus employed, the destinies of Europe have been gradually unrolled before our eyes; and the powerful nations of the north, sending forth their collective strength, to try the last issues of war, whilst Great Britain and her allies were, with equal vigour, advancing from the south, their joint efforts have, at length, accomplished the downfall of the greatest military despotism, which, in modern days, has disgraced and desolated the earth.

"In these arduous struggles, we can look back with just pride on the discharge of our high duties. The British army, modelled upon a wise system, steadily and impartially administered at home, and conducted by consummate skill and valour in the field, has borne its ample share in the glorious conclusion of this long and eventful war; and his Majesty's faithful Commons have gladly lent their aid to maintain the honours and dignities of those illustrious commanders, whom

the wisdom of the sovereign has called upon to surround his throne.

"In the peace which has since followed, the efforts of this country have been not less glorious. The wise and liberal policy of our government, which announced justice and equality of rights, to be the basis of our diplomatic system, has been happily sustained abroad. The British name now stands high in policy as in arms; and an enlightened people has justly applauded the firmness and temper which have conciliated and cemented the interests of our allies, cheered the doubtful, animated the zealous, and united the deliverers and the delivered, in a peace honourable and advantageous to all the contracting powers.

"The events of our own times have outrun the ordinary march of history; peace restored, commerce revived, thrones re-established; a well-founded hope, that the same counsels, and the same master-hand, so mainly instrumental in the work hitherto accomplished, may, at the approaching congress, extend and fix the work of peace throughout Europe; and a further hope, that the earnest and universal prayer of this great country may prevail upon the nations of Europe, in re-establishing their own happiness, to concur, also, in putting an effectual end to the wrongs and desolation of Africa.

"Auspicious, however, as our present state may seem to be, the instability of all human affairs forbids us to be too confident of its prosperous continuance. Much yet remains to be done in Europe; and we have still one contest to maintain by war; a war which we can never consent to terminate, but by the establishment of our claims, according to the maxims of public law, and the maritime rights of this empire."

The speech of the Prince Regent, delivered from the throne upon the same occasion, was not less remarkable for nervous brevity and comprehensiveness.—After alluding to the circumstances in which the powers of government had devolved upon his Royal Highness, and to his own determination to persevere in that line of policy which had been pursued by his royal father, he observed, that "The zealous and unremitting support and assistance which I have received from you, and from all classes of his majesty's subjects; the consummate skill and ability displayed by the great commander, whose services you have so justly acknowledged; and the valour and intrepidity of his majesty's forces by sea and land; have enabled me, under the blessing of Divine Providence, to surmount all the difficulties with which I have had to contend.

"I have the satisfaction of contemplating the full accomplishment of all those objects for which the war was either undertaken or continued; and the unexampled exertions of this country, combined with those of his majesty's allies, have succeeded in effecting the deliverance of Europe from the most galling and oppressive tyranny under which it has ever laboured.

"The restoration of so many of the ancient and legitimate governments of the continent affords the best prospect of the permanence of that peace which, in conjunction with his majesty's allies, I have concluded: and you may rely on my efforts being directed at the approaching congress to complete the settlement of Europe, which has been already so auspiciously begun; and to promote, upon principles of justice and impartiality, all those measures which may appear to be best calculated to secure the tranquillity and happiness of the nations engaged in the late war."

His Royal Highness expressed a

sincere wish for the restoration of peace with America; but at the same time intimated the determination of government to prosecute the war with increased vigour, till peace should be obtained. The continuation of the foreign expenditure was explained by referring to the necessity which still existed, of maintaining for a time a body of troops in British pay upon the continent.—His Royal Highness concluded by assuring the House of the high station which Europe recognized as belonging to Britain, from her gallant and generous exertions in the great cause of freedom. Parliament was then prorogued by the Lord Chancellor.

CHAPTER VIII.

State of the French Armies.—Decay of Discipline—Their Line of Defence on the Eastern Frontier.—Immense Preparations of the Allied Powers,—Of England,—Of Russia,—Austria,—Prussia,—and of the German States.—The Allied Sovereigns take the Field in Person—Enthusiasm of the Germans on approaching the Rhine.—Buonaparte's Address to his Senate.—The Allies transmit their Basis of Pacification, and a Treaty is commenced.—Grand Council of War at Frankfort.—Opening of the Campaign.—The Austrians enter Switzerland, occupy Geneva, and advance into France.—The Russians pass the Rhine near Rastadt, and Blucher crosses it in three Places.—The Allies force the Defile of the Vogesean Mountains.—Take Langres and Nancy.—Are repulsed from Lyons.—But gain Possession of Dijon, and threaten an immediate Advance on Paris.

THE important events of the preceding year had brought the affairs of Europe to a crisis. Those formidable military means, through which France had so long maintained an empery over the other continental states, were now reduced and broken. The campaign of Moscow had utterly destroyed an army of half a million of soldiers, the finest and best equipped that were ever led to the field by one monarch in the history of the world. Great as this numerical loss was, the events of that disastrous retreat had brought about consequences yet more pregnant with evil to the French power. The state of excellent discipline which pervaded their army, and particularly the departments of the staff and commissariat, which had rendered their movements so combined, and their force so disposable, was greatly broken by the slaughter and destruction of the Russian warfare. The officers upon whom the charge of these departments rested, and whose experience had maintained that admirable system to which we ventured specially to solicit the attention of our readers in an earlier stage of the war,* were among the earliest victims of the retreat. The wonderful efforts, therefore, by which France supplied the levies which gained the battles of Bautzen and Lutzen, and sustained the weight of the Saxon campaigns, had indeed called forth powerful armies, but were unable to re-establish the machinery necessary for directing and supporting them, or to restore the system which, formed and perfected in so many years of victory, had altogether perished in the wilds of Russia. "We hardly knew the French troops," said a native of Leipsic, "who came among us in 1813, to be in the same service with those who had set

* See Edinburgh Annual Register, Vol. II. Part II. p. 226.

out for Poland two years before, so different was their state of discipline. In that earlier period the strictest order was maintained among themselves, whatever violence they might be permitted to offer to the inhabitants. Even their pillage was regulated, and proceeded upon a sort of principle which insured an equal partition of spoil. Their duties, their supplies, were divided amongst the different corps with a scrupulous attention to justice and regularity. But in 1813, this system was dissolved, and all appeared disorganized and in disorder. It was not uncommon for one brigade to intercept and slaughter the bullocks intended to feed another, and the alternatives of waste and of famine were to be witnessed among the French soldiers, even within the same lines. I have seen," continued the same eye-witness, "within a walk of two miles, one band of Frenchmen satiated with food, flinging away and trampling upon their half-eaten rations of fresh beef, and another dispersed in groups, seated upon the skeletons of dead horses, and disputing with each other the refuse which the ravens and wolves had left them."—All acted on the principle of seizing what they could for themselves, without regard to the wants of their comrades; and, in proportion as such tumultuary bands became formidable to the cultivators of the soil, and the inhabitants of the towns where they were stationed, they lost, through want of discipline, the terror with which they were wont to impress the armed enemy. If such was the case before the battle of Leipsic, that great defeat, with all the calamities attending the rapid retreat towards the Rhine, and the losses sustained in the battle of Hanau, were additional shocks to their remaining discipline. But, in the field of battle, the exertions of the French soldiers were undiminished, and their courage unbroken; and the observations which we have made, must be understood as confined to their quarter-master-generals' department, and to that of the commissariat, and as chiefly affecting the marches, combinations, and maintenance of their armies.

Other evils assailed the unfortunate remains of the French army of 1813. Their dispirited and broken battalions had scarce found a refuge in the line of strong fortresses beyond the Rhine, when an infectious distemper, the consequence of privations and fatigue, broke out in the garrisons where they were quartered, and carried off numbers of those who had escaped the sword of the allies. Yet, it was upon these bands, thinned and diseased as they were, that France had to rely as the first barrier against those evils of invasion, which she had so often inflicted upon other countries. These troops occupied various towns and fortresses upon the Rhine, from Strasbourg to Coblentz, upon the left bank of the river, under the Marshals Victor and Marmont. The former general occupied the upper part of the stream, from New-Brisach to Weissembourgh. The latter held a line, covered by the fortresses upon the river, from Landau to Coblentz. Neither army exceeded ten or twelve thousand men, the gleanings of the bloody fields of Leipsic and Hanau.

In Belgium, and upon the Lower Rhine, the defensive preparations of the French were more considerable. Alarmed at the progress of the Dutch revolution, at the preparations made to support it in the British ports, and at the insurrections already threatened in Belgium, almost all the disposable forces in the north of France were placed under the command of Macdonald, to whom was entrusted the defence of the Lower Rhine, from Cologne to Nimeguen. An army of 25,000 men, under General Decaen,

was specially destined to the protection of Antwerp, while Noorden, Gorcum, Bois-le-Duc, and Bergen-op-Zoom, all which fortresses the French still retained, were strongly garrisoned by the remains of Molitor's army. Buonaparte has in this posture of affairs been censured by tacticians, for attempting to maintain too extended a frontier, and for shutting up so large a portion of his regular army in distant garrisons, which became of little use in checking the invasion of an enemy numerous enough to spare troops to besiege, or at least to blockade them, without materially diminishing the immense force with which he prepared to penetrate to the French capital. It was, said such reasoners, the fault of Buonaparte's system, or rather of his temper, that he could not yield to circumstances, and that, as formerly in the case of the numerous garrisons left in Dresden, Magdeburgh, and other strong places on the Elbe, he now clung with useless pertinacity to the preservation of his Belgian conquests, when prudence required the concentration of all his disposable force to maintain the very existence of his authority, and the independence of the country which he governed.

Yet Napoleon's conduct in the case of Holland and Belgium, although the consequence of a choice of difficulties, may be defended on reasonable grounds. The fortresses which he held were of the first class of strength, and, should regular sieges be undertaken against them, were likely to find ample employment for a great army. They overawed the insurgents of Holland, and kept down the discontented in Belgium, a country which was obviously about to follow the example of the Dutch, and add its numerous population to the ranks of his enemies, if the removal of the French garrisons should afford them an opportunity. Above all, the possession of these fortresses rendered the co-operation of the English with the allied forces circuitous and precarious; and it was of no little importance to divide from the forces and councils of his continental enemies, those of a foe so persevering and inexorable. Hopes of victory also still gleamed before him; and while these Belgian strong-holds remained in his power, they afforded means by which, in the event of his affairs taking a favourable turn in the ensuing campaign, he might speedily recover all of which the insurrection of Holland had deprived him.

The allies, in the meanwhile, lost no time in preparing to improve the favourable condition of their affairs. The impulse of past success and of future hope communicated itself to each of the confederate states, and the exertions which they made were of a nature commensurate to the mighty enterprize before them. From England reinforcements were sent with all haste, to support the insurgents of Holland, and to co-operate with Bulow, whose right wing, stationed in the more eastern of the Dutch provinces, formed the extreme right of that immense allied army, whose left was lost among the mountains of Switzerland, occupying thus a frontier of at least five hundred miles in extent. The British troops in Holland were placed under the command of Sir Thomas Graham, now Lord Balgowan, a general whose exploits have frequently before commanded our attention, and which will again soon claim to be distinguished. We postpone the consideration of them for the present, because the campaign in Belgium, although it embraced events highly worthy of historical notice, was unconnected with the combats and successes of the grand army, which finally ended the war by occupying Paris. It is only necessary here to observe, that in furthering an

object so important to the regeneration of British commerce, as the independence of Holland, no effort was spared on the side of the British war department; and that notwithstanding the large army maintained and reinforced under the Duke of Wellington, in the south of France, a body of troops, amounting to at least 10,000 men, was put under the command of General Sir Thomas Graham, to co-operate in the final expulsion of the French, not only from the territory of our ancient allies, the states of Holland, but also from Flanders. This number, aided by Bulow and the Dutch patriots, was sufficient fully to engage the attention of the French troops in that quarter, and to threaten those fortresses which Buonaparte seemed to have reserved as *stepping-stones*, (to use a popular and expressive phrase,) for regaining possession, at some favourable opportunity, of the opulent and important territories of the Netherlands.

In Russia, Austria, and Prussia, the operations for recruiting the allied armies proceeded with equal zeal on the part of the people and of the government. Russia neither forgot what she had suffered, nor what she had achieved; and her people, easily converted into soldiers, because poor, hardy, and submissive, were sent forth by their lords or boyars, even in larger proportions than they were demanded by the ukase of the emperor. The uttermost depths of the desart had caught the impulse. Tribes of wandering Baskirs and Tartars, who had never before heard the name of a Frenchman, had become acquainted with it by the conflagration of Moscow, and by the spoils which their brethren of the Caspian and Ukraine collected during the retreat of the French. These barbarians took arms in immense numbers; and, though very different in manners and discipline from the real Cossacks, and as inferior to them in valour as in military appointments, were confounded by the French under the same general name, and added, by their savage ppearance, to the terrors which that name excited. The Russian army, including reserves, might amount to nearly 200,000 men.

Austria, eager to avenge the successive disgraces and defeats of Ulm, Austerlitz, and Wagram, made the most extended levies through her dominions. The war was in the highest degree popular, both with the soldiers and the people, because it had for its object the redemption of the military honour of Germany, and the vindication of her civil liberty. Italy, so frequently the scene of hostilities between France and Austria, and through the north-eastern frontier of which Buonaparte had formerly directed a vital blow at the power of the latter, was at present a secondary object of consideration to both, as success in that quarter was almost certainly dependent on the event of the campaign between the grand armies. The Italian war was maintained by Count Bellegarde, on the part of Austria, against Eugene Beauharnois, the Viceroy, as he was called, of Italy. But the events of this contest, with the remarkable defection of Murat, King of Naples, from the cause of his brother-in-law Buonaparte, belong to another part of these annals. The main body of the Austrian army, amounting to 150,000 men, with a reserve of nearly equal numbers, was stationed along the Upper Rhine, and extended its operations from Geneva to Spires.

Such were the immense preparations of Russia and Austria. Those of Prussia, if the extent and population of that state are considered, greatly exceeded the proportion of both. With the people of that country, so lately held in the most ignominious as well as the most destructive thraldom by Buonaparte, the war against his au-

thority was a sacred crusade, from which no Prussian capable of rendering assistance was permitted to withdraw himself. Where men hesitated to join the army of Blucher, they were driven out by the reproaches of the softer sex. "What would you have had me do?" said a Prussian nobleman to a friend, who expressed surprise at finding him in arms at an advanced period of life—"What would you have me do? I remained quiet until my wife and daughters told me that my honour was compromised by my inactivity at this great national crisis." The same spirit pervaded the cottage of the lowest peasant; and, as almost each individual had family wrongs to remember and to revenge, the war, on the part of the Prussians, assumed an appearance of personal animosity unusual in modern times. The army of Prussia, which was under the chief command of the veteran Blucher, amounted to about 150,000 men.

Besides the hosts of these three powerful nations, the confederates now ranged under their standards almost all the national forces of Germany. Saxony had joined them by the voluntary secession of her army during the battle of Leipsic. Her forces, commanded by the Duke of Saxe Weimar, amounted to nearly 24,000 men. Bavaria, which had been for more than a century the faithful ally of France, and whose territories had uniformly afforded her the means of moving her armies into Germany, now stood arrayed against her. The Bavarian army was 36,000 men in number, commanded by General Wrede, whose death Buonaparte had announced in one of his bulletins, as consequent upon a wound which he had received at the battle of Hanau. To this piece of false intelligence were added peevish comments upon the personal ingratitude of Wrede to Buonaparte, whose generosity had decorated him with titles and honours, —as if it were possible that such benefits, conferred from such a quarter, could absolve the Bavarian general from the claim which his country had upon his services. The smaller states of Germany, those which had lately composed Jerome Buonaparte's kingdom of Westphalia, or were otherwise in immediate dependence on France, lost no time in abjuring her yoke so soon as the approach of the allies left them the liberty of choice. As their conquering armies advanced nearer and nearer to the Rhine, every day brought the ministers of these emancipated states to express in person the anxious wish of their masters to join the grand European confederacy. The forms of diplomacy were so much abridged on these occasions, that a treaty was formed on a few questions and answers. The envoy or plenipotentiary of the duke or prince was first asked, if he renounced the cause of Napoleon, and adhered to that of the allies; and next, what body of auxiliaries he had been bound to supply to the French army. According to his answer, the proportion which he was to send to the allies was settled, being generally about a fourth more than he had furnished to Buonaparte. And in this summary manner the treaty was concluded, and sometimes two or three were arranged in the course of one day. Thus the Confederation of the Rhine, like a wreath of snow in the bed of a torrent, far from opposing a solid resistance to the progress of the allies, augmented by its dissolution the stream which it was designed to stem. The total number of German troops, exclusive of Austrians and Prussians, amounted to 144,000 men, of which number about 70,000 actually crossed the French frontier. Thus, exclusive of the armies employed in blockading Hamburgh, and other cities and fortresses, in which the obstinacy of Napoleon had left garrisons; exclusive also of the armies maintained

by Britain and Austria in Belgium and Italy, the grand total of the army destined for the invasion of France, on the entire line of her north-eastern frontier, amounted to 800,000 men, of whom more than one half were kept in reserve.

It was evident that extraordinary exertions of authority would be necessary to secure co-operation between armies belonging to different nations, and composed of such various materials; and it was well judged, that, to prevent all chicanery on the subject of separate orders from their distinct courts, as well as to secure the cordial obedience of the various generals of the allied forces, the sovereigns should themselves take the field, as in the previous campaign of 1813, and by their constant and confidential intercourse evince to their subjects, as well as to their enemies, that their wishes and interests, in this momentous struggle, were identified and indivisible, and remove all possibility of cavil respecting commands which should thus emanate directly from the supreme head of each government.

The determination of the sovereigns was fully seconded by the enthusiasm of their subjects. That of the Germans, in particular, broke forth in the most striking manner, when, in pursuit of the retreating enemy, they first came in sight of the broad and magnificent current of the Rhine. The name of that noble river has something sacred to a German: it mingles in the popular songs of his country, and it occurs in every page of his national history. The Rhine had now been secluded for many years from all but the vassals of France, and the feelings with which the natives of Germany, once more in arms and victorious, beheld its majestic course, liberated as it were by their own valour, resembled those of Xenophon's followers when they beheld the sea. They wept for joy, they shouted for exultation; and as their armed legions paused upon the banks of their parent river, they vowed to revenge the injury and degradation which it had so long sustained, at the expence of the country of their late oppressors, which lay stretched in the landscape beyond it. Such circumstances are worthy of record. The ecstacy marked the tone of national feeling, and was accepted as the best omen of future success.

While this storm was gathering around the frontier of France, it is necessary to enquire into the preparations of resistance adopted by Napoleon. It was now, for the first time, that he felt the full consequences of "o'er vaulting ambition," and of conquest extended too far to be either effectually maintained or honourably resigned. Not only had his best armies been thinned by defeat and disease, but many thousands of his bravest soldiers, whose assistance would now have been of the last consequence, cooped up in the distant fortresses of Germany and Belgium, were blockaded by large bodies of landwehr, militia, and volunteers, who, avoiding more hasty or hazardous measures of reduction, waited patiently until pestilence and famine should compel them to surrender. The French ruler neglected no means of recruiting the ranks which were thus weakened. So far back as the 1st of November, his own stern voice had announced to his Council of State the desperate situation of the country, and the extensive sacrifices which he demanded. One decree of the senate ordered a levy of 300,000 men, a second at once doubled the public contributions; measures of fearful energy, could they have been as completely enforced as Napoleon expected and required. He overwhelmed the timid murmurs of his astonished counsellors by one of those bursts of turbid and disconnected elo-

Nov. 1. 1813.

quence, which seemed rather to paint his feelings than to express his opinions and plans. "Wellington," he said, "is in the south, the Russians threaten the northern frontier, Austria menaces the south-eastern,—yet, shame to speak it! the nation has not risen in mass to repel them. Every ally has abandoned me—the Bavarians have betrayed me!—Peace?—no peace till Munich is in flames!—I demand of you 300,000 men—I will form a camp at Bourdeaux of 100,000—another at Lyons—a third at Metz—with the remnants of my former levies I shall have a million of men under arms. But it is *men* whom I demand of you, full grown men, in the prime of life,—not these miserable conscript striplings, who choak my hospitals with the sick, and my highways with their carcases. —Give up Holland?—rather resign it to the sea!—I hear only the word *peace*, when all around me should re-echo with the cry of *war*."—To those who heard this wild denunciation, it seemed like the voice of some relentless and cannibal priest demanding new victims for the shrine of Moloch, and insisting that such only should be selected as were worthy of the deity. The ambition of Napoleon, like the Snake-God in Madoc, demanded blood, exclaiming, with the same rapacious energy,

"Give, give, or I will take!"

And the expostulation of the emperor was like that of the ruthless Neolin—

—— "shame to us,
That since the Stranger here set foot among us,
We have let his lips be dry!"

But although the senate of Buonaparte instantly authorised the measures which he thus sternly proposed to them, their execution was become daily more difficult in a country drained of its male population and of its wealth. The allies, in their declaration of the 1st December,* availed themselves of these severe decrees to proclaim to the people of France, that their sole wish was peace upon equal and honourable terms, to which, they said, the ambition and personal pride of Buonaparte formed the only obstacle. In proportion as their assertions were credited, Napoleon's power became insecure, and it was already obvious that he would be unsupported by the French people, unless he should succeed in convincing them that the obstacle to peace did not arise on his side. This was a new situation for a man so favoured formerly by fortune, and whose judgment could not fail to be biassed by the recollection of the most unexampled success. While, however, he was unwilling to make any sacrifice of those portions of his conquests which he still retained, and while he continued with the utmost energy his attempts to create new levies, a negociation had been long in dependence between him and the allies, which he seemed unwilling to conclude, although equally reluctant to incur the odium which the popular feeling in France would attach to his being the first to break it off.

We must here resume, that in the end of October, when the town of Weimar fell into possession of the allies, the Baron de St Aignan, one of Buonaparte's ministers, was included by mistake among the prisoners of war. When this person reclaimed the immunities due to his character at the hands of Prince Schwartzenberg and Count Metternich, the Austrian minister availed himself of the circumstance to put the baron in possession of the general principles, or basis, on which the allied

* See our volume for 1813, p. 277.

powers were willing to enter upon a treaty of general pacification. These terms were adjusted in the presence of Lord Aberdeen, the English ambassador at the court of Austria, and received his full concurrence. They evince a moderation towards a conquered enemy, which, considering what was well known of his temper and dispositions, and the jealousy also which might be reasonably entertained concerning the duration of any peace which left Buonaparte to wield the supreme power of France, can only be attributed to his alliance with the Emperor of Austria, who acted as mediator during the conference.

The memorandum of this basis expresses the determination of the allies to abide by their reciprocal engagements, and to insist upon a general peace, including England as well as the continental belligerents; and proceeds to set forth, That the allied sovereigns were agreed upon the limits which Nature herself had assigned to France, namely, the course of the Rhine, the chain of the Alps, and the mountains of the Pyrenees: That the independence of Germany, including all the provinces on the right bank of the Rhine, was considered as an indispensable condition: That in like manner, and upon the same principle of national independence, the allies demanded the complete evacuation of Spain, and the re-establishment of the ancient dynasty in the peninsula: That the frontier to be occupied by the Austrians in Italy, as well as the mode in which the independence of the Italian states were to be secured, should be open to future discussion: That the government of Holland might also be a matter of future consideration, understanding always that it was to be settled as that of an independent state: That England was ready to make great sacrifices for the establishment of peace on such a basis, and would acknowledge such freedom of commerce and navigation as France could shew a just claim to.

There probably never was a state paper so short and so explicit as this statement. The last article alone savoured of doubt. It was thrown in at the request of the Baron de St Aignan, rather perhaps to sooth the feelings of his master, by an appearance of concession on the part of England, than from any real expectation that England would renounce those maritime rights on which she founds her sovereignty of the seas, and the defence of which she has at different periods of her history maintained against all the continental nations. After some discussion between Lord Aberdeen and the French negociator, the clause was expressed pretty nearly as above, which of course left the claims of both parties completely open. The terms of this basis were formally accepted, on the part of Buonaparte, by Caulaincourt, called Duke of Vicenza; *Dec. 2, 1813.* and thus, although no interruption of the military movements took place, a formal negociation was on foot between the allies and Napoleon. Yet notwithstanding the apparent frankness with which the basis had been demanded and accorded, it seems probable that none of the parties, excepting perhaps Austria, were very desirous of peace upon the terms which it expressed. Russia and Prussia, as well as England, dreaded and distrusted Napoleon; and, on his part, circumstances that afterwards took place made it clear, that nothing but the severe law of necessity would ever have compelled him to resign his influence in Holland, which was his most powerful engine for rivalling and injuring Britain; or in Italy,—that Italy of which he was himself a native, and which had been the scene of his earliest victories.

In the meanwhile, a grand council

of war was held at Francfort, to settle the plan of invasion. Prince Schwartzenberg, generalissimo of the Austrians, was met by Barclay de Tolly, the chief commander of the Russians; by General Toll, who acted, we believe, as their quarter-master-general; and by the remarkable Pozzo de Borgo, who, himself a native of Corsica and a relation of Napoleon, had early taken the opposite side in the civil feuds of that island, and had been active in forwarding the banishment of Buonaparte; an injury which the Emperor of France condescended to remember, and to dignify and distinguish him who inflicted it by a train of indefatigable persecution, which, as it banished its object for a time from almost every part of the continent successively, had ended by recommending him to the favour and protection of the Emperor of Russia, which General Pozzo de Borgo well merited, both by his civil and military talents. To these we must add the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg, whom we shall often have occasion to notice during the campaign, the Bavarian General Wrede, and the indefatigable Blucher, although his talents were rather calculated for the field of battle than for the previous council of war. These distinguished officers agreed, with little hesitation, upon a plan of operations, which, in any earlier period of European warfare, would have been accounted only one degree short of insane temerity. Briefly, it consisted in the resolution to avail themselves of their great superiority of numbers, and, instead of giving Buonaparte time to organize and improve his new levies while the allies formed the siege of the various strong places which cover the French frontier of the Rhine, that they should mask each separately with a sufficient body of troops to prevent the garrisons from acting upon the communications or rear of the invading army; and, crossing the French frontier at all points, should press forward by parallel marches, and, uniting their numerous masses in the plains of Champagne, move forward directly upon Paris. It is said that Prince Schwartzenberg would have preferred the less daring scheme of throwing the greatest weight of the confederated army upon Lyons and the south of France, and stretching forward into Guienne, to form by that means a communication with Lord Wellington before advancing on the French capital. But the Russian and Prussian generals united in recommending an immediate and simultaneous demonstration against the capital of France while the enthusiasm of their troops was at the height, arguing at once upon the confidence which such a movement was likely to inspire into their followers, and the confusion with which it must strike the enemy. The enthusiasm of the Prussians was indeed at its height. Many of the soldiers had the word *Paris* chalked upon their caps; the sound passed among them as a watch-word, and was answered by the Russians with the more ominous countersign *Moscow!* and their irregular troops, putting wisps of kindled straw upon their lances, flourished them in the air while they shouted out the name of the French capital. Among the Russian officers, many carried around their necks small purses, containing a portion of the ashes of Moscow, in memory of the vengeance which the fall of their ancient capital demanded; and the feeling of the whole army, as well as that of the Prussians, was strung to that high tone which qualifies troops to execute with intrepidity the most desperate enterprises.

It was under these auspices that the campaign was opened, and a powerful impression made at once, and in communication, by the invasion of the whole north eastern frontier of France. Disregarding the affected neutrality of

Switzerland, the column of the grand army under Prince Schwartzenberg traversed the frontiers of the cantons near Schaffhaussen, the Swiss troops retiring before him without the shew of opposition. By a proclamation, dated from Loerrach, a town within six miles of the French frontier, the Austrian general declared he entered Switzerland as a friend and liberator, and that by a march through their territories, which circumstances rendered indispensable, he was so far from intending an insult to the independence of the Helvetic League, that he only took the step as a necessary preliminary to freeing them, as well as other nations, from the yoke of France. This proclamation was well received by the Swiss, who soon displayed the same desire to regain their ancient liberties which had animated their neighbours of Germany. This movement of Prince Schwartzenberg was followed by the march of thirty thousand Austrians and Bavarians, which, according to the plan that had been adopted, blockaded the frontier fortresses of Huninguen and Befort, and extended themselves as far to the eastward as Blamont and Porentrui, and to the north towards St Croix and Colmar. Upon the latter point there was an engagement of outposts, in which the French had the advantage, but which had no results of importance. The greater part of the department of the Doubs was thus inundated with hostile troops. But the possession of Geneva was necessary to secure the Austrian advance on this quarter. This little capital, so interesting by its name and history, was summoned by General Bubna, who advanced at the head of 3000 men, with the purpose of carrying it by assault. General Jordy commanded the garrison, of about 1200 French. But this officer was so much affected by the extraordinary circumstances in which he found himself placed, and by the disgrace of the French arms, that, on receiving the summons, he fell down senseless among the officers of his staff,—a singular fatality, of which we cannot remember another instance as having happened to the governor of a besieged town. The officer who succeeded to the command withdrew the garrison without even waiting the result of a capitulation, and thus abandoned Geneva to the Austrians, by whom it was instantly occupied. The French commandant doubtless repented his precipitance, when a body of troops were descried marching to his support from Grenoble; but the fault was irreparable, and this important frontier, with more than 100 cannon, besides stores and ammunition, remained in the hands of the Austrians. The vengeance of Buonaparte fell, not on the military offender, but on Baron Capelle, the unfortunate prefect, to whom, as superintendent of the high police, his imperial majesty attached the duty of repulsing the invading army,—an unreasonable censure upon a civil magistrate, which involuntarily reminds us of that passed by the theatrical usurper upon his court physician and the art of medicine in general, because it furnished no drug to scour his kingdom of the invading English. The whole first line of the Austrians now crossed the Rhine between Basle and Schaffhaussen, and advanced to support their vanguard.

Meanwhile the French territory was invaded in other points by yet more inveterate enemies. The Russian army of General Witgenstein prepared to pass the Rhine near Rastadt; while still lower, Blucher with his Prussians, and the troops of the late Confederation of the Rhine, was in motion to cross between Coblentz and Manheim. On the night of the 1st January, Witgenstein effected his passage near to Fort Louis, with slight resistance and

slighter loss. The forts of Alsace and Vauban, on the left side, were instantly evacuated by the French, as well as the isle of the Rhine, where they had attempted for a while to defend themselves. The passage was now open and uninterrupted. The irregular cavalry of the Cossacks, multiplying their apparent numbers by their general dispersion, and magnifying them by the supposed columns of which they always announced themselves to be the advanced guard, now spread themselves through the towns and hamlets of the departments of the Lower Rhine, the Meurthe, and the Moselle, whose inhabitants gazed with consternation on the wild appearance, and listened with terror to the dissonant tones of tribes, to whom the retreats of Moscow and Leipsic had given a terrible celebrity. The army of Wittgenstein soon extended its reconnoissances so far as to communicate by the left flank with the right flank of the Austro-Bavarian army under Wrede, and to complete the chain of operations from Geneva to Weissenburgh and Spires.

Field-Marshal Blucher's army now executed one of those masterly movements which mark the genius of General Gneissenau, his quarter-master-general and adviser in tactics. *Dec. 30, 1813.* Breaking up from Francfort, the army of that veteran prepared to pass the Rhine simultaneously in three bodies, and at three several places. The first passage was near the celebrated fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, now dismantled and ruinous. A bridge was constructed at Neuwied, over which a numerous corps d'armèe, commanded by General St Priest, continued to pour for the space of many hours, during which the darkness never interrupted the constant succession of battalions, squadrons, and brigades of artillery, which extended themselves as they made good their passage through the country on the opposite bank. Langeron and the Prussian General York passed the river by means of boats near Caub, and instantly occupied the towns of Backrack and Over-Wesel. Lastly, a bridge of boats was constructed in front of Manheim, by which the divisions under the command of Sacken crossed the Rhine, and stormed the French entrenchments on the other side. By these combined and masterly manœuvres, the Rhine, a river nearly an English mile in breadth, and designed as it were by nature to be a barrier against the boldest invader, was safely traversed at three points by a body of 40,000 men, of whom 10,000 were cavalry.

It was in vain that Marshal Marmont, effectually surprised by the rapidity of these brilliant operations, attempted to maintain himself on the heights between Turkheim and Ellestadt. He was obliged to abandon a position now liable to be turned on all sides, and to retire, leaving his sick and wounded at the mercy of the invaders. In his hasty retreat he broke down the bridges of the Sarre. Thus the allies were left in undisputed possession of the left bank of the Rhine, and Bingen, Kreutznach, and other places of consequence, fell successively into the power of Blucher.

It remained to be seen whether the next natural barrier against invasion, presented by the chain of the Vogesian mountains, could be maintained against the fury of the allies; and the question became more interesting, because the result would necessarily evince the dispositions of the population of France towards the government and towards the invaders. The Marshals Victor and Marmont had received no reinforcement from the interior. Yet it was hoped at Paris, that, with the assistance and co-operation of the mountaineers of the Vosges, they

might be able to maintain, for a time at least, a country of such natural strength. This remarkable chain of mountains commences in the Sundgau, and anciently divided the duchy of Lorraine from Franche Compté and Alsace. They give rise to the Meuse, the Moselle, the Marne, and the Seine, extend in a line corresponding to that of the course of the Rhine as far as the duchy of Deuxponts, and, being full of ravines and rocks, which present a steep face to the eastward, while from the west they slope easily upwards, form a sort of second line of natural fortification to the interior of France after the barrier of the Rhine has been surmounted. Buonaparte had not failed to attempt a levy *en masse* in the districts of Alsace, of the Voges, of the Haute-Saone, of the Doubs, and of Mont-Blanc; and special commissioners had been dispatched into these districts, with high power to compel, as well as to exhort, the inhabitants to the adoption of defensive measures. Although General Victor, therefore, who commanded on the upper part of the Rhine, succeeded in concentrating some forces between Molsheim and Obernay, he soon found that he was liable to be cut off by the allied forces, which were penetrating unopposed through the defiles of the Voges in every direction, and he was compelled to abandon that line of defence and retreat upon Bacarat, a town on the river to the west of the Vogesian mountains, harassed in his retreat by Platow and his cossacks. A French detachment, amounting to about four thousand men, retreated from Epinay, the capital town of the department, before the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg; and the French General Duhesme, who had established himself at the village of Saint Die, in the very centre of these mountains, also saw himself, after a fruitless struggle, compelled to abandon his position, upon the advance of a detachment of General Wrede's Bavarian army.

In the course of these operations, some few of the inhabitants took up arms, which led to a proclamation by the Austrian generalissimo, to the gross injustice of which it is impossible to close our eyes. While Prince Schwartzenberg recommended discipline to his soldiers, and commanded them to respect the unarmed inhabitant, he was pleased to announce, that every French peasant taken in arms should be *sent to a military commission, and punished with death.* From whatever quarter such a denunciation comes, the historian is called upon to stigmatize it, as equally cruel, oppressive, and unjust. The duty of defending his country is the first law incumbent upon every citizen, whatever may be the colour of his dress or the usual habits of his life. He is called upon to obey this sacred obligation, even without scrupulously considering the faults of the government which he lives under, since, to invite the citizen, at such a crisis, to discuss the speculative points of policy, is, in other words, to furnish him with an apology for evading his duty. In its discharge, the citizen soldier incurs the risk of being slain in battle, or of being made prisoner of war, and treated as such;—perhaps, according to the stern laws of war, he is not entitled to complain, if the village which he has defended, and aided to convert into a place of arms and point of resistance, is given up to the flames, or if, in the heat of the conqueror's fury, its inhabitants are not received to quarter. These are contingencies of war, to which, like the professional soldier, the armed citizen necessarily is subjected. But in resistance, the latter, like the former, is entitled to respect, and upon submission, to fair

8th Jan. 1814.

quarter and clemency. On no account was the conduct of the French in Spain and Russia more justly censured, than for their cruelty to the inhabitants, whose courage and zeal induced them to defend their country and their property; and by announcing his intention to pursue a similar course in France, and still more by acting upon it in several instances, the generalissimo of the allies imitated Buonaparte in one of his most unjustifiable acts of tyranny. The measure of intimidation was, no doubt, in general successful, but chiefly because the despotism of Buonaparte had taken from his subjects all wish to risk themselves in his behalf, in a struggle which, from the superabundant numbers of the enemy, was accounted at first little less than desperate.

The allies had now cleared away all obstacles which prevented their penetrating to the interior of France, and had blockaded or besieged Huninguen, Metz, and other fortresses upon the French frontier, of which, according to the ancient tactics, they should have made themselves masters before presuming to advance. But when the old rules were adopted, they applied exclusively to war as formerly waged—by armies distinguished rather by discipline than numerical strength; and neither so numerous as to sacrifice division after division to tire out an enemy, and carry at a murderous loss an important position, or to afford a force sufficient to besiege or mask a line of fortified places, while the assailant still retained strength enough, after having thus neutralized the barrier fortresses, to advance without hesitation into the country which they were intended to protect. This change of the military system, introduced by France herself, and tending not a little to increase the evils of war, by increasing the numbers of those who were exposed to them, and diminishing in proportion the power of providing for armies in the field, was now turned against her by the allies, whose numerical superiority greatly preponderated during this whole campaign.

The greater part of the allied army having now entered France, the sovereigns themselves began to appear upon the important scene. The Emperors of Austria and Russia, with the King of Prussia, met at Basle, and proceeded towards the head-quarters of Prince Schwartzenberg, the generalissimo of the grand army. It was observed that the Emperor Alexander, on this and other occasions, found an ingenious mode of regulating the etiquette observed among monarchs, to the satisfaction of the Austrian court, without giving any real advantage in an article which might appear important to his subjects, and which perhaps might not (in secret) be altogether indifferent to himself. The Emperor Alexander allowed precedence to the Emperor Francis; but then, as he insisted on the King of Prussia taking precedence of him also, he indicated plainly that he was waiving ceremonial, not yielding it. The monarchs, as they advanced into the territories of that powerful enemy, who had dictated a disgraceful peace in two of their capitals, and had laid that of Russia level with the ground, were greeted with tidings of repeated successes, which seemed to promise a more easy conquest than it was afterwards their fortune to obtain.

Jan. 13.

Prince Schwartzenberg had established his head-quarters at Vesoul, a considerable town in the department of the Upper Saone, and thence had pushed on his advanced guard, under General Guilay, against the still more important town of Langres, strongly situated upon one of the ramifications of the chain of the Voges. While this strong post was menaced by the

grand army, that of Blucher, distinguished by the name of the army of Silesia, which it had rendered memorable during the previous German campaign, had traversed the Vogesian ridges, and was threatening Nancy, the ancient capital of the duchy of Lorraine. To this point Buonaparte had dispatched the celebrated Ney, with directions, if possible, to protect Nancy and Langres, and thus to prevent the communication of the Silesian army by its left with the right of that under Prince Schwartzenberg But the means with which Ney was supplied were altogether inadequate to the successful execution of this plan. The emissaries of Buonaparte indeed prevailed upon the inhabitants of Langres, confident in the strength of their town, to close their gates against the advanced parties of the allies, and to fire repeatedly upon the officers who were sent to summon them to surrender. In requital of this breach of the laws of war, the place was threatened with storm and pillage, and was only saved for the moment by the unexpected appearance of a numerous detachment of the Old Imperial Guard, under the immediate command of Marshal Mortier, who, as they advanced to the relief of the place, exclaimed that they came to preserve to Langres her character of a virgin fortress.* Upon the intelligence that a considerable body of the Old Guard had thrown themselves into Langres, a large detachment of the army of Schwartzenberg, and another from the principal Russian army, under the command of Barclay de Tolly, manœuvred to cut off their retreat. After some skirmishing, Mortier was obliged to retreat to Chamont, and leave Langres to its fate, which at first appeared to be a severe one. Count Guilay refused to admit the town to any terms of surrender, and, in consideration of their having fired on his flags of truce, obliged them to yield themselves up to the discretion of the conquerors. The rigour of the proclamation of the allies had threatened them with fire and sword, but the penalty was commuted for a pecuniary contribution, which was strictly levied.

Jan. 16.

Marshal Ney was as unable to defend Nancy as Mortier had been to protect Langres. Upon his arrival in the ancient capital of Lorraine, instead of fifteen thousand men, whom Buonaparte had taught him to expect to find there, he could collect no more than six thousand, and, having effected a hasty retreat from the town which he could not defend, he united his small army to the shattered remnants of those who had retreated from the frontier, under the command of Victor and Marmont; and so much were times changed with the marshals of France, that the army which these three celebrated generals had under their joint command did not exceed in number 15,000 men. With so small a force it was impossible to defend the line of the Meuse, and the French army was compelled to retreat within that of the river Marne. Upon their retreat, Toul, a town in the district of La Meurthe, surrendered itself, with a small garrison, to Count Liewen, and Blucher entered Nancy on the very day on which Ney had evacuated that beautiful town, where the Prussian veteran had established his head-quarters.

Jan. 20.

Marshal Macdonald, like the other French generals, had been compelled to retreat from the Lower Rhine into the interior of France; and the force which still remained in Belgium was

* The town was known by the name of *Langres la Pucelle*, from a tradition that it had never been entered by an armed enemy.

so much insulated, that its contention with the allied troops, under Sir Thomas Graham and General Bulow, must form a separate portion of these military details. Thus France presented in the middle of January a most extraordinary appearance. The daring and gigantic design of invasion had been so successful upon every point, that all the rich provinces of the north-east of France were already at the mercy of the enemy. Yet the French generals had displayed their military skill in withdrawing their several armies from a foe so superior in numbers, not indeed without considerable loss, but without any detachment being completely cut off, which, involved as they were, and exposed to attacks in every quarter, was much to have been apprehended. It is also to be remembered, that the strong line of frontier fortresses, as well Metz, Landau, Strasbourg, Schelestadt, New Brissac, and Huninguen, which lie along the Rhine and command the course of that river, as those of Belgium, Juliers, Antwerp, Wesel, Maestricht, Vanloo, Bergen-op-Zoom, and Flushing, remained in possession of the French, and were only observed and blockaded by the allies France, in this particular, resembled a champion wounded through the joints of his unbroken armour. The allies were enabled, by the great number of their irregular forces, to occupy almost all the towns or villages of consequence on the frontier departments, excepting only the line of fortresses. And thus every attempt to enforce the conscription, or organize the levies in mass against the invaders, was paralized in those countries where they would otherwise have been most successful,—in Alsace, namely, Franche Compté, and Lorraine, which, from their neighbourhood to Germany, entertained towards its inhabitants the hostile feelings usual with borderers.

It had also been intended by the allies to overawe Dauphiné, the cradle of the revolution, and the district in which the inhabitants were most attached to Buonaparte, and to occupy Lyons, the second city of France, in point of population, wealth, and consequence. For this purpose General Bubna having obtained possession of Geneva, as we have already noticed, proclaimed to the inhabitants of the Valois liberation from the French government, and to Savoy the restoration of the King of Sardinia, her legitimate sovereign. Having succeeded in raising these mountaineers in favour of the allies, he made a hasty march upon the Rhone, occupied Maçon, and, though his light troops were repulsed from Chalons, advanced to the very gates of the important city of Lyons. General Meusnier, with a very few soldiers, and the assistance of a half-armed population, would have been probably unable to support a sudden and hardy assault; but the Austrians proceeded with so much caution, that Marshal Augereau, to whom Buonaparte had intrusted the defence of Lyons and of Dauphiné, gained time to throw himself into the city, with a considerable body of regular forces. The opportunity was lost, and Bubna saw himself compelled, for the present, to retreat towards Bourg-en-Bresse, evacuating at the same time his late conquest of Maçon; and although Chalons had been taken in the interim, the repulse of the invaders from Lyons was sufficient to give courage to the dispersed adherents of Napoleon. Dijon, the ancient capital of Burgundy, was expected to have shewn a spirit of resistance similar to that of Lyons. But it proved otherwise. The people, discontented with the iron government of Buonaparte, and terrified at the numerous

Jan. 22.

armies which they beheld advancing on every side, mutinied against the Count de Segur, who, as extraordinary commissioner of Napoleon, endeavoured to animate them to defence, and opened their gates to the first considerable detachment of Prince Schwartzenberg's army which appeared before their walls.

Jan. 19.

It was now anxiously asked, what preparations of defence Buonaparte, once so formidable in offensive operations, was arranging against an enemy, who, with celerity resembling his own, had occupied within a fortnight his whole eastern frontier, and might move upon Paris without encountering the obstacle of any regular fortified place. The next chapter will elucidate this question.

CHAPTER IX.

The Government of Buonaparte is unpopular.—Report of the Legislative Body.—Napoleon's indignant Reply.—Negociations for Peace at Chatillon.—Buonaparte recalls his Spanish Armies, and makes fresh Levies.—His personal Behaviour.—Fall of public Credit.—Napoleon leaves Paris to join the Army.—General View of his Plan of defensive Operations.—Battle of Brienne.—Battle of La Rothiere.—The Allied Armies again separate.—Buonaparte evacuates Troyes, and renews his Negociations for Peace.—Moves suddenly to his left against the Army of Silesia.—Defeats Alsufieff, and Sacken, and compels Blucher to retire.—Masterly Retreat of the Prussians.—The Grand Allied Army advances, takes Nogent, and threatens Paris.—Napoleon takes Monterau.—Skirmish at Mery.—Schwartzenberg evacuates Troyes.—Execution of Gouault.—Blucher advances to the Marne.—Exhausted State of the Theatre of War.

WHEN Buonaparte began to look around him to organize his means of defence, he found, according to the common lot of despots, that his power was limited, so soon as it came to depend upon the affections of the people. He had already sacrificed, in the Russian and German campaigns, those liberal supplies of recruits and treasure which his absolute power had been able to wring out of the exhausted country, and no resource remained, excepting to render the war national, and to stimulate the inhabitants of France to those ardent exertions and unbounded sacrifices which authority alone can never enforce upon a people, but which have frequently been made at the call of enthusiastic and devoted patriotism. The allies, fully sensible of the danger should the war take this turn, had in all their declarations drawn a distinction between Buonaparte and the French people, and represented the wrongs they had suffered, and the fears which they reasonably entertained of the ambition of the former, as the sole obstacle to their concluding a peace upon honourable terms with the nation which he commanded. These assertions received very general credence among the great majority of the nation, particularly of the higher and wealthier classes, who, unless connected with the court and army, reluctantly saw the fortunes of France put upon the hazard to support the ambitious schemes of an oppressive usurper. He was not long of learning this unwelcome truth, through the medium of his legislative body, which, though by the forms of his constitution, it had been studiously neutralized and

trammelled, and had shewn itself subservient to the purposes of the emperor upon ordinary occasions, did now, upon the approach of this great crisis, display some glances of that public spirit which is inseparable from the very nature of a representative body, and acquired importance as the influence of the despotic sway of the sovereign became relaxed and diminished. To this body Buonaparte, having first endeavoured still further to secure its pliability, by naming to the office of president a creature of his own, who had no seat among its members, communicated the progress of his negociation with the allies, in the view, doubtless, of obtaining from them, as representatives of the nation, a declaration that he had used in vain every effort to procure peace; and that the French people were therefore bound to second him with their lives and fortunes, in the inevitable war which the allied powers had forced upon him. But the report of the legislative body, made through the organ of the respectable Mons. Lainé, intimated, though under the most studied forms of profound respect, that a very different conviction had arisen in their minds from perusal of the documents laid before them. They observed, that the best mode of confronting the accusations of extravagant and unjust ambition, brought against Napoleon in the declarations of the allied powers, would be a solemn counter-manifesto on his part, distinctly expressing the sacrifices which he was willing to make for the pacification of Europe. They more than intimated that the allied powers had laid before the emperor a deliberate and explicit basis, on which they were willing to make peace, and that France, as well as the allies, had a right to expect that such a proposal should meet a candid and frank reply. It was not, they admitted, for them to dictate the terms of the imperial declaration, "which would resound through the universe;" but they did not abstain from hinting, that it was only in the case of such a pacific declaration being made and rejected by the allied powers, that the crown and the people of France could be considered as embarked in a common cause, or that the latter could be brought to hazard every thing in defence of the former. In the end of this report, which was of a novel nature under Napoleon's government, the ominous terms, liberty, safety, property, and the security of public rights, were insinuated as expressing the boons to be held out to the French people, in order to stimulate them to active and energetic resistance against invasion.

Dec. 28.

An address to the emperor was voted in terms of the report, and the general voice of the legislative body appointed the report itself to be printed, in spite of the opposition of a feeble minority, composed of Buonaparte's courtiers and minions. But much as he needed the support of public opinion, Napoleon would not temporize with the reviving spirit of freedom. He spurned against this equally unexpected remonstrance, as the stern prophet of old did against that of the dumb animal, whose mouth was miraculously opened to announce the danger which lay in the path of its rider. He forbade the printing of this unwelcome document, occupied with a military force the hall of the legislative body, prohibited their future sittings, and calling the members before the footstool of his throne, he reproached them in the bitterest terms. "Lainé, the chief of that committee," he said, "was a traitor to his country, and in correspondence with the Prince Regent of Britain—others were fools, who were treading the path which had conducted the party of La Gironde to the scaffold.—You are not," he said,

"the representatives of the people, you are but the deputies of the departments—I came to seek consolation from you—courage I have of my own. Instead of doing what I desired, you have sought to calumniate me in the eyes of France, and to draw a line of distinction, separating the interests of the sovereign and of the people—I am the only true representative of the people—which of you is able to support such a task?—the throne is but a piece of wood covered with velvet—I am both the sovereign and the people—in three months the enemy shall be repulsed, or I will be no more—is it a time to prate of reforming the constitution when the frontiers are attacked?—if France desires another constitution, and that constitution does not please me, let her seek another sovereign—have I not stooped sufficiently to attain peace, since I have sacrificed my sense of superiority over those with whom I am treating for it?—if I have pride, it is because I have courage—it is because France is indebted to me for her grandeur—your address is unworthy of me and the legislative body—I will print it in my own time, with such notes as shall redound to your eternal disgrace.—Hence!—begone to your homes—supposing I have faults, was it for you to reproach me with them before the public—they who have foul linen to wash do not invite the world to be spectators.——Begone!—France has more need of me than I have need of France."

With this singular harangue, which displays at once irritated pride, jealous ambition, and determined egotism, expressed in a style in which obscurity and inflation cannot disguise traits of low vulgarity, Napoleon dismissed the only branch of his constitution which had any pretence to term itself the organ of the people. But either he himself, or his wiser counsellors, saw not the less plainly the necessity of continuing, in appearance at least, the negociations for peace, unless he meant utterly to alienate from his cause the affections of the inhabitants of France. To temporize at once with the allies and with the expectations of his own subjects, Caulaincourt was directed to resume an intercourse with Prince Metternich, the Austrian minister, which had been neglected, since a letter of that statesman, dated about a month before. In consequence of this overture, Caulaincourt repaired to Chatillon, then the head-quarters of the allied sovereigns, and there awaited the arrival of Lord Viscount Castlereagh, whom England had deputed as her plenipotentiary upon this occasion, and who soon after arrived. These statesmen, on the part of the different belligerent powers, continued their sittings uninterrupted for several weeks; the demands of the allies, and the concessions of Buonaparte, fluctuating according to the various events of the war which was waged around them. But although the principal ministers of the first nations in the world were thus placed in contact with each other, all the usual delays of negociations abridged or removed, and each more explicit than another in expressing their wishes for peace, we may be permitted to doubt, whether any of the powers represented in that assembly, excepting only Austria, were serious in desiring it. Russia and Prussia had suffered too much through Buonaparte's arms, and entertained a dread too well grounded, of his disposition at once vengeful, warlike, and enterprizing, to accede, unless compelled by circumstances, to any peace which should leave him at liberty to seize the first favourable opportunity of revenging the losses of the campaigns 1812 and 1813, and the

Jan. 6.

Dec. 10. 1813.

humiliation of being compelled to sign a treaty so near the gates of his capital. In Britain, it was well understood, that a great proportion of the public, having at their head the Prince Regent himself, were decidedly adverse to any peace which should leave the power of France to be wielded by Buonaparte; and we well remember, that at a period when such an event appeared to be inevitable, the news spread as deep a gloom over a great part of the community, as if they had been the tidings of a disastrous defeat. Thus three out of four of the principal allied powers were united in opposing any peace with Napoleon, which should not contain a sufficient guarantee for its duration; and how difficult it must be to find such a guarantee, is sufficiently obvious. As for Napoleon himself, whose clear interest it was to have thrown himself into the arms of Austria, and accepted such a peace as he might secure by her mediation, it is evident his mind was not tamed to a tone of prudence by his misfortunes, since he clung to his claims upon Holland and Italy, at the risk of disgusting Austria by his demands upon the latter country, and throwing insurmountable obstacles to peace with England, by struggling for the former point. Not even the very intelligible address of the legislative body could move him to a frank declaration of the terms on which he was content to accept of peace, and thus confute the charge of irregular ambition brought against him by the allies, and unite the cause of himself and his dynasty with that of the people of France. Austria alone, therefore, continued to desire a peace, which should maintain Buonaparte or his family upon the throne of France, with power circumscribed but not annihilated. Independent of the awkward and ungracious appearance of being active in dethroning his son in-law, and barring the succession of a kingdom against his grandchild, the Emperor Francis might dread the increasing influence of Russia in the west of Europe, and wish to preserve on the throne of France, a family that would owe it immediately to his protection. The war-cries of the Austrian soldiers on entering France, "Down with Napoleon, and long live the Regency," have been supposed to intimate the alternative which Austria would have preferred in the event of Napoleon's being dethroned, the succession, namely, of his son, under the guardianship of Maria Louisa. But to this plan, and particularly to the possibility of securing such a government against the intrusion of the father and husband, lay many political objections. Still, however, with a pertinacity which characterizes her councils, Austria appears to have adhered to her desire of peace with Buonaparte on moderate terms. Her aid was too essential to the common cause, to permit her wishes to be neglected by the allies; while her countenance was of too much consequence to Buonaparte, to admit of his openly repelling her mediation. The negociation was therefore kept alive until the chance of war should determine the belligerent powers either to bring it to a sudden conclusion, or to as sudden a rupture.

Meanwhile Buonaparte used all his remaining influence to complete his levies, and, relying little on the raw conscripts who were torn from their homes and hearths to sustain, without cloathing, supplies, or equipments, the rigours of the winter campaign, he determined to withdraw from Spain the army of Marshal Suchet, and to recall large draughts from that opposed to Lord Wellington, whose place he endeavoured to supply with new troops. Exhausted as she was by conscriptions, it is astonishing to what an extent France was still able to answer

the call of her stern ruler. Napoleon was enabled to form twelve complete regiments of volunteers, and to add largely to the effective number of the army, of which his imperial guards formed the elite. Yet either he dreaded the consequence of leaving the Parisians, unawed by his presence, to the suggestions of the discontented, and of the secret royalists, who already were begun to cabal among themselves, or he felt some repugnance to plunge into the sea of labour and danger which awaited him. Occasionally, and by starts, he rushed abroad among the artizans, soldiers, and conscripts, and endeavoured to secure their attachment, and inflame their resolution, by the familiarity and warmth of his exhortations to resistance. But more frequently immured within the solitary recesses of his palace, he was represented by his courtiers as engaged in meditating one of those master-strokes of the military art by which he had frequently dispersed the assembled armies of confederate nations, as the sun breaks through the gathered clouds. It was even reported by those who watched his least movements, that, after long musing over the chart of France, and making various measurements and calculations, he had been observed to throw down his compasses, stride across the apartment, and exclaim with the rapturous enthusiasm of the Grecian discoverer, "I have them—I have them secure!—not a man shall escape me."—Such reports went abroad to feed the confidence of his adherents, and to maintain the sinking spirits of the nation; but the judicious observed that, in these circumstances of unparalleled embarrassment, Buonaparte displayed neither the alacrity of mind, nor the promptitude of decision, which characterized his offensive campaigns, and they augured that his mind must finally sink under the difficulties of his situation. Public confidence fell rapidly, and was of course accompanied in its descent by public credit. The bank of France, perceiving that their stock of specie would be speedily exhausted by the run upon their establishment, and that gold, already at a considerable premium, would be speedily withdrawn from circulation by speculators and hoarders, adopted a resolution not to pay above 500,000 francs (about 20,000l. sterling) per day; and Buonaparte sanctioned this restriction by a regulation of police, which tended to throw that portion of specie which might still be issued, into the hands of his own adherents exclusively, since it was ordained, "that no one should receive change for bank notes unless he were the bearer of a number, delivered to him by the Maire of his quarter."—These were measures which evidently showed the distracted and desponding state of the country.

Jan. 18.

At length Buonaparte resolved to put himself at the head of the army, conferring, as upon former occasions, the ostensible office of regent upon his empress, Maria Louisa, but under the direction and controul of his brothers and other counsellors, whose interests he deemed most closely connected with his own. The officers of the national guard of Paris, eight hundred in number, were summoned to the great saloon of the Tuilleries, to receive the solemn deposit which Napoleon entrusted to their honour, in the persons of his wife and child. The scene was probably premeditated for the sake of effect; but it was one of those in which every actor feels compelled to enter into the spirit of his part. The situation of that great General, heretofore the conqueror of so many nations, now assailed by entire Europe, committing his empress and heir to the faith of the armed citizens of his ca-

Jan. 23.

pital, while he marched against the perils that environed him, had something in it affecting and sublime. The pale and downcast looks of the empress, who held her child in her arms, showed she had not forgotten that her father was among the most powerful enemies of her husband. With purer and more natural eloquence than characterized Napoleon's ordinary orations, "He confided," he said, and he spoke it in a tremulous accent, "his wife and child to his faithful citizens of Paris, thus giving them the dearest mark of his confidence which he had it in his power to bestow. He trusted their walls would not be dishonoured by the appearance of the enemy, but should, in the grand manœuvres of the campaign, some hordes of light troops force their way thither, he was sure the brave inhabitants of Paris would not forget that their sovereign had committed its defence to them." This affecting appeal was received with every mark of respect and enthusiasm, and answered by an universal shout of *Vive l'Empereur!* and though the feeling might on both sides be only temporary, we cannot agree with those who see nothing but charlatanism in the appeal, or hypocrisy in the manner in which it was answered.

Jan. 25. Two days after this striking scene, Napoleon set off to join his army assembled at Chalons-sur-Marne.

The character of the campaign that ensued was in some respects determined by the nature of the country, and in others by the state of the contending armies. The immense numbers of the allied forces compelled them, especially at that dead season of the year, to extend their lines, in order to provide for the subsistence of their numerous armies. And unquestionably, notwithstanding the good intelligence of the allied sovereigns, and their general agreement upon the plan of the campaign, complicated movements and combinations, upon such an extended line of operations, are formed with difficulty by troops of different countries, and acting under independent commanders. The despotism of a sole commander-in-chief is necessary, not only to enforce activity upon some generals, but to repress the rash zeal of others, who, seeing some immediate local advantage before them, may pursue it without regard to the general plan of co-operation. These disadvantages did not fail to throw into the operations of the allies an occasional appearance of hesitation, uncertainty, and even contradiction. The army of Buonaparte, on the contrary, though greatly inferior in numbers, for he had seldom more than 60 or 70,000 men in the field, executed with precision and rapidity those manœuvres which the emperor dictated, and the details of which were committed to generals equally capable of commanding and willing to obey. Aware of these important advantages, it was Buonaparte's plan to attack the allied armies upon the points where their combinations were weakest,—to supply by rapidity of movement the want of numbers,—and to contrive by his manœuvres to prevent a superiority of force from being poured upon him in the actual field of battle, however inferior his numbers might be upon the general amount of the armies in the field. The game was a bold, but not a desperate one. Napoleon had in his favour the chance of obtaining one of those fortunate victories which had often before relieved him when on the point of being overwhelmed by numbers; and he might reasonably hope for some favourable opportunity of softening Austria, and detaching her from the general alliance against him, or of fostering the seeds of dissension in a league composed of so many various nations. Victory, even partial

victory, might awaken the spirit of France, and rally around him the whole body of the nation. Victory, even partial victory, might renew in the minds of the allied troops the terror of his arms; and should they then reflect that they were advanced into the heart of France, leaving behind them fortresses containing a whole army, capable of rendering their retreat calamitous by a sudden union in their rear, it was doubtful whether, having lost one battle, they would await the consequences of another, when a second defeat might render their situation inextricable. Those who have censured Napoleon's tactics on this occasion, as opposing to the allies activity without plan, and courage without foresight, have neglected to observe, that in its very nature it must depend upon contingencies, and have omitted to inform us what other he could have substituted in its room.

The nature of the country through which the allies had to advance was favourable to Buonaparte's system of partial warfare, especially in the winter season. It is traversed by three large rivers, the Marne, the Aube, the Seine, and their tributary streams. In most places these rivers are, during winter, deep and unfordable, and therefore only to be passed by bridges or pontoons. The towns and villages upon these bridges have, as is usual on the continent, old walls and gates, which, though they do not render them, properly speaking, defensible, afford strong and tenable positions, if occupied by a sufficient force. To improve these into strong *tetes de pont*, by field-works, ramparts, and palisadoes, had been part of Buonaparte's active policy ever since the danger of invasion became imminent. It is obvious that this mode of occupying a town, instead of protecting the buildings and inhabitants, which is the ordinary purpose of fortifications, has almost the certain consequence of rendering the place a scene of conflict and ruin. It was therefore with feelings of horror and despair that the citizens of these unfortunate towns beheld the officers, whom Buonaparte had dispatched for that purpose, make the unrelenting preparations necessary for this desperate system of warfare. The inhabitants of Troyes, in particular, remonstrated with the colonel of engineers, in performance of this duty, that his plan of defence involved the demolition of the suburbs of their city. "We have burnt as fine suburbs before now," was the indifferent and insulting answer. By means of converting these towns into defensible positions, Buonaparte proposed to arrest, in particular places, the movements of the allies, to exclude them from the ordinary points of passing the rivers, and by compelling portions of their army to take difficult and circuitous routes, to derange the combinations of all, and to gain an opportunity of falling with his whole force on some inferior division of the allies, when thus arrested and separated from the rest of their army by the obstructions which this system presented.

It was time that Buonaparte should present himself on the scene, for his generals were giving way in all directions. After the success of the grand army of the allies at Langres, they advanced two divisions, commanded by the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg and by Count Guilay, upon the village of Bar-sur-Aube, a position which commands the high road to Troyes. The place was gallantly defended by Mortier, its importance being increased as it covered the communication with Chalons-sur-Marne, where Napoleon had assembled his army. But the Prince Royal having obtained possession of Colombey, Mortier was obliged to evacuate Bar-sur-Aube after consi-

Jan. 24. derable resistance and the loss of 2000 men, and the town was immediately occupied by Count Guilay. While the grand army made this movement in advance, Blucher pressed forward by forced marches upon Toul, in order to unite the Silesian army with that under Prince Schwartzenberg. The forces of Napoleon were also in motion to prevent this junction. They formed the French grand army, consisting of the various corps of Marmont, Macdonald, Ney, and other distinguished French generals, who, retreating from the frontiers which they could no longer defend, had concentrated at Chalons, and having there been reinforced by the Imperial Guards and the new levies, were now commanded by Napoleon in person. Some actions of cavalry took place, in which the French were worsted, and General Lanskoi obtained possession of Saint Dizier, which he held as a point of observation. Suddenly the Russians were attacked in this position by Victor, whom Napoleon had detached for that purpose: they were driven from the bridge, and obliged to disperse themselves in the forest of Montierender, while Buonaparte, arriving at Saint Dizier, was received with songs and acclamations. It was now in his power to have thrown himself with his whole army into the rear of the allies, whose principal armies were advanced considerably to the westward of the point which he thus occupied,—to have threatened and intercepted their communications,—and to have essayed whether such measures of intimidation would make them desist from their project of marching upon Paris. But learning that while he thus manœuvred on their flank and rear, the Silesian army, in correspondence with that of Prince Schwartzenberg, had taken possession of the course of the Aube, occupied the right bank, and secured the bridge at Brienne, Napoleon resolved, in preference, to attack Blucher upon one of the points of that position, trusting he might overwhelm that veteran with the immediate force under his command, before the other allied generals could make any lateral movement of concentration for his support.

Blucher was apprised of the advance of Napoleon by the dispersed corps of Lanskoi, which had fled before him. The Prussian general had already arrived on the Aube, and having taken possession of Brienne le Chateau, and adopted as his right wing the division of the Prince Royal, which had occupied Bar, he detached cavalry in advance from the left bank as far as the vicinity of Arcis, and even Troyes, both of which were occupied by French troops; thus making movements in advance, while Buonaparte was threatening his rear. Schwartzenberg, in the meanwhile, was advancing on Bar-sur-Aube, and his arrival there would complete what Napoleon had most to fear, a junction of these hostile armies in a position which threatened Paris. All that remained for him was to attack Blucher upon the Aube before he should move towards Schwartzenberg, or Schwartzenberg come up to him. About three o'clock, P. M. the French army came *Jan.* 29. in sight, just as Blucher, apprised of their design by an intercepted dispatch, had determined to move towards the grand army. Brienne is a large open village, at the foot of a hill on which is placed its castle, surrounded by a wooded park. That building, occupied as a military academy, chanced, by a singular coincidence, to be the very place where Buonaparte received, at the expence of the family of Bourbon, the rudiments of the military skill which he was now about to display on the very scenes where he first studied it. This chateau, at the time the engagement

began, was occupied as the head-quarters of Blucher and his staff officers.

The first advantage was gained by the French cavalry, who, having charged in mass that of General Count Pahlen, which covered the approach to Brienne, drove them from their post, and compelled them to retreat upon the corps of General Sacken, which was formed in the rear of the village. Brienne itself was occupied by the Russian corps of Alsufieff. At the same moment Ney attacked the village itself with six battalions formed in close column, while a select body of grenadiers, introducing themselves unobserved into the woody park which surrounded the castle, nearly surprised Blucher while he was still at table with his officers. They had but barely time to lead their horses out at a postern gate, and down some steps of a stair, an awkward mode of retreat, by which, however, they gained the park, and reached the corps of Sacken. The Marshal saw himself now attacked by all Napoleon's force, without either the possibility of moving towards the grand army, or the hope of receiving assistance from it. With that readiness which characterizes him as much as his intrepidity, he ordered the cavalry of Pahlen, reinforced by that of Sacken, to advance from their position behind the village, so as to menace the left flank of the French, which this movement compelled to fall back. The Russians, under Alsufieff, maintained the town against Ney with the most obstinate courage, until the French grenadiers who had taken the chateau descended upon their flank, through a street leading from the village to the castle. When the Russians, thus assailed on two points, began to give way, Sacken's corps advanced from the rear of the village to support them, and the combatants fought furiously in the streets and the court-yards of the village, as well as in the neighbouring wood, closes, and orchards. At length, to dislodge the Russians, the French commenced a bombardment, which set fire to Brienne on the one side, while the Russians themselves set the other end in flames, to check the approach of the French. The struggle was continued till eleven at night, and carried on by the light afforded by the flames; the hostile parties frequently engaged with the bayonet in the burning town, and repeated charges by the cavalry on either side added to the terrors and confusion of this nocturnal conflict. Buonaparte exposed his person with great frankness: he was repeatedly seen in the thick of the fire, and at one time his immediate suite was charged by a detachment of Cossacks, who during the action, and nearly about the conclusion, had unexpectedly attacked the rear of the French. The Prince of Wagram, as he was called, had his hat struck off by one of their pikes, and carabines and pistols were discharged by both parties close to Napoleon's person. About eleven the allies desisted from their attempts to regain Brienne, in which only the chateau and a few houses of solid architecture escaped the conflagration. From that chateau, which must have inspired many strange reflections, Buonaparte sent a gasconading account of his victory to Paris. He had taken, he asserted, 15,000 prisoners, and 40 pieces of cannon; although, in fact, he had not taken a hundred men or a single gun, or gained any advantage beyond that of having driven Blucher from a position which he was in the act of abandoning when the battle began. Maret, called the Duke of Bassano, to whom this good news was conveyed, amplified and extolled the victory to the best of his power;—he spoke classically of Antæus, and wittily of

the accounts which Lord Castlereagh, just then arrived in France, would find it his duty to transmit to the British ministry. But the days were over when the bulletins of the emperor and the illustrations of his ministers were received as words of holy writ; and in the affair of Brienne the French only recognized a doubtful and bloody skirmish, with the empty honour of the emperor having retained the field of battle.

Jan. 30. The next day about noon the attack was renewed by Buonaparte upon the army of Silesia, which had retreated by their right on the village of La Rothiere, about a league from Brienne, but it terminated for the time in a skirmish of cavalry, in which that of the allies gave ground and retreated to Trannes, abandoning La Rothiere. But the motions of the grand army, advancing to the support of that of Silesia, now began to make Napoleon feel the difficulties of the game before him. The corps of the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg was in full march towards Blucher, advancing down the Aube from Maisons to Trannes. In the rear of Buonaparte, the Prussian General York had retaken Saint Dizier, while the Russian Count Witgenstein, supported by the Bavarian Wrede, defeated and drove in the cavalry destined to cover the French army.—Thus the rear of Napoleon was menaced, while the Silesian army, in his front, was on the point of being sustained by reinforcements arriving in every direction. The army of Blucher, therefore, resumed the offensive, while Napoleon found it dangerous, in the presence of an enterprizing and numerous army, to attempt to extricate himself by passing the Aube by the bridge of L'Esmont, below Brienne. For although the preceding battle had placed that pass in his hands, and although, by gaining the left-hand side of the Aube, he would have placed that river betwixt the allies and his own less numerous army, yet a manœuvre so perilous, attempted in the face of an enemy, must have exposed him at least to the loss of his whole rear-guard. He was therefore compelled to await the issue of a general action.

In the battle of La Rothiere, taking its name from that village, Napoleon's army, drawn up upon the heights of Brienne, rested its right wing on the little town of Dienville, close to the Aube, its centre on La Rothiere, and its left rather thrown back on a hamlet called La Gilrie, while the key of the position on the left was another village, called Morvillers, occupied by the sixth corps, under the command of Marmont. Petit Mesnil and Chaumenil, posts of importance in the rear, were occupied by Victor. Duhesme commanded in the village of La Rothiere, and Girard, occupying that of Dienville, strove to cover at once both banks of the Aube. The French army might amount to 60,000 men, but the increasing number of their assailants reduced them to act on the defensive. They were attacked by the allies in three bodies. General Sacken, supported by strong reserves, assaulted in two divisions the villages of La Rothiere and Dienville, while the Prince Royal marched against those of Gilrie and Chaumenil, on which rested the left wing of the French. Napoleon was thus attacked almost along all his line. The Prince Royal met the most desperate resistance, but, sustained by the collateral movement of General Wrede, who deployed with precision on the rear and left flank of the French, he accomplished a junction with that division of the grand army, and overpowering the defence which the enemy presented, they remained masters of Gilrie and Chaumenil, on the left flank and rear of the French. Buonaparte saw the danger, and, rushing in person

to the support of his left wing, urged a desperate attack for the purpose of retaking Chaumenil. It was rendered unavailing by the lateral movement of Count Wrede, who being now in the field with his fresh troops, charged and dispersed the French in the moment of their attack, and took many prisoners, cannons, and much baggage. In the meanwhile the efforts of Marshal Blucher were directed against La Rothiere, the key of the French centre. The unexpected arrival of the Emperor of Russia, King of Prussia, and Prince Schwartzenberg, added fury to the onset. A heavy snow-storm, as if pitying the extensive slaughter, silenced the fire of the musketry, and rendered it difficult to bring even the artillery into line. Yet the work of destruction proceeded with unabated fury. The French cavalry made a bold attempt, similar to the memorable movement which decided at Marengo, to break the centre of the line of the allies. The charge was repulsed, and the Russians, in hot pursuit, made themselves masters of the village of La Rothiere. The good genius of Napoleon, or that spirit of caution which actuated the allied generals through great part of this campaign, prevented them from urging his retreat into an absolute route, which would have been the more fatal as he had no longer the means of retrograding upon those points from which he had advanced, but was under the necessity of gaining the left bank of the Aube by the narrow bridge of L'Esmont, and attempting, with a broken and defeated army, that very manœuvre, to avoid which, while his forces were yet entire, he had hazarded an engagement. To cover his retreat, Napoleon made the most desperate efforts to repossess himself of La Rothiere, which Blucher in person defended with the utmost courage. It should seem as if a lateral movement on the part of the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg and Count Wrede, already victorious on the rear and left of the French, ought to have prevented Napoleon's centre from thus endeavouring to regain the position they had lost; but none such was made. Blucher, however, maintained himself in La Rothiere, and about midnight repelled the last desperate attack made upon that village by the grenadiers of Buonaparte's Imperial Guard. Thus the French line was forced on the left and centre. Fortunately for Buonaparte, General Girard, though hotly attacked at the village of Dienville, made his position good, being the only point on which the French were successful along their whole line. To have lost this last position would have converted defeat into ruin, since it would have opened the way to the allies to possess themselves of the banks of the Aube, and subsequently of the bridge of L'Esmont, the defile by which Buonaparte, forced to abandon all thoughts of retiring by St Dizier and Montierender, now in possession of Wrede, was under the necessity of retreating. Full time seems to have been allowed Buonaparte to accomplish this difficult manœuvre, which he performed in good order, under protection of a strong rear-guard, commanded by Marmont with great skill and bravery, and which, after all, effected its retreat with considerable loss indeed, but with great honour. Such was the battle of La Rothiere, where Napoleon sustained a severe defeat, and was within an inch of inevitable destruction, had the energy of the Austrian commanders equalled the gallantry of the allied troops, or the spirit of the veteran Blucher. Had Napoleon been cut off from the bridge of L'Esmont and the river of the Aube,—a movement of all others the most easy, considering that a defeated army had to pass by files over a narrow bridge,—the only point of re-

treat which could have remained open to him was Chalons; and if he attained that town with such part of his army as might have had the good fortune to escape, the allies were placed between him and Paris, with a superior as well as victorious army, and all the French forces left at Arcis and Troyes must have fallen by detail into their hands, while Napoleon, returning to the point from which he set out, could have found neither resources nor safety. An opportunity was neglected on this occasion, which it cost many thousands of lives, as well as much other loss, both to the French people and to the allies, to regain. We can only attribute the mysterious halt of the Germans, after their success on the left wing, to the deliberate and formal character of their tactics, joined to a wish on the part of the Austrian cabinet, rather to reduce Buonaparte to terms, than utterly to destroy his power. The loss of the allies exceeded 5000 men, nor was it more than equalled by that of the French; but the former gained 60 pieces of cannon, and compelled Napoleon to a precarious retreat, which might have easily been converted into a rout. The French army, in a very disorganized condition, fell back upon Troyes, where they could not hope to maintain themselves; and it remained to be seen what obstacle Buonaparte could offer to these immense armies, which had engaged and defeated him, and effected a junction in the centre of his dominions.

The utmost terror was spread through all the neighbouring country, on the left bank of the Aube, by the arrival of Buonaparte's defeated army, headed by himself, covered with mud and snow, and in a condition that announced discomfiture and retreat. But in the extremity of his need he was joined by the old Imperial Guard, or that portion of them which had been quartered at Arcis, whose retreat now became necessary in consequence of that of the French main army, and who, having evacuated that town, now joined their emperor at Troyes. The splendid appointments and high state of discipline of this celebrated corps furnished a singular contrast with the routed and ragged appearance of the soldiers who had been engaged at Brienne and La Rothiere. But even this timely reinforcement, so great had been the loss of the preceding actions, as well as that sustained by the dispersion and desertion of the new levies, only raised the total of Napoleon's army to 50,000 men.

The allies did not effectually improve their victory. Experience, in the defeat of Blucher at Brienne, had already taught them the risk of acting in separate corps and without combination. Buonaparte had indeed been caught, as it were, between the two armies of Schwartzenberg and Blucher, which, in this instance, united in the very crisis of danger. Yet, though thus taught by recent, and, in some degree, fatal experience, the risk of dividing their troops, and the benefit of connected movements, the allies again resolved to disunite the forces they had combined, and to move upon Paris in two great armies, unconnected with each other. We are aware that, in a war like this, many circumstances which never reach the public ear may concur to dictate a mode of tactics which in itself appears extraordinary. It may be imprudent to employ generals of different nations and co-ordinate rank in the same grand army; and in an exhausted country supplies will be most easily obtained by two grand divisions moving upon separate lines. But when these circumstances are weighed against the prospect of ending the campaign by a few days exertion, and contrasted with the facilities which disunited operations afford to an active and intelligent adversary

to encounter and defeat his enemies in detail, while each of them may not only be unable to bring assistance to the other, but not even be aware that he stands in need of it, we own they seem to sink in the balance; and the subsequent history of the campaign fortifies us in this opinion.

Prince Schwartzenberg, however, advanced upon Troyes with the grand allied army, while Blucher, again separating himself from the Austrians, pursued with the army of Silesia his road on La Fere Champenoise; the two main bodies of the allies thus threatening Paris on two several routes. Buonaparte, in the meanwhile, having occupied the town of Troyes, which lay full in the road of the grand allied army, with an air of desperate resolution announced his intention to make good this position against Prince Schwartzenberg. It is a rule in the Austrian army, drawn from the old school of tactics, never to attack a considerable town in front, however slenderly defended, until it be cleared of the enemy on both flanks. Instead, therefore, of accepting the battle which Napoleon offered them with his broken and defeated army in the position of Troyes, they set about to dispossess him of it by manœuvring on his flanks. In these movements they were aided by the Prussian General York, who after having gained St Dizier, as we have already noticed, had possessed himself of Vitry by the terrors of a bombardment, and of Chalons by the threats of a storm; thus occupying the whole line of the Marne upon those points so lately possessed by Napoleon and his army. Before this overwhelming force Macdonald blew up the bridge at Chalons, and retreated on Chateau Thierry. Thus the plains of Champagne, on which it was the pleasure of the Parisian editors, and of some politicians elsewhere, to prophesy that the modern irruption of Huns would be checked, as in the invasion of Attila, fell into the exclusive possession of those to whom they had been announced as a place of slaughter and discomfiture. York marched upon Chateau Thierry and Sacken upon Sezanne, near Montmirail, acting upon two different points, as advanced-guards to the Silesian army; while Blucher, pausing at Laon, increased his force by the corps of General Kleist and by that of Langeron, which, relieved in the duty of blockading the frontier fortresses by the arrival of other Prussian corps pressing forward from Germany, now appeared on the scene of action, and united themselves to the Silesian army, with the purpose of advancing on Paris. This cloud gathering to his left altered Buonaparte's original intention of sustaining the attack of Prince Schwartzenberg at Troyes, which, in truth, the advance of Blucher towards Paris rendered an act little short of desperation. Buonaparte evacuated the ancient capital of Champagne, which was immediately occupied by the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg and the advanced-guard of the allied grand army, who continued to pour through the town in immense force, pursuing the retreating French army on the principal road to Paris.

Jan. 6.

The retreat of the French was marked with circumstances of disorder and indiscipline, which are intimated in Buonaparte's order of the day from Nogent, where he halted after his retreat from Troyes. He signified his imperial displeasure at the excesses to which the soldiers had abandoned themselves, and announced that the inhabitants fled in all directions from the approach of an army, which had become the scourge instead of the defence of its native country. To increase the perplexity of his situation, the almost forgotten name of Bourbon began to be

Jan. 8.

invoked in the city which he had abandoned. The Marquis de Widranges, and Monsieur de Gouault, a chevalier of the order of St Louis, in their own name and that of other royalists, entered into an explanation with the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg; and though they received from him slender encouragement to a step so decisive, they ventured to assume the colours and decorations of the ancient family, and to avow a cause which for so many years had appeared irremediably desperate in the eyes of all Europe. We shall presently see that this step cost dear to the Chevalier Gouault. The Marquis de Widranges, fortunately for himself as it afterwards proved, set out upon a message from the royalists of Champagne to Louis XVIII., then resident in England. Stunned by the difficulties, military and political, which seemed to darken around him, Buonaparte hastened to offer to the plenipotentiaries, now met at Chatillon, his accession to the basis which they proposed for a general pacification, and even his willingness to guarantee his sincerity by the surrender of the frontier fortresses into their hands. He coupled this offer with a proposal for an armistice, during which he probably expected to be reinforced by the troops which he had recalled from Spain and the south of France. But the allies refused the armistice, although they granted Napoleon, indirectly, an almost equal advantage, by neglecting to press upon his disorderly retreat from Troyes to Nogent.

While, with his forces drawn up on the heights of Nogent, within twenty-three leagues of Paris, Buonaparte awaited such reinforcements as he could draw together, and seemed again to make a stand, as if he had resumed the purpose of abiding the approach of the grand army, that of Silesia made rapid advances on his left, and appeared determined to possess themselves of the course of the Marne at least as far as Meaux, and to advance to Paris in that direction, without waiting for the issue of the contest which apparently impended between Schwartzenberg and Napoleon. Macdonald was driven before them from Chateau Thierry, and taking it for granted that Buonaparte, kept in check by the grand army, would remain paralyzed in his position before Nogent, there now seemed to remain no obstacle between Blucher and Paris. York, who had established a bridge of boats over the Marne at Chateau Thierry, was already advancing upon Meaux, and Sacken, who formed Blucher's advanced guard more to the right, had possessed himself of the country on the right bank of the Marne, pushed his advanced posts as far as Ferté la Jouarre, and was even already nearer to Paris than Buonaparte himself. To sustain York and Sacken, Blucher himself had advanced his head-quarters to Vertus; the very inferior forces of Macdonald were in full retreat, and every thing announced an uninterrupted march to Paris, providing, what seemed little to be doubted, that Schwartzenberg and the grand allied army could keep engaged the attention of Napoleon, whose force was so far inferior to their own. But this was to miscalculate the resources of his active genius.

The forces of Napoleon and those of Silesia, the one occupying the grand route from Troyes, the other that from Chalons, were now upon two radii of a circle, which diverged from Paris as the centre: Napoleon conceived the hardy idea of a lateral march from the route of Nogent, which he himself occupied, to that of Chalons, upon which Blucher was moving, in order, by a movement equally daring and unexpected, to surprise the Silesian army at once on the flank and rear. The state of the country was singularly

unfavourable to the execution of this hardy design, but it did not prevent Buonaparte from taking measures for carrying it into effect. In France the main routes are excellent, being usually causeways; but the cross roads and lateral communications between them are mere tracks, which, in the winter season, are almost impassable by horsemen, much more by a whole army, with its artillery and carriages. These obstacles were augmented by the general nature of the country around the villages of Villenoxe and Barbonne, and in the forest of Traconne, the only route by which Napoleon could transfer his army to the Chalons road from that of Troyes and Nogent. The opposition offered by swamps, drains, thickets, and defiles, in the depth of winter, seemed to render the proposed movement desperate; and the French troops, having struggled hard with all these difficulties, were at length on the point of abandoning their artillery, when the Mayor of Barbonne, by collecting all the work-horses in the neighbourhood, to the number of 500, contrived to extricate their guns. By dint of such desperate exertions, of which the possibility had never been even surmised by the allies, Buonaparte, *Feb.* 10. when least expected, appeared in full force upon the flank of the Silesian army, which, moving in full security, as conceiving Buonaparte fully employed upon another military line, had left such intervals between their divisions as threatened to enable him to attack, overwhelm, and defeat them separately and in detail. The Russian General Alsufieff, who, posted at Champeaubert, formed the connecting link between the advanced division of Sacken, to which he acted as rear guard, and the main body commanded by Blucher in person, was the first who witnessed this tremendous apparition. His division was, after a short resistance, surrounded, defeated, and dispersed among the woods and morasses, leaving all their guns, and about 2000 prisoners, including their general and many officers;—affording in all the first considerable advantage which Buonaparte had gained during the campaign. The rear guard of General Sacken being thus totally defeated, Buonaparte next marched against his advanced body, having, by the success he had already obtained, succeeded in breaking in upon the Silesian army's line of march, and occupying the causeway between their main body and advance. Leaving Marmont at Etoges to parry any attempts which might be made from the main body of Blucher, then near Vertus, to assist his vanguard, Buonaparte followed up his success against the corps of Sacken, the rear guard of which he had thus destroyed. It appears that Sacken, on hearing of the misfortune of Alsufieff, had halted and counter-marched, with the view of re-uniting himself to Blucher; but the army of Napoleon was interposed between him and the Prussian Prince-marshal. The armies met near Montmirail, *Feb.* 11. where the Russians maintained the contest for almost the whole day with the greatest obstinacy, expecting doubtless that Blucher would speedily appear in the rear of the French. But evening approached, when Napoleon, reinforced with his Old Guard, renewed the attack with the greatest fury, possessed himself of the Russian position on all points, and compelled them to retreat upon the road to Chateau Thierry, with the loss of 5000 or 6000 men, being one-fourth of the whole division engaged. Night covered the retreat of the Russians, but a close pursuit was next day commenced and persevered in till the retreating and shattered battalions of Sacken arrived on the banks of the Marne, which they found themselves obliged to recross in the presence of their pursuers. Here

they met an unexpected support and reinforcement. General York, who had advanced as far toward Paris as Meaux, had turned back in order to support the division of Sacken, and by forced marches had reached Chateau Thierry. Prince William of Prussia lay in the same village on which the flight of the van-guard was directed, with about 2000 men. But neither of these reinforcements proved adequate to protect the retreat of Sacken, or check the pursuit of Buonaparte; and Prince William could only secure his own corps and the remains of the van-guard by destroying the bridge over the Marne as soon as the fugitives, or such of them as maintained some military order, had accomplished their passage. War now assumed its most horrid aspect. The scattered and straggling soldiers of Sacken's army, who had not arrived in time to cross the Marne, being by the destruction of the bridge cut off from the means of joining their retreating army, were at every point assaulted and cut off by the peasantry; while the Russians and Prussians, before continuing their retreat towards Rheims, in the height of their vengeful resentment for the disasters of their comrades, pillaged the village of Chateau Thierry, with every excess of violence.

The van-guard of the army of Silesia was now totally defeated, and Macdonald, whom they had driven before them to Meaux, was enabled to advance in his turn, and place himself in communication with the victorious army of his master. Napoleon, having defeated and almost destroyed the van-guard which he had cut off, now counter-marched his forces, and moved eastward, to attack and overwhelm the main body of the allies, commanded by Blucher in person. That indefatigable general had instantly advanced towards Etoges upon hearing of the engagement at Montmirail, compelling Marmont, with the corps of observation left by Buonaparte to watch his motions, to retire before him. Ignorant of the force with which he was about to measure himself, the Prussian general continued to press forward, until, in the open and uncultivated country, he suddenly found himself in front of the whole army of Napoleon, flushed with their victory over Sacken and York. To stand a general action under such unequal circumstances would have been frenzy, and to retreat through an open country, in the face of an active and enterprizing enemy, requires the utmost coolness and courage, both on the part of the general and the soldiers. Blucher instantly formed his infantry into solid squares, defended by artillery in the intervals, and covered by cavalry and sharpshooters on the flanks and rear, and then commenced his retreat by alternate divisions, those bodies which were in march to the rear being protected during that movement by the fire of such as stood fast, until the retreating masses halted and formed, and covered in their turn the retreat of the others. In the mean time, the numbers of the French, as well as their audacity, increased every instant. Their cavalry was so numerous that they charged six of the Prussian squares at the same instant, but fortunately without making impression. At length they were augmented to the number of 8000 horse, and thus became enabled to execute their manœuvres on the front, flanks, and even on the rear of Blucher's army, without any possibility of restraint from about three regiments of cavalry, to which the Prussian force of that description was limited. Nevertheless, though exposed to be charged at every movement, the Prussians neither lost courage nor presence of mind, but, keeping their ranks and continuing their march, maintained at the same time a murderous and sus-

tained fire on whatever approached them. The French, still persevering in their attacks, often engaged their cavalry among the squares, on which occasions they were exposed to crossing fires, and sustained much loss. In this way the Prussians had retreated for several leagues, fighting every step, their columns defended by a constant rolling fire, and vaulted by a continual canopy of smoke, when about sunset they perceived that a large body of French cavalry, which had made a detour round their flanks and gained their rear, now occupied and cut off the line of their retreat, being formed in a huge solid column on the causeway and on its sides, threatening a complete interruption to their passage. Marshal Blucher was now completely surrounded; but, without losing either courage or confidence, he directed a strong body of infantry, supported by artillery, to clear his retreat of this formidable obstacle, while the rest of his army continued to sustain, as before, the redoubled attacks of the French. The mass of cavalry formed on the causeway proved unable to support the heavy fire of grape and musketry which was directed against them by the Prussians; they retreated to the open ground on the sides of the causeway, left the road itself open, and, without venturing the attack in front, which their position had at first threatened, they confined themselves to repeated charges against the flank of the Silesian columns as they marched on. Night was now setting in when the Prussians reached the village of Etoges; but here also the French had been beforehand with them, having sent forward a body of infantry to occupy the houses. The Prussians, though with considerable loss, forced their way by dint of fighting through this obstacle also, and at length reached the position of Bergeres, which they had left in the morning. Here, in the neighbourhood of Chalons, Blucher hoped to collect the remnants of his van-guard, and re-establish the resources of his army. If the Prussian veteran had lost any credit by the too great security of his march, it was more than attoned by that which he gained in this masterly retreat, where, with one grain less of resolution and steadiness on the part of his opponent, Buonaparte would have totally destroyed the main body of the Silesian army, as he had done its van-guard, under Sacken; in which case there is little reason to doubt that the less adventurous army, under Prince Schwartzenberg, would have renounced the scheme of advancing upon Paris. This expedition of the Marne, as it was called, reflected the highest honour on the enterprize and activity of Buonaparte, as well as on the inflexible courage of his opponent.

But the means of Napoleon were so insufficient to the contest he had to maintain, that he could not gain the brilliant advantages of Montmirail and Chateau Thierry, and repulse the army of Silesia beyond the Marne, without exposing his capital to risk from the movements of the grand army of the allies. They advanced at once upon the three routes of Sens, Nogent, and Orleans. Sens was desperately defended by General Alix, one of Napoleon's most devoted adherents, and only carried by repeated assaults by the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg. On the very same day, *Feb. 6.* the main body of the grand army advanced from Troyes upon Nogent, and compelled Victor, whom Buonaparte had left in their front, to retreat behind the Seine, after taking such precautions as he could for preserving Nogent. The defence was directed by General Bourmont, at the head of about 1200 men. As there were no regular fortifications, the streets were barricaded, the houses occupied

by musketry, and the resistance continued after the manner, as it was termed, of Zaragoza. The allies lost more than 1000 men in their repeated attempts to force their way through a town where every house seemed to be a citadel. We must repeat the same melancholy tale here as on other occasions. The town was set on fire to dislodge the defendants,—the parties fought in the blazing streets,—and, to complete the ruin of Nogent, the bridge, which had been mined by the French, blew up with a terrible explosion just as it was occupied by a body of Russians. The pleasant village of Montereau, where there is a bridge over the Seine, was occupied by the allies with less resistance, and the passage of that river was now in the power of the grand army. The allied monarchs advanced also to Pont-sur-Seine, where they occupied a villa belonging to Buonaparte's mother; and Victor, exposed to this overwhelming force, was obliged to continue his retreat to Nangis. It was here that Schwartzenberg learned the disaster of Sacken, and was apprised that Buonaparte was following up his advantages against Blucher. This unexpected news seems to have paralysed the Austrian general's intended movement in advance, so that, instead of pressing upon Paris, from which he was but 50 miles distant, he dispatched forces to his right towards Provins, in order to operate on Buonaparte's line of communication with the capital,—to threaten his rear, and thereby interrupt his attacks upon the army of Silesia. Still, however, the demonstrations of his light troops announced that the movement of Schwartzenberg upon Paris would suddenly be resumed. The Parisians, who had heard the successes of Montmirail magnified tenfold by a slavish press, and from a more slavish pulpit, and who had beheld the more certain evidence of Napoleon's victories in long columns of Russian prisoners and captured cannon, had conceived themselves entirely freed from the dangers of invasion; when they suddenly learned that Fontainbleau was occupied by Hungarian hussars, and that the Russian light troops, Cossacks, Baskirs, and Kalmouks, were spreading themselves in the vicinity of Nangis,—tribes whose wild and savage aspect, as well as the dreadful and exaggerated accounts of their ferocity, were well qualified to strike terror into the inhabitants of a polished metropolis. The rapid movements of Napoleon saved them for the time from those dreaded guests.

It was while in full advance after Blucher that Buonaparte learned the danger which threatened his capital. He instantly made a counter-march, and by a forced march of 14 leagues reached Meaux; and on the next day advanced to Guignes, where Oudinot and Victor had concentrated the forces which were retreating before the army of Schwartzenberg. *Feb.* 15. Feeble in point of numbers, they were nevertheless formidable in discipline, having been lately reinforced by a part of the French army which had so long served in Spain. With the same rapidity and success which had signalized his attack upon Sacken, Napoleon fell upon a detached corps of cavalry, part of the division of Witgenstein, whom he drove from Mormant with loss. Wrede next, with two Bavarian divisions, sustained the storm of a sudden attack, but he made good his ground; while, on the other hand, Nemours, surrounded by the Cossacks, was compelled to open its gates. The vexation of Buonaparte exhaled itself in his bulletins in charges against his officers and generals, without sparing even the marshals. It has been thought that these imprudent ebullitions of spleen went some length in alienating from his ser-

vice those who felt themselves the victims of his caprice and ill temper. To thinking men, who had studied the conduct of this singular personage in like circumstances, such indulgences of vindictive impatience and ill humour argued the extreme difficulties of the situation in which he found himself. But they corresponded better with the pettishness of a spoiled child of fortune, than the magnanimity of a chief, supporting by his solitary exertions a falling empire, and may be numbered among the instances of meanness and personal spleen which lowered the character of Napoleon even in his proudest moments.

Displacing Oudinot, whose motions he stigmatized for want of celerity, and naming Girard at the head of his division, Napoleon proceeded with his whole army to the attack of Montereau, the principal passage over the Seine. The same ill-judged system of dislocation on the part of the allies, which during this campaign afforded him so many advantages, had left the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg to defend this important post with only 20,000 men, and without any plan for supporting him by the rest of the immense army of Schwartzenberg. If ever the celebrated fable of the bundle of arrows could be recommended to the consideration of a council of war, it would have been most important to those of the allies during this campaign of Paris. Having only the limited force we have mentioned to oppose 80.000 men, to which number Napoleon's army had been increased by his junction with the divisions of Victor and Oudinot, the Prince Royal, after a gallant *Feb.* 18. defence, was obliged to yield up the post of Montereau, without even having it in his power to destroy the bridge. He lost about 1800 men and some cannon, and his disasters were increased by the inhabitants of Montereau firing upon his troops from their windows as they retreated through the town. This dexterous and masterly manœuvre, by which Buonaparte attained command of the passage of the Seine, and defeated with loss a strong division of the grand army of the allies while the others were almost within hearing of the cannonade, reflected the highest lustre on his arms; and the joy of the Parisians was in proportion to the terror with which they had watched the progress of Schwartzenberg's army. Saved, as they supposed, from the imminent danger of being delivered up to pillage, public opinion experienced a strong revulsion in Buonaparte's favour, and there was a general disposition to rally around an emperor whose genius seemed fully to supply the inadequacy of his means, and who had repeatedly checked and defeated, in partial actions, two invading armies, each of which was numerically superior to his own. The spirit of the French soldiery revived also with their success, and the disasters of the two preceding campaigns were forgotten. "One other affair like that of Montereau," was their common expression, "and the invaders must retire beyond the Rhine." Yet this success, like that of Montmirail, however animating to the mind of the public and of the army, brought with it no solid or decisive consequences. Napoleon, after gaining what might be called a bloody skirmish, was still surrounded by enemies, who seemed to multiply in proportion to their losses; and the further beneficial effects of the battle of Montereau arose rather from its operation on the councils of the allies, than from any real military advantage which it afforded to the French ruler.

So soon as the arrival of Napoleon in force, and his success at Montereau, reached the head-quarters of the allied sovereigns, the grand army commen-

ced their retreat by Nogent to Troyes, covered by their numerous cavalry. It appears to have been their policy, founded perhaps on habitual fear of his power and talents, to give Buonaparte no opportunity to fight a decisive battle, or strike a grand blow, but to wear out his resources by laying him under the necessity of making the most wasteful and harassing marches, and engaging in a continued series of bloody and indecisive skirmishes. The extreme difficulty of obtaining supplies in an exhausted country for the maintenance of such numerous forces, had also its share in influencing the councils of the allies when the retreat from Nogent was resolved upon. Still, however, in adopting this plan of protracted warfare, they seem to have laid out of consideration several very important points. They did not sufficiently keep in view the discouragement sustained by their soldiers, who could not but observe in their councils a caution approaching to timidity; nor did they give sufficient weight to the corresponding enthusiasm, which, animating the followers of Buonaparte, was likely soon to communicate itself to the mass of the French people, who, having awoke from their first panic, had discovered that the Cossacks were mortal men, not demons, and that the rapid and skilful movements of their emperor gave him the advantage, even of numbers, wherever he fought, though his forces, considered in the grand scale, were so unequal to those of the allies.

Sensible, perhaps, of these truths, Prince Schwartzenberg now sought to unite his army with that of the indefatigable Blucher, which, already reposed, recruited, and reunited with the corps of York and of Sacken, advanced from Chalons to Arcis sur-l'Aube, while the grand army, retreating upon Troyes, thus took measures to concentrate the whole allied force. This movement was completed by the advance of the Prussian vanguard to Mery, a town situated upon the Seine, to the north-east of Troyes, to which the allied monarchs had transferred their head-quarters. Determined again to break the communication re-established between the two allied armies by these movements, Buonaparte, advancing from Nogent, made a sudden and desperate attack on the post of Mery, which might be considered as their point of connection. The town, as usual, was burnt, and the Prussians were dislodged before they could destroy the bridge. But just as his vanguard sustained this check, the heads of the columns composing Blucher's main body, appeared advancing to their support, forced themselves into the town, and set fire to the bridge, which, though of wood, was not readily consumed. The blazing passage was then disputed by the sharp-shooters on each side, while the burning planks and beams cracked and gave way around them. At length the French once more regained the passage, and making good their entrance into the village, occupied it with three battalions, which they endeavoured to protect by a heavy fire from the opposite bank. Blucher, at first believing that the whole French army was crossing the river, for the purpose of a general attack, had drawn off into the plain to expect it. But observing that Buonaparte's fire was only intended to divert his attention from the isolated battalions stationed in Mery, on the right bank of the Seine, the Prussian general renewed the attack upon that village, forced his way into it, and destroyed the greater part of the French, with the exception of a few, who effected their retreat by the half-demolished bridge. The loss upon both sides might be nearly equal,

but the Prussians, who retained final possession of the village, must be considered as having had the best of the affair of Mery.

As Napoleon had failed in establishing a position on the right bank of the Seine, there now remained no obstacle to the union between the two armies of the allies, when news arrived from the south of France, which, joined to the hardihood of Buonaparte's late offensive movements, determined the Austrian general to retreat from Troyes, and fall back upon the line of communication with the frontiers, by which his reserves and resources were advancing. The tidings which determined this retrograde movement were those of the great increase of Marshal Augereau's army, strengthened by troops recalled from Spain, and which, now moving from Lyons, threatened to occupy the departments of the Doubs, the Saonne, and the Voges, to raise the peasantry in mass, and to intercept the communications of the grand army with the friendly frontier from which it had advanced. This intelligence occasioned Prince Schwartzenberg to dispatch General Bianchi, with 12,000 men, to reinforce the allied troops at Dijon, and preserve the communications; and it seems likewise to have determined the allied monarchs to evacuate Troyes. We have understood also, that the wasted and exhausted country around was no longer able to support such numerous armies, and that the fear of want had its share in compelling the grand army to fall back upon that line by which its supplies were advancing from Germany. These reasons weighed with peculiar force in the councils of Austria, a nation proverbially slow to receive new impressions, and whose generals, still faithful to the old principles of the military art, are feverishly anxious on the subject of interruption to their line of communication. The Austrian soldiers, less sensible of these scientific reasons for that disheartening movement, murmured loudly against the order of retreat, and were seen to tear from their caps the green boughs with which they were usually decorated, and to trample upon them, as if they had ceased to be emblems of honour and triumph.

The retreat of the grand army from Troyes had already commenced, when large bodies of cavalry appearing upon the heights of Pavillon, near the city, announced that Napoleon, having left a corps opposite to Mery, to observe the motions of the army of Silesia, had led his whole army towards Troyes, to witness in person its evacuation by his brother monarchs and his father-in-law. The manœuvre was executed with great order and precision, General Wolkman being left in the town with a strong rear-guard of 2000 men. The allied generals sent a flag of truce, requesting that Napoleon would permit this corps to retire unmolested, in order that the town might escape the horrors to which it must otherwise be exposed. He refused this request with disdain, and commenced a dreadful cannonade, which was answered by the allies. The defenders, to prevent the assailants from sheltering themselves in the suburbs, began to throw bombs. The suburbs of this fine town were soon blazing. The French continued through the night desperate and fruitless attempts to carry the place. In the morning the defenders prepared to evacuate the town, and Buonaparte received a message in the name of the Emperor Francis, conjuring him, for the sake of the citizens, not to molest Wolkman in his retreat. He readily promised that he would not enter the place till noon; but no sooner was the Austrian officer returned, than Buonaparte pushed his troops into the place

by a postern gate, which the citizens delivered up to him, and encouraged the inhabitants to fire upon the retreating Bavarians from the lanes, roofs, and windows of the houses. In this manner the allies sustained some loss; but it must chiefly be considered as a part of Napoleon's policy, to involve the people themselves in direct hostility with the allies, and thus identify their cause with his own.

Buonaparte signalized his entry into the capital of Champagne, by one of those acts of mean and individual vengeance, which often sullied his military honours. "Where," he said with eagerness, "are the five persons who have dared to wear the decorations of St Louis?"—"Your majesty is misinformed," answered the municipal officer whom he addressed, "there are but two."—"Let them be instantly arrested." The Marquis des Widranges, one of the intended victims, was in England, but the Chevalier de Gouault, whom the ill-advised entreaties of his friends and family had detained from accompanying the Austrians in their retreat, was instantly dragged before a military commission. Short and sure as are the decisions of such a body, they did not in the present case keep pace with the vengeful impatience of the Corsican. An hour had hardly elapsed, when an officer entered the hall where they held their sitting, and demanded if sentence was pronounced—he was answered that the court were about to vote—"You must abridge the forms," said the messenger, "it is the emperor's commands that he be instantly executed." This intended cruelty shocked all who heard it: even the proprietor of the house where Buonaparte held his head-quarters, ventured to hint to him that a day of triumph should be a day of mercy. "Begone!" said the despot with a gloomy look, "you forget to whom you speak."—The unfortunate De Gouault met his fate with great firmness—he refused to have his eyes bandaged, declared that he died loyal to the king, gave himself the order for the soldiers to fire, and died exclaiming, *Vive le Roi!* The firmness of the victim, and the relentlessness of the despot, excited feelings in many respects highly prejudicial to the cause of Buonaparte. The dregs of the populace, armed with pikes and cutlasses, instigated to acts of violence, and inflamed with the thirst of spoil, certainly did welcome Napoleon as a congenial ruler; but in the brows of the higher classes, dejection and terror were plainly visible. The death of Gouault was followed by a decree, inflicting the same punishment upon all who should wear decorations bestowed by the Bourbons, and upon all emigrants who should accompany the invaders in their expedition. Buonaparte had hitherto, in the course of his reign, avoided all mention or allusion to the royal family: the time and circumstances under which he placed his own claims, in such sanguinary opposition to theirs, were the more likely to call men's attention to the difference between them. In the meantime the pertinacity of Blucher had prepared new work for the activity of Napoleon.

The army of Silesia was hardly relieved from Buonaparte's presence at Mery, than Blucher made a movement to the flank on Sezanne, in order to crush Marshal Macdonald's division, which was there stationed. That general, with the promptitude which had distinguished him during his military career, effected his retreat upon Ferté Gauchere, pursued by Blucher, and thus, by a sort of military see-saw, which was repeated more than once in the course of the campaign, one army of the allies was again advancing upon Paris, while the other retreated before

Napoleon. A skilful demonstration towards Meaux, had the effect of alarming the French troops under Mortier and Marmont, who, abandoning their stations on the Marne, hastened to concentrate their forces upon that town, and left Blucher the opportunity of establishing a bridge upon the Marne, and thus commanding both its banks, while he awaited the powerful succours which advanced from the north by Laon and Rheims.

Here therefore we must leave the armies which were contending in the interior of France, in order to retrace those movements upon the frontiers, which, though operating at a distance, united at once to reinforce the invading armies, and to cripple Napoleon's means of defence. It is difficult for the inhabitants of a peaceful territory to picture to themselves the miseries sustained, in the meanwhile, by the country which formed the theatre of this sanguinary contest. While Buonaparte, like a tiger hemmed in by hounds and hunters, now menaced one of his foes, now sprung furiously upon another, and, while his rapid movements disconcerted and dismayed them, remained still unable to destroy the individual whom he had assailed, lest he should afford a fatal advantage to those who were disengaged,—the scene of this desultory warfare was laid waste in the most merciless manner. The soldiers, driven to desperation by rapid marches through roads blocked with snow, or trodden into swamps, became reckless and pitiless; and, straggling from their columns in all directions, committed every species of excess upon the inhabitants. The peasants, with their wives and children, fled to caves, quarries, and woods, where the latter were starved to death by the inclemency of the season and want of sustenance, and the former, collecting into small bodies, increased the terrors of war by pillaging the convoys of both armies, attacking small parties of all nations, and cutting off the sick, the wounded, and the stragglers. The repeated advance and retreat of the different contending parties, exasperated these evils. Every fresh band of plunderers which arrived, was savagely eager after spoil, in proportion as the gleanings became scarce. In the words of scripture, what the locust left was devoured by the palmer-worm—what escaped the Baskirs and Kirgas of the Wolga and Caspian, was seized by the half-clad and half-starved conscripts of Napoleon, whom want, hardship, and an embittered spirit, rendered as careless of the ties of country and language, as the others were indifferent to the general claims of humanity. The towns and villages, which were the scenes of actual conflict, were frequently burnt to the ground; and this not only in the course of the actions of importance which we have detailed, but in consequence of innumerable skirmishes fought in different points, which had no influence indeed upon the issue of the campaign, but increased incalculably the distress of the invaded country, by extending the terrors of battle, with fire, famine, and slaughter for its accompaniments, into the most remote and sequestered districts. The woods afforded no concealment, the churches no sanctuary, even the grave itself gave no cover to the relics of mortality. The villages were every where burnt, the farms wasted and pillaged, the abodes of man, and all that belongs to peaceful industry and domestic comfort, desolated and destroyed. Wolves, and other savage animals, increased fearfully in the districts which had been laid waste with ferocity congenial to their own. Thus were the evils which France had inflicted with an unsparing hand upon Spain, Prussia, Russia, and

almost every European nation, terribly retaliated within a few leagues of her own metropolis; and such were the consequences of a system, which, assuming military force for its sole principle and law, taught the united nations of Europe to repell its aggressions by means yet more formidable than those which had been used in supporting them.

CHAPTER X.

Defection of Murat from Buonaparte, and Successes of the Allies.—Augereau is defeated and Lyons taken.—Conduct of the Crown Prince of Sweden.—Campaign in Flanders—Battle of Merxen—Antwerp bombarded—Attempt on Bergen-op-Zoom.—Advance of Winzengerode and Bulow from Flanders into France.—Campaign of the South of France.—Buonaparte enters into a Treaty with Ferdinand of Spain, but the Cortes and Regency refuse to ratify it.—The French evacuate Catalonia, but not without Loss.—Conspiracy of the Royalists in favour of the House of Bourbon.—Intrigues of Talleyrand and the Constitutionalists.—Hesitation of the Allies to recognize the Claims of Louis XVIII.—Monsieur, with the Dukes of Angouleme and Berri, leave England for France.—Monsieur favourably received in Franche Compté, but discountenanced by the Austrians.—The Duke d'Angouleme arrives in Gascony, and communicates with La Roche-Jaquelein.—Wellington resolves to advance—Dislodges Soult from his fortified Camp at Bayonne,—and Defeats him at Orthes.—The French again defeated near Acres.—General Hope crosses the Adour.—Field-Marshal Beresford is detached upon Bourdeaux—Received with Enthusiasm—The Mayor and Inhabitants declare for the Bourbons—Apprehensions on their Account in England.

WHILE Napoleon struggled to preserve his capital, and combatted desperately for his very existence as a ruler, those detached conquests upon the frontiers, which in other times had been the scenes of his campaigns and victories, were gradually falling into the power of the allies, thus enabling them to draw reinforcements to their invading armies, and otherwise influencing the Parisian campaign. To preserve order in this part of our history, we shall treat separately of the events of the war in Italy, in Belgium, and on the Spanish frontier, closing our account of what relates to each frontier by marking its operation on the main issue of the war.

The defence of Italy had been confided by Buonaparte to Eugene Beauharnois, the son of the Ex-Empress Josephine, with the title of viceroy of that kingdom. This trust could not, personally speaking, have been conferred more worthily; but it was impolitic, as increasing the disgust which Joachim Murat, the revolutionary king of Naples, already entertained against his brother-in-law Napoleon. Risen from the lowest rank of society, and distinguished by personal bravery and audacity in the field of battle, Murat was a man of limited capacity, little information, and unbounded vanity. In war, he was distinguished rather by the qualities of a daring soldier than

those of a successful general; in peace, his attachment to the frivolities of dress and exterior decoration, indicated an inferior understanding and trifling disposition. To Buonaparte he was recommended as the unscrupulous executioner of whatever measures were calculated to support his domination, amongst which it is sufficient to mention the execrable murder of the citizens of Madrid on 4th May, 1808. During the campaign of Russia, Murat began to decline in Buonaparte's regard, and appears even then to have looked round for some means of securing himself on the throne of Naples, independently of his brother-in-law's alliance. The discord between them came to a head when Murat's division of cavalry was surprised and defeated by the Cossacks, previous to Buonaparte's evacuation of Moscow. It was then that Murat, assuming an air of independence, offered to the Russian general to withdraw the Neapolitan forces, on condition that a separate truce should be concluded with him in his character of King of Naples. This proposal was regarded at the time as a gross attempt to impose upon the credulity of Russia; yet after incidents have shewn that there was something more serious in Murat's proposal, and that even then he meditated desertion from the cause of Napoleon. Still confidence was not entirely broken between them, if it can be termed a serious mark of it, that, on quitting the wrecks of his army in Poland, Buonaparte consigned to Murat, in the first instance, the task of conducting these shattered and broken forces to some point of safety. But he had scarcely assumed this delegated command before he was deprived of it in the most insulting manner by an imperial decree, which, while it superseded Murat and placed Eugene Beauharnois at the head of the army, assigned the inferior capacity of the former as a reason for the change. Murat, as was to have been expected, after so gratuitous an insult, quitted the French army, and returned to his capital of Naples.

From this period Murat carried on negociations with Austria, and announced his defection from the continental system by opening his Italian ports to the commerce of England. Still, however, nursing vague ideas of ambition, which he had neither prudence to relinquish nor talents to realize, he continued a secret negociation with Buonaparte and Beauharnois, in which he stipulated, as the price of returning fidelity, the addition of Tuscany and the Roman states to his kingdom of Italy. Not even the approaching crisis of his fate could induce Buonaparte to take conciliatory measures with his relation. The demands of Murat were haughtily rejected, and he became from necessity more serious in his treaty with the allies. The mediation of Austria extracted from Britain a reluctant acquiescence in the terms which he proposed. It is believed the latter state did not see with pleasure the central ports of the Mediterranean left under the authority of a revolutionary potentate; but she did finally acquiesce in the guarantee granted to Murat of the kingdom of Naples, and in the terms of his treaty of alliance with the court of Vienna, where his pretensions on Ancona and the Marches of Campagna were recognized, and he became bound to supply, in return, an auxiliary army of 30,000 men. His defection ruined all chance which Eugene Beauharnois might otherwise have had to accomplish a diversion in Italy in favour of Napoleon. The French army, after various actions, which will be more particularly mentioned in our account of the affairs of Italy, was forced to retreat upon the line of the Adige, and, without any military incidents of

consequence, became altogether isolalated and paralysed. It has been usually supposed that Murat was more anxious to observe the letter of his treaty, than sincerely zealous in the cause of the allies. His conduct exhibited symptoms of procrastination and indecision, and, like weak men in similar circumstances, although he did enough seriously to injure the cause of France, yet his efforts were attended with an obvious reluctance and hesitation, which deprived them of merit in the suspicious eyes of his new allies. Meantime, in the neutralization of Eugene Beauharnois, the confederates reaped the most important advantages which could have been expected from the secession of Murat. Buonaparte, therefore, was cut off from all hope of assistance from those Italian states over which he still retained a nominal dominion. This, with the counter-revolution in Savoy, and similar movements among the states of Switzerland, limited Buonaparte's resources on the south-eastern frontier to those which could be derived from France herself, and shut that door through which he had so often transferred the war into the north of Italy, and thence into the Austrian provinces.

On the north-eastern frontier another soldier of fortune, on whose head the Revolution had placed a crown, held a line of conduct not altogether dissimilar to that of Murat in Italy.

We are far from placing either the title or talents of Murat on a level with those of Bernadotte. The former owed his crown to the sword of his brother-in-law; the latter was called to the regal succession of Sweden by a solemn resolution of the diet of that kingdom; adopted doubtless with the purpose of gratifying the French ruler, or of sheltering themselves from his indignation, but uninfluenced either by violence or direct solicitation. Murat's praise-worthy qualities were limited to courage and activity in the field of battle, whereas Bernadotte had shown the talents both of a general and statesman. Yet, both children of the Revolution, and both natives of France, their situation has some resemblance, and both were in some degree objects of jealousy to those who accounted the French Revolution, and the system of general rapine and violation of the ancient rights both of the rulers and the people which it had introduced, to be the original moving cause of all the complicated evils which had for so many years afflicted Europe. There had been also, on the part of the Crown Prince of Sweden, a certain degree of hesitation at the outset of the campaign of 1813, and to his withdrawing the Swedish garrison from Hamburgh, in the spring of that year, it was owing that that unfortunate city fell into the hands of the French. When appointed to the command of the united forces, entitled the Army of the North of Germany, Bernadotte acted with spirit and energy; and, although it was observed, that he cautiously avoided exposing his Swedish forces, where opportunities occurred to employ others, upon services of danger, yet no charge could be brought against him during the campaign of 1813, of indifference to the common cause, and he is acknowledged to have contributed greatly in every respect to the decisive victory under the walls of Leipsic. But when the treaty with Denmark had given the Crown Prince of Sweden a near prospect of possessing the private and peculiar object in which he was interested, his zeal in the general cause of the allies seemed to suffer some abatement. The cession of Norway was wrung from Denmark after a brief warfare, in which the allied troops conquered Holstein, over-run Sleswick, besieged Rendsborg, and were on the point of invading Jutland,

when at length, submitting to superior force, Denmark entered into a treaty with England, and another with Sweden, by which last she ceded for ever her rights over the kingdom of Norway, and assigned that country in full sovereignty to the crown of Sweden. We shall hereafter say a few words on this subject; in the meanwhile it is sufficient to observe, that the Crown Prince, like the soldier of Horace, found little inclination to put himself forward in peril, after having gained the reward for which he had fought. Leaving General Bennigsen, however, to form the siege of Hamburgh, with an army of about 40,000 men, the Crown Prince moved forward to the Rhine with the rest of the army of the north of Germany, consisting of the Russian corps of Winzengerode and Bulow, with his own Swedish divisions, and those auxiliaries which Denmark had furnished in compliance with her new engagements.

Jan. 10. He reached Cologne in 1814, and on the 1st of February he issued a bulletin, in which he announced his intention to unite the whole army under his orders, upon a line between Soissons and Rheims, in support of that of Silesia, which, as we have stated, was manœuvring in that direction, but still more to the westward, and to which the army of the north would thus have formed a reserve.

The 12th of February found Bernadotte still at Cologne, and still employed in issuing proclamations to the French people. He was, as some of our diurnal politicians expressed it, constantly in the *paulo-post futurum* tense, always about to advance, but never actually moving forward. His language, in private, is said to have intimated the same vacillation and uncertainty; now talking of storming Maestricht, and planting the first ladder with his own hand, and now expressing himself coldly, both on the objects and prospects of the war. Various reasons were assigned for this sudden alteration of conduct and manner at so important a crisis. It was thought that, as a Frenchman, Bernadotte might shrink from an active part in inflicting the evils of invasion upon the land of his birth; that as Crown Prince of Sweden, he might be willing to husband the resources of his future kingdom, and reluctant to embark in a succession of bloody actions a Swedish army, which, if destroyed, could hardly be replaced, in a kingdom thinly peopled at all times, and now exhausted by late events; and that, as a revolutionary prince, and one who held his power by a tenure somewhat resembling that of Buonaparte, he might be unwilling to be over urgent in the cause of legitimacy, and, contented with having contributed to humble his fellow-soldier, might not desire that he should be absolutely crushed. And there were some who pretended to discover in the irreconcileable conduct and language of Bernadotte at this crisis, some symptoms of that disordered imagination which the *Moniteur* had represented to be hereditary in his family. More lately it has been believed, that Bernadotte was dissatisfied with the subordinate part assigned to him in the grand drama of invasion—that he was desirous to be placed foremost, as the hero on whom the hopes of France were to rest, and under whose standard those Frenchmen should be called upon to rally, who, weary of the domination of Buonaparte, were willing to aid in shaking it off. If the adherents of Louis XVIII. are to be credited, the ambitious schemes of the Crown Prince of Sweden rose still higher, and he entertained hopes of exchanging, in the course of events, the prospect of his northern kingdom for an

immediate succession to the throne of Napoleon. According to this class of politicians, he was disgusted at the cold reception which these wild hopes received from the allied monarchs, and became thenceforward lukewarm in the common cause. It is, however, certain, that, from whatever motives, the active exertions of Bernadotte ceased all at once. He removed his head-quarters from Cologne to Liege, and there remained with the Swedish army in complete inactivity, while the great events of the campaign of Paris were rapidly succeeding to each other. From this unexpected circumstance, the operations of the allies on the side of Holland and Flanders were not only on a scale greatly inferior to their gigantic undertakings upon the higher Rhine, but for a time were only partially successful.

The general alarm of the French, on perceiving how widely the patriotic insurrection in Holland had spread, and how eagerly the natives of Flanders waited for a similar opportunity of emancipation, accelerated the deliverance of the United States more than the military operations of the allies. Indeed, the French garrisons were so much reduced by the repeated draughts which Buonaparte had made to reinforce his army during the last campaign, that it became wisdom to evacuate the more distant fortresses, however defensible, in order, by a concentration of their remaining soldiers, to man sufficiently those which their reduced numbers were capable effectually to defend. This concentration was the more necessary, as the French garrisons in Holland and Belgium were menaced on the northern frontier by two Russian corps, under Winzengerode and Bulow, and on the eastern shores by the troops which Britain, hastening to support the Dutch revolution, had, so soon as a long tract of contrary winds permitted, disembarked at the mouth of the Scheldt, and united to the insurgent patriots. General Decaen, to whom Buonaparte had entrusted the defence of Holland, judged it necessary to evacuate the strong and well-fortified towns of Breda and Williamstadt, in order to insure the assembling a sufficient garrison at Antwerp. Both towns were instantly occupied by the allies, united to the patriots, and Williamstadt became a point of communication between Britain and Holland, where Sir Thomas Graham speedily disembarked with 5000 British soldiers, hastily assembled upon the joyful tidings of the insurrection in Holland. This able and experienced general had retired from the peninsular war, in which he had made so conspicuous a figure, in consequence of bad health, which did not, however, prevent him from accepting a command in the Low Countries, so soon as he was informed that the country required his services. He arrived in time to secure Breda, of which the French general had made a desperate attempt to repossess himself. Being turned and repulsed, he was obliged to retreat to Hoegstraten, where he took a line of defence betwixt Breda and Antwerp, for the purpose of covering the frontiers of Belgium. A joint attack was made upon this position by the united forces of Bulow and Sir Thomas Graham, by which the French were dislodged, and obliged to retire upon Merxem, where they occupied a line betwixt that village and Antwerp. Here a second action took place, in which the village of Merxen was carried by the British at the point of the bayonet; and the enemy, defeated along his whole line, was forced to retire upon Antwerp with considerable loss. General Maison, the French commander-in-chief, now seemed to renounce all purpose of defending Belgium, for, after leaving a suffi-

Jan. 11.

Jan. 13.

cient garrison in Antwerp, he threw the rest of his forces into Lisle, and the other neighbouring fortresses of French Flanders, which, it may be presumed, he expected would have been regularly besieged by the allies, previous to their advancing into the interior of France.

The first movement attempted by the joint armies of Britain and Russia, was an attack upon Antwerp. Here Carnot, celebrated in the history of the French Revolution, had been lately invested with the government. Originally an officer of engineers, and distinguished for mathematical science, Carnot was successively a deputy to the legislative assembly and to the national convention, a member of the execrated committee of public safety, which shed such seas of blood during the reign of terror, and a member of the executive directory: An exile in consequence of the revolution of 18th Fructidor, he was reinstated by that of 18th Brumaire, became minister of war and tribune, and then sunk to a cypher under the ascendancy of Buonaparte, to whose power, as a conscientious republican, he zealously opposed himself. But, affected by the distresses of France, he offered his services to Napoleon, not indeed without reproaching him with his usurpations; and the ruler of France, aware of Carnot's talents, now committed to him the important task of defending Antwerp. This proved, from the strength of the fortifications, the inactivity of the Crown Prince, and the inferiority in numbers of the army under Graham and Bulow, a less difficult task than had been apprehended. The attack of the Anglo-Russian army was confined *Feb. 3.* to a heavy bombardment, chiefly directed against the vessels of war withdrawn into the magnificent basin and docks, which had been constructed by the orders of Napoleon. The defenders had taken all precautions to prevent the fleet from being burnt, the vessels being filled with wet straw and dung, and sunk as low as possible in the water, with their yards struck. Two or three small ships were nevertheless sunk by the bombardment, and the douane, or custom-house, erected by the French, was burnt. But part of the artillery having become unserviceable, and there being no intention of destroying the town by a continuation of the bombardment, the allies desisted from their attempt. It became indeed impossible to renew it, for Bulow's division now received orders, detaching it from the command of the Crown Prince of Sweden, and directing its immediate march, to act in concert with the grand invading army in the centre of France. Sir Thomas Graham's division, which remained in Belgium, was not sufficiently numerous for offensive operations, and barely adequate to protect the country against excursions from the French garrisons. Yet, with this diminished number, the gallant general undertook one most important operation, which although only so far successful as to vindicate the attempt, shewed at once the enterprising spirit and military skill of the victor of Barrosa. This was the endeavour to take by surprise the town of Bergen-op-Zoom, which, according to the modern rules of fortification, is accounted one of the strongest places in the world.

Four columns of British undertook this desperate piece of service. *Feb. 8.* Three of them, at the dead of night, forced their way over the fortifications, two by escalade at different points, and one by the mouth or outlet of the small river, called Zoom, where it leaves the fortifications and enters the harbour. The fourth column was designed to act as a reserve. The assailants were in com-

plete possession of most of the bastions of the town, and the French commandant, Bizanet, had taken the resolution to surrender, and dispatched an aid-de-camp with a proposal to that effect. But as the attacking troops were not in communication with each other, nor fully aware of the advantages which they had gained, and several distinguished officers, as Generals Gore and Skerrett, and Lieutenant-Colonel Carleton, having been unhappily killed, or mortally wounded, the undertaking became peculiarly liable to the mistakes and confusion always incident to a night attack. The French officer who brought the proposal to surrender the place, was unfortunately killed by a cannon-shot; and the garrison, which had taken the alarm, and formed in the grand place or centre of the town, obtained success over that column, which, forcing their way through the Waterport, and thus entering the streets, could not be prevented from dispersing in quest of liquor or plunder. Another part of the garrison, which had at first fled into one of the few bastions of which they retained possession, perceiving, with the acuteness which belongs to the French military character, that the assailants hesitated, instantly resumed the offensive. The British columns, after an ineffectual attempt to force their way into the body of the place, fell into irretrievable disorder, and, divided as they were from each other, were under the painful necessity of laying down their arms. All who had got into the town were killed or made prisoners, excepting some few who made their escape over the works. The French treated the wounded with humanity, and released the prisoners, upon condition that an equal number of Frenchmen of the same rank should be liberated in England. Such was the melancholy conclusion of the attempt upon Bergen-op-Zoom, ably planned, bravely made, and disconcerted only by accidents, for which neither the general nor the officers in immediate command could be justly held responsible. This incident closes our account of the war in Holland and Flanders, where nothing of consequence afterwards ensued. The army of Sir Thomas Graham received reinforcements; and, with the troops of the insurgent Dutch and Flemings, and the awe inspired by the neighbourhood of the less active army of Sweden and Denmark, the British general was enabled with ease to repress those sallies from the French fortresses, which, made chiefly with a view to plunder, were now the only active operations on the north-eastern frontier.

Leaving the liberated countries of Holland and Belgium to the protection thus afforded, the Russian corps of Winzengerode, of Woronzow, and of Bulow, received orders to detach themselves from the army of the north of Germany; or, in plain terms, were withdrawn from the command of the Crown Prince of Sweden, in order to engage in those more active operations to which he seemed suddenly to have become indifferent. In this extraordinary war all the common rules of tactics were reversed, and these generals were directed to neglect that formidable row of frontier fortresses which guard French Flanders, and which so long baffled the genius of Marlborough and Eugene, and, leaving them in their rear, to advance into the heart of the kingdom which they protect, to the support of the army of Silesia. This would have been in any other campaign a desperate measure; but here such had been the iron tyranny of Napoleon, that the inclination of the people, every where beyond the bounds of France, seconded the invader's activity; and in France itself, a passive indisposition to resistance gave him similar advantages. Ge-

neral Bulow, therefore, left the English forces to blockade Antwerp, or rather to observe the motions of the garrison, to which they were inferior in number, and directed his march upon Mechlin, driving before him the French general Maison, who saw himself forced to retreat for the protection of the ancient frontier. All along the line of the Russian general's march, the towns of Flanders declared against Buonaparte; and the country, scoured in every direction by the light troops of the allies, who were speedily joined by many hundred refractory conscripts, that had taken arms to avoid being pressed into Napoleon's service, joyfully received the allied army. The whole of Brabant, therefore, excepting Antwerp, was now, in a great measure, freed of the enemy; and here the rash policy of Joseph II., in dismantling the towns of Austrian Flanders, was of as much service to the cause of Europe, as it had formerly contributed to injuring it, by laying that important frontier open to the first incursion of republican France. The Prince of Saxe Weimar, now commander-in-chief of the combined army of the north, established his head-quarters at Brussels; and the emancipation of the Netherlands might be considered as completed, with the exception of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom. The liberation of Belgium being thus nearly accomplished, General Bulow, according to his orders, pressed forward across the French frontier, entered Arvenes, pushed on to La Fere, where he possessed himself of considerable magazines, and occupied finally the important town of Laon. There he united his forces with those of Winzengerode, which, from a higher position on the Rhine, had advanced to the same point of junction.

Feb. 3.

Feb. 14.

Feb. 26.

Winzengerode had marched from Namur, and, neglecting Juliers, Vanloo, and Maestricht, in which the French had still garrisons, which were bequeathed to the languid observation of the Crown Prince, he had united himself with General Woronzow, who had passed the Rhine at Cologne, and made an easy march through Belgium; experiencing every where a welcome reception, chasing before him the authorities established by Napoleon, disbanding and sending home the conscripts whom they had drawn together, and pushing his advance as far as Luxemburgh and the forest of the Ardennes. Thus, amid the acclamations of the Flemish inhabitants, who came to hail their deliverers with banners, with supplies, and with jubilee, another Russian army penetrated through the iron frontier of French Flanders, and marched upon Rheims. That ancient city, in which the monarchs of France used to receive the ceremony of consecration, opened its gates to the first Cossacks who announced the march of the allies; and, being master of the town, Czernicheff, a Russian general, distinguished as a leader of light troops, and who now commanded the van of Winzegerode's army, advanced upon Soissons. Important from its situation, and its bridge over the Aisne, which commands one of the great roads to Paris, and one of the most ancient towns of France, Bonaparte had not neglected the defence of this place. Rusca, a Piedmontese, with about 1500 men, was commissioned to defend it to the uttermost, that is, to hold out the position without respect to the buildings of the place, or the lives of the inhabitants,—which is the only mode of defence where there are no regular fortifications. The houses were occupied by soldiers, the walls loop-holed for musketry, the pavement taken up, and the streets barricaded,

when, at the first discharge of the Russian artillery, Rusca was struck dead by a bullet, after which catastrophe his followers quitted Soissons without any obstinate defence. The town was given up to pillage, and the garrison made prisoners.

Feb. 13.

At Soissons, however, Winzengerode heard news of the various victories of Buonaparte over the army of Silesia, at Montmirail and Chateau Thierry; and, evacuating Soissons, he fell back upon Rheims and Laon. Near the latter place he united his forces with those of Bulow, and thus they formed the rear-guard of the unwearied army of Silesia, which, now occupying the whole course of the Marne, threatened Paris from the point of Meaux. Thus strengthened by their junction, Winzengerode and Bulow moved forward in concert, to recover possession of Soissons, a town essential to their co-operation with Blucher, and to the possession of which the greatest consequence was justly attached. We shall afterwards see that it had become of yet more critical importance from the state of the contending armies. By the bold and masterly movements of these two Russian corps, Blucher found himself, in case either of retreat or advance, assisted by two strong divisions, which, despising the intervention of a triple line of fortresses, had thrown themselves into the heart of France, to support his attack upon its capital; and thus all the losses which he had sustained in various actions with Napoleon, must be considered as more than repaired. Upon the north-eastern, therefore, as well as the south-eastern frontier, events of solid advantage to the allies at once repaired their losses, and deprived the victories of Napoleon of all effective importance. Other, and yet darker clouds, blackened over the south-western horizon, and made such last successes of this celebrated general, as were obtained in the following weeks, resemble the rays of lurid brilliancy which the sun shoots through the wreaths of the storm, ere yet he is totally eclipsed by them.

The annals of the last year left our admirable Wellington, who, at once uniting the properties of a Fabius and Marcellus, has shewn himself as formidable in his offensive operations, as secure in those which he adopted for defence, in possession of a firm footing upon the south-western frontier of France, and of a position between the rivers Nivé and Adour, from which he never retrograded; but, on the contrary, fought his way forward through the best provinces of France, and restored his troops to Britain by a march through the very centre of the hostile kingdom.

To avert the formidable attack which menaced him from this quarter, Buonaparte had recourse to a measure, which, if resorted to in season, might have had great effect in retarding the emancipation of the civilized world. He resolved to restore Ferdinand of Spain to the possession of the throne to which he was lawful heir, having previously made such a treaty with the captive prince as should bind him down as an ally, or rather vassal, of France, to whose ruler he had owed a degrading captivity, and his high-minded subjects a train of the most cruel afflictions. This scheme had been long since recommended by Talleyrand, whose sagacity had from the beginning anticipated that it was possible for Buonaparte to wring every real advantage out of the Spaniards, if they were spared the insulting shame of the attempt to fix on their throne a foreign dynasty. When this wily statesman proposed to Napoleon to abandon the idea of maintaining his brother on the Spanish throne, and to send back Ferdinand under such con-

ditions as should place him in opposition to the English, and to that large and enlightened class of his own subjects who wished some improvement in their despotic constitution, he termed the measure, "an *Olla podrida* for Spain." It was, indeed, a chalice fraught with poison of the most subtle description, a scheme which could not fail to throw that unhappy and abused nation into internal divisions, separating its defenders into royalists and liberalists, and placing insurmountable obstacles between them and their most faithful and serviceable allies. National jealousy, hatred of the Portugueze, bigotted catholicism, would all have aided to inflame the dispute; and the Spaniards, who, in their pride of heart, even when united in the general point of national independence, reluctantly submitted to receive the assistance of foreigners and heretics, would willingly have shaken off an alliance which humbled them in their own eyes, had the return of Ferdinand, their lawful monarch, rendered it possible for them to dispense with it. Such an issue would not only have left Buonaparte at liberty to withdraw from Spain all those veteran forces, whose presence in France was now so essential to him; but it might, if managed with address, have even procured him the assistance of an auxiliary Spanish army, instead of that now moving against him under the banners of England. But by a fatality which attended many of Napoleon's later measures, this important step was adopted too late, and the line was not thrown until the bare hook was too discernible for imposition.

From Ferdinand, however, the French ruler found no opposition. A wretched treaty, dictated by the oppressor, was signed by the unresisting victim, in which Napoleon agreed to ratify his prisoner's title to the crown of Spain conditionally, that Ferdinand should re-instate in their honours, estates, and offices, all who had acted under the authority of Joseph, exchange without delay the French prisoners made in Spain, whether by the English or native troops, against the Spanish prisoners in France, and compel the English troops to evacuate the peninsula. The unhappy Ferdinand submitted to these conditions, without perhaps accurately considering how far it was in his power, and certainly without being sensible how little it was his interest, to carry them into execution. The French emperor, in pursuance of his new and tardy policy, proposed, upon the ratification of the treaty by the cortes and regency, to dismiss his prisoner from Valençay, and restore to the Spaniards their Ferdinand the Beloved, so much and so ardently desired by his subjects, and in whose cause they had made such magnanimous sacrifices. In this, as in many instances, may be applied the verse of the satirist,

Dec. 11. 1813.

> "Magnaque numinibus vota exaudita malignis."

But we leave to another part of these annals the unexpected and deplorable issue of the affairs of Spain. It is enough to say here, that the prudent and patriotic resolution of the cortes, to hold no treaty as binding which should be entered into by Ferdinand while in the power of Buonaparte, together with the gross and obvious tendency of the treaty of Valençay, prevented Napoleon from reaping the advantages which, at an early period of the war, when such a measure would have seemed less the result of strong necessity and compulsion, might unquestionably have resulted from it. The Duke of San Carlos, who was dispatched to Madrid with information of the treaty, and to announce the return of Ferdinand, although he arri-

ved there on the 6th of January, could obtain no answer from the cortes or the regency, excepting a declaration that they would receive Ferdinand with transport, provided he came as a free agent, free from foreign influence, and uncontrouled by any engagements with Buonaparte. Don Joseph Palafox, whom we name with regret, as acting a part inconsistent with the fame of the defender of Zaragoza, followed the Duke of San Carlos, as a second ambassador of Ferdinand, or rather of Buonaparte. The governor of France in the mean time kept the gates of Valençay closed on his submissive prisoner, and, as the communication with the cortes became tedious and protracted, he reaped no other advantage than the pretext which it afforded him, of withdrawing the corps of Marshal Suchet from Catalonia, which, though a measure necessary, in order to strengthen his defence in the south of France, he artfully made the ground of a secret article with the cortes, that the English forces should at the same time give up the garrisons which they held in the peninsula. No demur was made by the British, who instantly evacuated Cadiz, Carthagena, and other fortified places, many of which their valour had gained, and all of which they had bravely defended. But the French troops did not escape from Spain so easily as their ruler desired and expected. Before the treaty was adjusted, the Baron d' Erolles, often distinguished in the Spanish war, had obtained possession of Marshal Suchet's private cypher, in which he dispatched simulated orders, in the marshal's name, to the French commandants of Lerida, Mequinenza, and Mauzon, directing them to evacuate these places. The officers did not hesitate to obey orders which coincided with every account of affairs in France, and, having united to effect their march, they were surrounded in the pass of Martorell by the Spanish and Anglo-Sicilian army, and compelled to surrender. About the same time the strong fortress of Jaça was reduced. Most of the other French troops withdrew unmolested, in consequence of the private article which we have noticed, and fed, from time to time, with their experienced and veteran legions, the diminishing ranks of Napoleon. Thus Spain ceased to be the theatre of contending nations, and the war of the peninsula must be considered as ended, although her forces continued to form a part of the army of *The Great Lord*, as the Spaniards were accustomed to term the Duke of Wellington. His campaigns were now carried on in France itself, and they form a brilliant chapter in the extraordinary history of that unrivalled general.

Feb. 9.

The face of the country on the northern side of the Pyrenees is, as might be expected from its vicinity to such a chain of mountains, rugged, unequal, full of deep glens, vallies, and ravines, and traversed by large rivers, which hold their course at no great distance from each other, affording, consequently, a variety of strong positions for a defensive line, and all the facilities for that protracted war of posts and skirmishes, which is most unfavourable to an invading army. The possession, however, of St Jean de Luz, a small sea-port on the French side of the Pyrenees, gave Wellington means of combating those difficulties, by permitting him to communicate with the naval forces. A very few days of English occupation totally changed the appearance of that little town. Its quay, along which there formerly lay but a few miserable fishing-boats that seldom ventured a mile from shore, became suddenly crowded with sea-craft of all kinds, which the directions of government or the mercantile speculations of individuals had sent with sup-

plies to the army. The streets, which had only exhibited a few dispirited natives creeping in silence along the walls to avoid the insolence of the French officers, who, as they lounged about in their tawdry uniforms, omitted no opportunity to shew contempt for the peaceful citizens, assumed at once the animating bustle of an English seaport, the commerce of which was regulated according to a tariff issued by the Duke of Wellington. This might be considered as the death-wound of the continental system. An English general was now regulating the importation of British manufactures and colonial produce into France, articles to exclude which from the most remote ports of the continent, Napoleon had, not very many months before, led against Russia half a million of men. Through means of the harbour of St Jean de Luz reinforcements and supplies were transmitted to the British army, with a liberality worthy of the cause and conjuncture.

Dec. 18, 1813.

Marshal Soult, since the failure of his attempts, upon the 10th and 13th December, to compel Lord Wellington to recross the Nivé, had kept himself within his strongly fortified camp in the front of Bayonne; and his great antagonist was quietly established in the disputed position between the Nive and the Adour, having thus made one stride into the country, as it is called, of the *Gaves*, or torrents, and commanding the course of both the rivers between which his army was stationed. The most strict orders were issued for the maintenance of good order by the soldiers, and for the protection of the peaceable inhabitants of the country, and they were enforced with salutary severity. In an army composed partly of Spaniards and Portugueze, who had so much to resent and to revenge upon the French nation, this might seem not the most easy task. But the instant punishment of marauders, of whatever nation or country, compelled the soldiery to respect the orders of their general; and with a firmness which, in more than one instance, must have been deeply painful to his own feelings, Lord Wellington struck at the root of the evil, by dismissing the commanding officers of such corps as had not been kept under proper restraint. The benefit of a conduct as politic as humane was soon evident. The peasantry of the country supplied the British forces liberally with all sorts of provisions and refreshments, for which they were paid in ready money; while Soult, deficient both in funds and inclination to follow the same liberal conduct, was scantily furnished, and only by force of military requisition, with articles which were voluntarily carried to the camp of the invading army. The French soldiers also, chiefly raw conscripts, indemnified themselves for the violence which they had suffered in being dragged from their homes, by exercising on the peasantry the license of that military character which had just been forced upon them. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that the efforts of General Harispe to raise in mass the Basques, as the mountaineers who inhabit the vallies and defiles adjacent to the Pyrenees are called, should have been attended with very imperfect success, where the soldiers of Soult were more feared and hated than those of Wellington. A few bands of peasants were, however, assembled by the exertions of that officer, who is himself a Basque, and put in motion for the purpose of desultory war on the flank and rear of Lord Wellington's army; but they were speedily dispersed by the British light troops and the Spanish guerillas, who, under the celebrated Mina, were trained to the service of a partizan-war. In general, the people of the country took

no share in the contest, and many of them evinced a hostility to the government of Buonaparte. This was a sensation now extending almost universally through the western provinces of France, and which had begun to assume a complexion so decided, as to influence the movements of the British commander-in-chief. We have abstained from noticing its rise and progress until this part of our narrative, when it necessarily connects itself with the military details.

The name of Bourbon, once so much honoured and beloved, had hardly been whispered in France since the death of Pichegru and the banishment of Moreau; yet the broken remains of the nobility, in Paris and in the provinces, cherished still the remembrance of the royal family, whose splendours and whose fall they had shared; and most of the clergy looked back with similar regret to the days when the monarchs of France retained the title of Most Christian. The coteries of fashionable life had many circles, from which those who had risen by the Revolution were studiously excluded, and where a deference to titles and ranks, connected with the days of the monarchy, still made part of the etiquette exacted and observed. There even existed a secret confederacy of royalists, who, in despite of the vigilance of the police, and the immense sums expended by Buonaparte in procuring secret intelligence, had the address to conceal their union from the government. Their sign of recognition was the two syllables *Deli;* if the person addressed completed the word by answering *Vrance*, he was recognised as one of the initiated. Napoleon more than once seized and imprisoned members of this confederacy; but he was never able to obtain such precise information as to enable him to crush or disperse it. The disasters in Russia and Germany gave life and activity to the royalists, who, observing less caution in their words and actions, diffused themselves into the different provinces, stimulated the people to resist the conscription, and impede the measures taken for defending the country; and in Britanny and La Vendee, where the peasants yet retained the warm recollection of their victories over the republicans, they went still farther, and exhorted them to a second rising in the cause of the Bourbons. As the conduct of these agents of royalty became more audacious, their danger increased. The Messieurs de Polignac, detained in Paris under the *surveillance* of the police, were destined to a close imprisonment, or perhaps to secret execution, which they only escaped by the presence of mind of one of the brothers. He invited the commissary sent to arrest them to partake of their dinner, while the other ran down stairs as if to hasten the preparations; a moment afterwards, Jules de Polignac, expressing surprise at his brother's delay, followed, as with the purpose to call him. Both then got into the garden, and, leaping over the wall, were so fortunate as to escape beyond the barriers of the city, and find their way to the out-posts of the grand allied army. The light which these noblemen were able to afford at the head-quarters of the allied sovereigns, respecting the union and zeal of the royalists in France, was of the utmost service to the cause of the Bourbons. In the meanwhile, though numerous arrests were commanded, the satellites of Napoleon were unable effectually to check a conspiracy which had now pervaded almost all the western provinces of the kingdom, and was ready for an explosion.

Bourdeaux was a central point of this association. That city, ruined by the destruction of its commerce, guided also by the counsels of Lynch, its loyal mayor, was disposed to de-

clare for the king, whenever they should be assured of support. Mons. Taffard de Saint Germain acted as commissioner for Louis XVIII. in that important city, and enrolled in a loyal association a great number of all classes, many of whom were regimented, and had arms in readiness. The Marquis de la Roche-jaquelein, destined to be made immortal by the history given of his exploits in the simple and sublime narrative of his consort, had already put La Vendee in a state ripe for insurrection. Persecuted by the agents of the police, who sought every where to apprehend him, he had found a refuge in Bourdeaux inaccessible to their pursuit. He became an active member of the Royal Council, as it was termed, of that city. Saintonge was organized by the Abbe Jaqualt upon a plan of combined insurrection, which, fifteen years before, had received the approbation of Monsieur, then residing at Edinburgh. The same loyal ecclesiastic, formerly secretary to the council of war in La Vendee, had traversed all that country, preparing the peasants for a new rising. Perigord was organized for insurrection by Messieurs de la Roche-Aymen. In the vicinity of Nantes, of Angers, and of Orleans, large bands were levied by the Compte de L'Orge, his brother Monsieur de Airac, Count Charles D'Autichamp, and the Count de Suzannel. These bands chiefly consisted of refractory conscripts, who were determined to resist to the uttermost the fate to which Buonaparte's policy had devoted them. In Touraine upwards of a thousand gentlemen were prepared to join the Duke of Duras. The royalists of Britanny were commanded by the Count de Vitray, assisted by the celebrated Tranquille, called *Le Capitaine Sans Peur*, and other distinguished Chouan chiefs. Cadoudal, brother of the well-known Georges, a man remarkable for strength and intrepidity, was at the head of the peasantry of Vannes; and thus the whole west of France, including even the lower districts of Normandy, was ripe for revolt.

The plan of this projected insurrection was purely royalist. But the government of Buonaparte had another set of enemies, amongst those who, like himself, owed their political consequence to the Revolution, and who, without regard to the Bourbons, were desirous to get free of the tyranny of the emperor. These were the disappointed and degraded republicans, the deceived constitutionalists, all who had hoped and expected that the Revolution would have paved the way for a free government, in which the career of preferment should be open to talents of every description,—a lottery in which, doubtless, each hoped that his own abilities would gain some important prize. The sceptre of Napoleon had weighed harder upon this class than even upon the royalists. He had no dislike to the principles of the latter, abstractedly considered; he felt some respect for their birth and titles, and only wished to transfer their attachment from the house of Bourbon, and to attach them to that of Napoleon. Accordingly, he distributed employments and honours among such of the old noblesse as could be brought to accept them, and obviously felt pride in drawing to his court names and titles known in the earlier periods of French history. Besides, until circumstances shook his throne and enlarged their means of injuring him, he considered the number of the royalists as small, and their power as despicable. But from those active spirits, who had traded in revolution after revolution for so many years, he had much more both to fear and to dislike, especially as they were now understood to be headed by his ex-minister Talleyrand, with whose

talents, both for scheming and executing political changes, he had so much reason to be acquainted. To this class of his enemies he imputed the hardy attempt which was made, not without prospect of success, to overthrow his government during his absence in Russia. "You have the tail, but not the head," had been the words of the principal conspirator, when about to be executed; and they still rung in the ears of Buonaparte. It was generally supposed that his long stay in Paris, ere he took the field against the allies, was dictated by his fear of some similar explosion. Whether these two separate classes of the enemies of Buonaparte communicated with each other we have no opportunity of knowing, but they both had intercourse with the allies. That of Talleyrand's faction was, we believe, maintained at the court of London, through means of a near relation of his own, who visited England shortly before the opening of the campaign of which we treat; and we have no doubt that through the same medium he held some communication with the Bourbons, and that, in the same manner as the English Restoration was brought about by an union between the Cavaliers and Presbyterians, there was even then upon foot some treaty of accommodation, by which the exiled monarch was, in regaining the crown, to have the assistance of those, whom, for want of another name, we shall call Constitutionalists, it being understood that his government was to be established on the basis of freedom.

Notwithstanding this state of active preparation for insurrection, the efforts, whether of royalists or constitutionalists, were for a time paralysed, not only by the silence of the allies touching their views concerning the future government of France, but by the willingness which they exhibited to treat with the very despot against whom these machinations which we have described were organized and prepared. It was even supposed that the intentions of the allied sovereigns themselves did not coincide upon this important point, a circumstance affording hopes, to which Buonaparte clung with blinded obstinacy. The views of Britain were well known to be favourable to the Bourbons, providing an opportunity should occur of effectually assisting them. Such were recognised to be the sentiments and wishes of the Prince Regent himself, who had never omitted an opportunity of paying to his unfortunate guests every respectful attention which their situation could admit. But the ministers were unwilling to incur the charge of prolonging and rendering more inveterate the war with France, by announcing that it was waged in defence of a title which some considered as antiquated, and most as unlikely to be supported by the efforts of the French themselves. Even the most venturous politicians remembered the sort of fatality which had attended every scheme concerted in favour of the Bourbons; and to urge their few remaining partizans to a hopeless insurrection, would be but, it was thought, to renew the proscriptions and massacres of Quiberon and La Vendee. Thus the interest of England in the royal cause was limited to good wishes. Russia was well known to have shewn the same sentiments; for when the regretted Moreau was invited by the Emperor Alexander from his American exile, he agreed to take share in the campaign against Buonaparte on the express provision that the restoration of the Bourbons to a free and limited monarchy, as well as the integrity of France on all its ancient frontiers, should be the principal and avowed objects of the war, and that he himself, under the banners and colours of the king, should head a corps of such Frenchmen as, upon these

terms, might be willing to co-operate in the emancipation of their country. Russia's acquiescence in this proposal sufficiently evinced her wishes for the restoration; and Prussia, from deference to her great ally, and deep hatred and fear of Buonaparte, was certain to espouse the same opinions. But the alliance between the proud house of Austria and this fortunate soldier placed her in a painful and embarrassing situation, and certainly trammelled the intentions of the other allied powers in the cabinet, as it clogged their operations in the field. For a war, having no determined end or purpose, is not likely to be waged with any peculiar energy; and the other confederates, fettered by the unavoidable deference which was due to a most important member of their alliance, could neither act with vigour in behalf of the Bourbons, nor assign any reason for refusing them assistance. There is now little doubt, that upon the embarrassments occasioned by their indecision, concerning the use to be made of victory if they should attain it, hinged many of the misfortunes which attended the opening of this campaign.

Although the British ministry refused to afford any direct countenance to the schemes of the Bourbon family, they could not, in ordinary justice, deny the more active members of that unhappy family the freedom of acting as they themselves judged most for the interest of their cause and adherents. To their applications for permission to depart for France, they received from the British ministry the reply, that the princes of the house of Bourbon were the guests, not the prisoners, of Britain; and although the present state of public affairs precluded her from expressly authorizing any step which they might think proper to take, yet they were free to quit her territories and return to them at their pleasure. Under a sanction so general, the Duke d'Angouleme set sail for St Jean de Luz, to join the army of Lord Wellington; the Duke de Berri for Jersey, to correspond with the royalists of Britanny; and Monsieur for Holland, from which he gained the frontiers of Switzerland, and entered France in the rear of the Austrian armies. The movements of the two last produced no effects of consequence. The Duke de Berri paused in the Isle of Jersey, on receiving some unpleasant communications from France respecting the strength of the existing government. Monsieur entered France, and was received at Vesoul with great enthusiasm. Many of the crowd who pressed around him exclaimed, "We die content, since we have witnessed the return of our ancient masters;" and others, who crowded to kiss his hand, and even the skirts of his dress, cried still more pathetically, "We offer you our hearts; the monster has left us nothing else to present to you." Yet these indications of zeal, whether the genuine effusions of loyalty, or the result of the tendency of the French people to turn every thing to dramatic effect, were attended with no beneficial results. Far from being respected and countenanced, the brother of Louis XVIII. received a very frigid reception from the Austrian commandants of the towns through which he passed, who could not but remember that their master was the father-in-law of the French emperor. Monsieur's proposals to raise forces among the royalists of Franche Compté and Alsace were treated with cold contempt, and much incredulity was expressed concerning the supposed interest which the inhabitants of those districts were likely to take in his cause. Matters assumed an aspect yet more discouraging on the retreat of the allies from Troyes, the execution of the Chevalier Gouault, and the denunciation of death fulminated by Buo-

naparte against the royalists. The mission, therefore, of Monsieur remained without practical effect. That of the Duke d'Angouleme was more happily directed.

Before this prince arrived at Lord Wellington's head-quarters, and indeed so soon as the Anglo Spanish army crossed the frontiers, some affecting instances occurred to shew that the Bourbons and their followers had still hold of the affections of the people in that part of their ancient kingdom. The Duke de Guiche, descendant of the celebrated Count de Grammont, was senior captain of the 10th regiment of hussars, and when this young nobleman, so long an exile from France, again entered his native country as an officer of the British army, he established his quarters on his own paternal estate, and in that very chateau of Semeac, which has been celebrated by his lively relative, Count Anthony Hamilton. In this extraordinary and affecting situation, of a stranger at home, and an invader, not only of his own country, but of his own hereditary domains, the peasantry of his estates in that neighbourhood evinced, by every means in their power, their attachment to their old masters, and their detestation of the existing government of France, till the Duke de Guiche, afraid of the consequences which, in case of a retreat, their zeal might have brought upon them, was under the necessity of repressing its demonstrations, in kindness to those who made them. Similar symptoms of dislike to Buonaparte's government exhibited themselves wherever the British arms extended their influence; and at length Lord Wellington received assurances that they existed in a shape organized and ready for action, by a direct communication from the royalists of Bourdeaux and the west.

This communication followed the arrival of the Duke of Angouleme at St Jean de Luz. Lord Wellington, while he paid that prince all the honours and respect which his birth and misfortunes demanded, was (in consequence of the dependence of the treaty at Chatillon) under the necessity of requesting him to suppress all titles or official character, since the existing circumstances only allowed him to be received as a simple volunteer to the British army. The character of the Duke d'Angouleme became, however, of greater consequence, when the loyal and indefatigable La Rochejaquelein, who had dedicated to the service of the royal family his days, his nights, his fortune, and his life, arrived with an account of the preparations of the western royalists, and the determination of the town of Bourdeaux, and of Lynch, its loyal mayor. This active and animated royalist, after communicating with the Duke d'Angouleme at St Jean de Luz, visited the head-quarters of the British general, and urged him to afford countenance to the zeal of the loyalists of Bourdeaux, Guienne, and Languedoc, by directing his march, or that of a detachment of his army, accompanied by the Duke d'Angouleme, upon the city of Bourdeaux, since, while the army of Soult retained its present position between the English forces and that city, no movement of the royalists could be made with the slightest chance of success. Lord Wellington, whose experience in the wars of Spain had well taught him how frequently patriotic enthusiasm makes promises beyond its power to fulfil, objected the danger of compromising the British army, by a movement in advance through so difficult a country, and at such a season of the year; and urged the continued congress at Chatillon as a reason against the royalists committing themselves by a hasty declaration. The zeal of La Rochejaquelein was proof alike against fear

and remonstrance; and the frank and gallant eagerness of his solicitations, joined to the sense and intelligence with which he supported them, won from the British general the short but encouraging answer—"Well, remain a few days at head-quarters, and you shall see us force the Gaves."—And thus we conclude a brief digression, necessary to explain the views and expectations with which Lord Wellington undertook this remarkable campaign.

The first point of difficulty was the passage of the Adour, the deep and rapid river upon which Bayonne is situated; a movement to be undertaken in front of a fortified town, and an entrenched camp occupied by an army equal in numbers to that of the British. If the passage was attempted above the town, the army must of necessity traverse a great number of subordinate rivers and torrents which fall into the Adour, and form each a separate Gave, or ravine, which at this season were often swelled far beyond fordable depth. Again, if it was resolved to pass the Adour beneath Bayonne, where, augmented by all these tributary streams, it is a very large river, any bridge which the British might construct would necessarily be liable to be destroyed by beams of wood floated down the rapid current from the town above; while the troops who might first attempt the passage would be exposed to all the opposition of a numerous and active garrison, reinforced to any extent from the army under its walls; and in either case, the flank of the army in this offensive movement must necessarily be exposed to danger from the strong body of French forces, which still maintained a line of great strength, extending from north to south between the foot of the Pyrenees and the Adour, and communicating at the north-eastern angle with the fortified camp of Marshal Soult. Contrary winds prevented the sailing of the vessels under Rear-Admiral Penrose, on which Lord Wellington relied for co-operation at the mouth of the Adour. The British general resolved, therefore, to dispossess the enemy of the footing which they maintained on the left bank of the Adour, and either to force the corps which maintained that line to recross the river, or to drive them so far to the westward as to secure himself from their annoyance. Excessive rains prevented the commencement of offensive operations during the first weeks of February, but at length an interval of fair weather permitted Lord Wellington to execute the skilful combination of movements which he had planned.

Feb. 14.

By a movement made in concert with one executed by the gallant Mina, General Hill forced the French from a position near Hellette, insulated and blockaded the little town of St Jean Pied de Port, at the foot of the Pyrenees, and compelled General Harispe, who commanded on the left bank of the Adour, to retreat to a strong situation in front of Orthes. Here he was joined by General Paris, who, with a large division, had been marching in all haste to the interior to the support of Buonaparte, but was now yet more hastily recalled to the scene of action in the south. His aid availed nothing; for, by a series of manœuvres, as well conceived as dexterously executed, the French were attacked in their strong position in front and flank at once, and dispossessed of it without much loss to the assailants. A desperate attempt to recover their ground only augmented the loss of the French. They were driven on the following days over the Gave of Mauleon, and at length were only enabled to halt, after a retreat in which they sustained much loss, at Sauvetiene, on

the further side of the Gave d'Oleron, where a very rapid and broad river appeared to promise them security. Here they were followed by the British, who, establishing themselves on the opposite bank of the Gave, intimated their intention of continuing their offensive operations. Matters were now serious with the French, and Soult, perplexed by the unexpected activity of Wellington, which threatened soon to place him in possession of all the passes over the Adour above Bayonne, while the left wing of his army still seemed to meditate to force a passage beneath that city, hastened in person to the westward to the support of Harispe and Paris, with such part of his troops as he could venture to withdraw from his fortified camp. He made this movement with greater confidence, as a heavy swell of the Adour had necessarily compelled Lord Wellington to suspend his intention of attempting a passage beneath Bayonne. The English general, by a march corresponding to that of his enemy, leaving the command of his left wing to General Hope, went in person to superintend the attack on the enemy's position on the Gave d'Oleron The celerity and precision of the British movements forced the enemy from this post also, the more easily as Soult had withdrawn the greater part of his forces, and now occupied a superb position in front of the town of Orthes, where he was joined by General Clauzel with a strong reinforcement, and appeared determined to wait the issue of an action. His right occupied the village of St Bois and the heights near Orthes, upon the post-road from Dax, and was commanded by General Reille. His left, under the command of Clauzel, rested on the town of Orthes itself, and commanded the passage of the river, or Gave de Pau, while the centre, following the direction of the chain of heights which the army occupied, swept back in a sort of concave circle, protected by the strong position of both wings.

Feb. 27. The British general instantly gave orders for the attack. Marshal Beresford, with the Portugueze, and Sir Lowry Cole, with the fourth division, assaulted and carried the village of St Bois on the enemy's right, while the left and centre at once were attacked by General Picton, who advanced on the great road from Peyrehorade to Orthes. It was, however, found impossible to take advantage of the success upon the right by turning the enemy's flank, his resistance being too obstinate, and the ground so confined as not to admit of the troops deploying from the village which they had carried, to attack the heights. This was one of the critical moments in which the talents of a general are most severely tried, when it becomes necessary, in the very heat of conflict, to alter all previous arrangements, and to issue with coolness and precision the orders which shall, in that moment of doubt and anxiety, reverse those which had been planned in the cool premeditation preceding the battle. The presence of mind of Wellington instantly substituted an attack upon the left for that on the right, to which he had at first trusted for victory. He united the troops of his reserve with those upon his right, and by a sudden and desperate assault, gained the heights upon the French left, turned their position, and compelled them to give way. At the moment of his success the enemy were appalled by a new apparition. General Hill, during the time of the action, had forced the passage of the river, or Gave, above the town of Orthes, and seeing the state of the action, he marched a strong body of infantry and cavalry upon the road from Orthes to St

Sever, thus threatening at once the left and the rear of the retiring enemy. The French for some time retreated with great regularity, availing themselves of that alertness in rallying and taking new formations for which they are remarkable, and occupying with bravery and address every new position which afforded means of checking the pursuit of the British. But, forced from position after position by the rapid and ardent pursuit of the victors, experiencing new losses at every halt, and having their retreat menaced by the rapid approach of General Hill's division, all the skill of the French generals, the bravery of their officers, and the promptitude of their soldiery, were at length unequal to preserve even the appearance of regularity. Their retreat became a disorderly and headlong flight, in which they suffered much from the close pursuit of the British. Whole battalions of conscripts threw down their arms, and dispersed through the country; and some corps left their muskets regularly piled upon the ground which the British were to occupy, as if to intimate their settled and determined resolution to relinquish the contest, and return to the peaceable occupations from which they had been dragged by their government. Marshal Soult had the utmost difficulty in keeping together even the semblance of an army: he lost several pieces of artillery, the desertion was enormous, and the whole country was covered with his dead. He retreated at first upon St Sever and Aires, which villages lie on the road to Bourdeaux, but afterwards took the direction towards Agen, leaving the direct road open to the capital of Gascony.

An incident occurred in the battle of Orthes, for the possible consequences of which no victory, however splendid, could have compensated. The circumstance was not mentioned in the gazette, but it appeared in the public prints; and those who remembered how often Britain had lost her best generals in the moment of victory, trembled while they read that, in the course of the engagement, the Duke of Wellington had been struck by a grape-shot. He concealed the injury at the time, as his modesty would have hid it for ever; but it was so severe that he could not dismount without assistance. The hilt of his sword, which was bent by the ball, was providentially interposed between his person and the bullet.

A sudden swell of the river Adour prevented Lord Wellington from instantly following up the victory of Orthes, by crossing, with the main body of his army, that river, now the last of the Gaves which interrupted his progress. But General Hill, with the light troops, pushed forward on the road to Aires, where the enemy had assembled a considerable force to protect a magazine of consequence. They were strongly posted on a ridge of hills, which covered the road to the town. But it was decreed, during this campaign, that no position, however strong, was to avail the French forces. Their defence, however, was gallant. The first charge made by the Portugueze brigade was only so far successful, that the charging columns gained the heights against which they had advanced, when, instead of improving their advantage, the assailants fell into disorder. The French, returning to the charge, threw them into confusion, and would have completed their defeat, but for the second division, under General Sir W. Stewart; the first brigade of which, advancing against the French with great gallantry and

Mar. 2.

impetuosity, soon compelled them to fall back, threw their columns into inextricable disorder, and beat them off the field with great loss. The greater part of their force effected a disorderly retreat upon the right bank of the Adour; but a part being cut off from the rest, retired in great disorder towards Pau, the soldiers disbanding themselves, and throwing away their arms in their flight. The magazines fell into the hands of the British, and General Hill's success completely cleared the roads toward Bourdeaux of the presence of the enemy.

While the right wing and centre of the British army were engaged in this brilliant career of success, General Hope, in conjunction with Rear-Admiral Penrose, achieved the passage of that river beneath Bayonne with the left wing under his command. The French had deemed this enterprize impracticable; for there was a bar at the mouth of the river, on which ran so violent a surf as they supposed would effectually prevent the passage of the vessels intended to form the bridge. They had also for defence of the river several gun-boats well manned, and a large frigate, to whose fire the British must necessarily be exposed. Notwithstanding these obstacles, with no other means than pontoons and rafts, General Hope pushed across to the right bank an advanced guard of six hundred men, under the command of Major-General Stopford. *Feb. 23.* A powerful detachment of the garrison of Bayonne rushed upon this forlorn hope, but met so severe a reception from the fire of General Stopford's corps, as well as that of a rocket-brigade destined to cover the passage, that their ardour was speedily checked. The novelty of these fiery missiles, one of which struck through three French soldiers at once, inspired terror into the enemy, who was instantly repulsed. *Feb. 24.* In the meanwhile, Rear-Admiral Penrose, in despite of the obstacles presented by the surf and the bar, laboured to get the vessels destined to construct the bridge within the current of the river. Four boats were lost in accomplishing this difficult manœuvre, but at length the activity of the British seamen surmounted every obstacle; the vessels were brought over the bar in succession, moored in their respective positions, and by these means a bridge was established; and while the French gun-boats were destroyed and their frigate driven higher up the Adour by the fire of a battery of 18-pounders, the whole corps of General Hope passed to the right bank of the Adour before the eyes of the astonished garrison, and immediately took measures for investing Bayonne. *Feb. 25.*

The battle of Orthes, with the brilliant and masterly manœuvres which preceded and followed it, served to establish the superiority of the British forces in points wherein they had been deemed most deficient. Since the victories in Spain, it was no longer uncommon to hear a French officer allow, that in the utter tug of battle the English soldier, from physical strength and high energy of character, had a degree of superiority over his own impetuous but less persevering countrymen. But he uniformly qualified such a stretch of candour by claiming for the French, superior skill in contriving, and promptitude in executing, those previous movements on which the fate of battles often depends. Yet since the commencement of the campaign on the Adour, the French army, though under command of the celebrated Soult, (*le vieux renard*, as he was familiarly called by the soldiers,)

was checked, turned, out-marched, and out-flanked upon every occasion, driven from position to position in a country that affords so many of peculiar strength, without having it in their power to injure their victors by a protracted defence; and repeatedly defeated, not by main force or superiority of numbers, but by a combination of movements, at once so boldly conceived and so admirably executed, as left throughout the whole contest the palm of science, as well as of enduring energy and physical hardihood, with the British soldier. These victories, besides adding another laurel to the thick-woven chaplet of the English general, had the most decisive effect on the future events of the war, as well as upon the public mind in the south of France. Soult retreated with his disorganized army upon Tarbes, in order to secure a junction with such detachments of Suchet's army as were now re-crossing the Pyrenees. By his retreat eastward, and by the investment of Bayonne, the whole south-west of France was laid open to the victor, who detached General Fane to take possession of Pau, and Field-Marshal Beresford to occupy Bourdeaux. The progress of the last-named general was in the highest degree interesting.

Field-Marshal Beresford advanced by the route of Mont de Marsan, at the head of about 15,000 men. The Marquis de la Roche-jaquelein had been previously dispatched to Bourdeaux by the Duke d'Angouleme, to make arrangements with the mayor for throwing off the domination of Buonaparte. Cornudet, the special commissioner of Napoleon, and L'Huillier, commandant of the garrison, saw themselves unable to make a stand betwixt a discontented population and the superior force which advanced upon them. The former fled, after destroying a quantity of ammunition, and attempting to burn two frigates which were upon the stocks. General L'Huillier assembled his forces and evacuated the city, contenting himself with manning the forts on the river Garonne. Marshal Beresford, therefore, advanced without opposition, and the Duke d'Angouleme accompanied his march. The proverbial vivacity of the Gascons now displayed itself. Although reminded by Marshal Beresford that the allies were still in active negociation with Napoleon, and exhorted to forbear any premature declarations against him, the long-smothered indignation of an oppressed country blazed irresistibly forth. The little towns of Roquefort and Bazan hoisted the white flag, without waiting for the declaration of Bourdeaux. Yet the Duke d' Angouleme, with the diffidence natural to long adversity, could not disguise from La Roche-jaquelein that Lord Wellington had on parting from him expressed his doubts whether Bourdeaux would even yet declare for the king. That enthusiastic royalist requested only permission to enter the town thirty-six hours before the English, and promised to be responsible with his head for the success of his enterprize. During this short space he put all his springs in motion, and united his friends and associates in preparations to receive the Duke d'Angouleme and the auxiliary army of England.

Mar. 12.

On the day when they approached Bourdeaux, royalists of all ages and classes, and of both sexes, streamed forth to welcome the descendant of their ancient monarchs; and when the army approached the walls, the mayor and officers of the municipality, attended by the principal inhabitants, and particularly those who belonged to the

royal confederation, came forth to meet the British general, followed, as it seemed to our officers, by the whole population of the city and neighbouring country. It is certain that the procession amounted to at least 10,000 persons of all ranks. The mayor wore the scarf and emblems of magistracy which were in use under Buonaparte's government; but when the venerable magistrate approached Marshal Beresford, he informed him, in a short and energetic speech, that if he came as a conqueror, he needed not his interposition to possess himself of the keys of Bourdeaux, but if as an ally of their august and lawful sovereign Louis XVIII. he was ready to tender them, with every token of love, zeal, and affection. Field-Marshal Beresford reiterated his promises of protection and favour, and added, that he believed he was about to enter a city faithful to its lawful sovereign. At this reply the mayor uttered the long-forgotten signal-cry of *Vive le Roi!* and it was echoed a thousand times by the thousands who attended him. Monsieur Lynch then threw aside with disdain the insignia of Buonaparte's magistracy, and placed in his hat the white cockade, emblematic of the adherents of the Bourbons. By a signal previously agreed upon the tidings were instantly conveyed to Bourdeaux, and the white flag was once more displayed to the wind from the summit of the steeple of St Michaels. The enthusiasm with which the signals of loyalty were adopted, and the shouts of *Vive le Roi* repeated on all hands, mingled with blessings upon the heads of the English and their leaders, formed a scene which those who witnessed it will not speedily forget. It was a renewal of early affections and attachments, which seemed long dead and forgotten,—a general burst of feelings the more generous and affecting, because they were not only as disinterested as spontaneous, but might eventually be deeply fraught with danger to those who expressed them, with a generous enthusiasm that placed them far above the apprehension of personal consequences. The same lively acclamations hailed the entrance of the Duke d'Angouleme into this fine city. The inhabitants crowded around him, and impeded his passage by their eagerness to look upon him, to touch him, to kiss even the skirts of his clothes, and the horse on which he rode. "In him at least," exclaimed a citizen of low rank, "we recognise a prince of our own blood." At the cathedral the duke was received by the excellent and venerable Archbishop of Bourdeaux, at the head of the clergy of his diocese, who, in a few emphatic words, recognised the son-in-law of his lawful sovereign. *Te Deum* was sung in full pomp, and the grateful anthem was swelled by the voice of the numerous crowd which filled the church. The united banners of France, England, Spain, and Portugal, waved from the walls of the town, and announced to the whole south of France that these nations were united in the same holy cause against tyranny and usurpation.

Brilliant as these tidings were, and acceptable as it was to learn that so strong a sensation had arisen in favour of the legitimate sovereign of France, they were not read in England without a fearful chill of the heart, arising from the melancholy anticipation of the consequences which must arise to Bourdeaux should this declaration of her loyalty unhappily prove to have been made prematurely. The treaty at Chatillon was announced as almost concluded, and vessels were stated to have been already dispatched to the Gironde to snatch from his vengeance the most distin-

guished of the loyalists of Bourdeaux. Those, therefore, whose most ardent wishes attended the British, almost regretted the success at Orthes, in apprehension for those who, encouraged by that victory and its consequences, had bid defiance to the despot, ere yet his power of injuring them seemed at an end.

CHAPTER XI.

Reasons for supposing Peace would have been made.—Buonaparte nevertheless rejects the Preliminaries of the Allies.—The Proposals for an Armistice are broken off.—Blucher's Advance again reaches Meaux—But retreats when Buonaparte moves against it.—Blucher retreats on Soissons, and finds it taken by Bulow and Winzengerode.—Buonaparte attempts to storm it, but is repulsed.—Battle of Laon.—Buonaparte retreats.—Second Battle of Bar-sur-Aube, fought between the Grand Allied Army and the Divisions of Victor and Oudinot.—The French retreat and evacuate Troyes, which is again occupied by the Allies.—Buonaparte's Project for Pacification is rejected, and the Conferences at Chatillon are broken off.—Buonaparte endeavours to render the War national, and to draw together the Garrisons on the Rhine.—He attacks and recovers Rheims.—The Grand Allied Army again threaten to cross the Seine.—Buonaparte marches against them, but is checked and in great personal Danger at Arcis-sur-Aube.—He retreats to Vitry—The Prussians refuse to yield up the Place.—He continues his retreat to Saint Dizier, and determines to throw himself into the Rear of the Allies.—His probable Reasons for this Movement.—Augereau is defeated by the Austrians, and Lyons surrenders.

The discouraging apprehensions, entertained by many politicians at the prospect of a peace which should leave Napoleon on the throne of France, were deepened in proportion to the apparent probability of that event. All the belligerent powers seemed to have reasons which might have inclined them to close such a treaty. The successes of Buonaparte, though ephemeral, were of a nature to dazzle the united sovereigns, and to incline them to hesitate ere driving him to extremities. On the other hand, when Napoleon looked around him, and beheld fresh armies inundating the north-east of France, after crossing the armed frontier of Flanders, Eugene defeated in Italy, and Augereau at Lyons, the progress of Wellington in the south, and the increasing numbers and audacity of the royalists,—when he saw this diminution of his dominions on every side, and his power of obtaining reinforcements and resources proportionally limited, it was scarce to be supposed that he should fail to attempt to avail himself of the opportunity of securing peace, through the partial favour with which Austria yet regarded him. But the reverses which, in the months of January and February, obscured the arms of the allies, resembled the cloud,

which in the eastern tale is represented to have passed over the moon, to afford an impenitent caliph a last and limited space for repentance. Buonaparte, like Vathek, disdained to avail himself of the time and opportunity which the delay afforded him.

We have not yet a precise account of the transactions during the meeting of the plenipotentiaries at Chatillon. But the basis of the allies, to which Buonaparte had assented, assigned to him not only the ancient territories of France, but those of the Austrian Netherlands, and must therefore have left him more powerful than a King of France at any former period of their history. Still the retrenchment of his power was excessive, when compared to its extent but twelve months before, and he could not brook to submit to the limitations, without again trying the chance of war. It seems, therefore, to have been Buonaparte's object, to protract the discussion of the terms of peace, until the final issue of military operations should become more evident. Were that issue in his favour, he might break off the treaty when he pleased; or, did it turn against him, he concluded that he might at worst obtain, by the influence of Austria, the same terms now offered. His proposal upon the first advance of the allies had been the conclusion of an armistice, probably with the view of gaining time to withdraw his armies from Spain, and to drain that of Soult of its veterans; thus abandoning foreign conquests, and even the protection of the frontiers, from the necessity of assembling a strong force for the defence of his capital. The ministers of the confederated sovereigns did not reject this proposal, but added, as a condition, that Buonaparte should surrender into their hands the invested fortresses of Wesel, Antwerp, Mentz, Strasburgh, and Besançon, as pledges of a sincerity which former events had induced them strongly to suspect. The French ruler evaded this request, and the business of the congress was protracted by a variety of notes on each side, as if all parties had agreed that it should depend upon the events of the war. After the successful attacks of Buonaparte on the Silesian army, and his victory over the grand army at Montereau, the advantage, in the eyes of the negociators, seemed so much upon his side, that the allies in their turn proposed a suspension of hostilities, and dispatched to Napoleon a distinct sketch of a preliminary treaty, founded upon the conditions to which his plenipotentiary Caulaincourt had a little before given his approbation. It was first of all debated in the cabinet council at the Tuilleries; and, notwithstanding the opposition of Maret, (called Duke of Bassano,) and other ministers, who rather perhaps studied what advice would flatter their master's pride, than what was likely to prove most essential for his interest, the terms were approved of by a considerable majority. They were laid before him with the opinion of the ministers, by Mons. de Rumigny, his private secretary. Buonaparte was now, however, elated by success. He forgot how often he had been placed between two hostile armies, each superior to his own, which, like the shears of destiny, seemed about to close upon and annihilate him. More of a general than a statesman, egotistic by character, and therefore rather prone to judge from what fell under his own immediate observation, than from the report of others, he considered less the immense means of the allies, or the disasters which were thickening along the various frontiers, than the fields in which he had himself engaged, where he had been generally suc-

cessful, though not decidedly victorious, and from which his enemies had usually retreated, if they had not fled. He had boasted himself to the legislative assembly, as the sole essence of the monarchy, and exclusive representative of the French nation. He was, in the language of one of her old kings, the fortune of France, and while *he* was victorious in person, she could not in his conception be deeply injured by reverses sustained where he was absent. With the confidence inspired by these considerations, and clinging to the hope that he might yet achieve a separate treaty, which should detach Austria from the confederacy, he tore asunder the paper containing the proposals of the allies for peace, with the threatening exclamation, "I am nearer to Vienna than they are to Paris."—This was done while he was yet flushed with the victory of Montereau. His victorious entry into the town of Troyes, where our narrative left him on p. 203, did not tend to diminish his confidence. But, notwithstanding this impetuosity, and notwithstanding that the conferences set on foot at Lusigny, for the purpose of arranging an armistice, as requested by the allies, broke off without their being able to agree upon the line of demarcation, Buonaparte saw the prudence of still continuing the negociations at Chatillon, and directed his minister, after much tergiversation, to name the 10th of March as the term within which he would produce the *ultimatum* of the Emperor Napoleon on the subject of peace or war. At the same time, it was observed, that there was a frequent exchange of couriers and envoys betwixt the French army and that of Austria. Prince Wenceslaus of Lichtenstein repeatedly visited the head-quarters of Buonaparte, and the French generals believed they would speedily hear either of a general peace, or of a separate treaty, which should withdraw Austria from the list of their enemies. These hopes were encouraged by the conduct of Buonaparte, who, at a period when time was of so much consequence, remained for three days stationary at Troyes, without making any movement either in pursuit of the grand army, or towards Blucher, who had retreated after the affair at Mery, and now had his head-quarters at Sezanne. At length, the operations of this determined and active general having placed his army in full communication with Winzengerode and Bulow, whose corps had effected a junction at Laon, and were in full march upon Soissons, compelled Napoleon's speedy and serious attention.

Feb. 25.

The whole course of the Marne, from Vitry to Meaux, was in possession of the Prussian general, by his new plan of operations. General Sacken, who commanded on his left, had already possessed himself of the suburbs of Meaux, and hussars and Cossacks had pushed their advanced parties as far as Lagny, a village about fifteen miles from Paris. The metropolis of France was thus a third time seriously menaced, and Napoleon was still at Troyes, thirty-five miles further distant from it than the point on which his enemies had shewn themselves in force. Compelled at once to march to the defence of his capital, and to press the retreat of Prince Schwartzenberg, Buonaparte was under the necessity of dividing his forces Marshals Victor and Oudinot, at the head of only 30,000 men, were charged with the delicate operation of watching the motions, and, if possible, precipitating the retreat of the grand army. For this purpose they were reinforced with several battalions and squadrons from the army of Spain. They had orders

to move upon Bar-sur-Aube, and to possess themselves, if practicable, of the heights in its neighbourhood. To disguise their inferiority, and to conceal the absence of Napoleon, their soldiers were instructed to shout along the line, *Vive l' Empereur!* that the grand army of the allies might still be affected with the belief and terrors of his presence, while he him-
Feb. 27. self moved against his unwearied and undaunted opponent, the veteran Blucher.

With the same celerity which distinguished the lateral movement that preceded his victory at Montmirail, Buonaparte, in the forced
March 1. marches of two days, reached Ferté Gauchere, and thus threw himself suddenly on the flank of the Silesian army, in expectation, doubtless, of surprising and cutting off some of their divisions. But Sacken and York, whose divisions had approached to Meaux, along the left bank of the Marne, and who would therefore have first come in contact with Buonaparte, were grown too wise by their former disaster, to permit a repetition of the same manœuvre to be equally successful, and that too at no great distance from the self-same spot. They crossed to the other side of the Marne, and hastily retreated to the northward, through a country so swampy that, but for a sudden and severe frost, the march would have been impracticable. Through a dreadful night of snow and hail, they were followed and harassed by the French cavalry, and alternately suffered and inflicted all the evils connected with such a warfare. General Blucher, apprized of Buonaparte's march, had now resolved to concentrate his army by a retreat upon Soissons, where he proposed to complete his junction with Winzengerode and Bulow. His movements were, for the two following days, pressed and harassed by the forces of Marmont and Mortier, while those under the immediate command of Napoleon, urging forward on a shorter line, possessed themselves of the town of Fismes, about half-way between Rheims and Soissons, and thus completely turned the flank of the Silesian army. Much now depended upon the possession of Soissons, and its bridge over the Marne, which was full in the line of Blucher's retreat. If Blucher should be excluded from this town, and the passage of the river which it commanded, it was obvious that he must be compelled to hazard a battle on the most disadvantageous terms, with the army of Napoleon on his left flank, Marmont and Mortier's corps in his front, and in his rear a hostile garrison, besides a deep river. Soissons had already twice changed masters, having been in possession of the French ever since it was evacuated by Winzengerode. It had a *Feb.* 14. chosen garrison of fourteen hundred Poles, and Buonaparte reckoned assuredly upon its holding out. But the commandant was not aware of the position of the armies, or of the consequence attached to his maintaining the place. The united divisions of Bulow and Winzengerode, amounting to 30,000 men, had appeared under its walls, *March* 2. and made preparations for an assault, offering honourable terms, with the permission to retreat unmolested, in case of an instant surrender, and menacing the last extremity of war, if they were compelled to resort to storm. In these circumstances the French commandant accepted the capitulation; and thus Blucher found himself in possession of Soissons, united with the corps of Bulow and Winzengerode, and possessed of the full power of continuing his retreat, or making a stand, as should best suit him, just at the moment when his adversary was in full march to turn his flank, in confidence

that he should find him stopped in his retreat by the resistance of Soissons. Napoleon's disappointment, when he learned the town had opened its gates, broke furiously forth in his bulletin. "The enemy," he said, "gave himself up for lost, when the inconceivable baseness of the French general who commanded at Soissons, put him in possession of that pass, although he might have heard the cannonade of the armies during the 2d and 3d, and have thence judged that the emperor was approaching the town."

Both armies now prepared for battle upon terms of equality. That of Silesia was drawn up upon a long ridge of heights to the left and to the rear of Soissons, on the right bank of the Aisne. The town of Soissons was defended by 10,000 Russians, under Langeron. *March 5.* Buonaparte commenced his attack upon the town at day-break, with the strong columns of Mortier and Marmont, with expectation of carrying the place, forcing the passage over the Aisne, and thus operating upon the right flank of the Silesian army. The French advanced with incredible fury, were repulsed in two assaults with great slaughter, but retained possession of a part of the suburbs. The Russians defended themselves with that stubborn courage which characterizes their nation. The assailants at length sheltered themselves in the houses of the suburbs, and, pulling down the roofs, fired from the walls and windows upon the ramparts of Soissons, from which the defenders returned their fire. Night ended the conflict, which was equally bloody and obstinate.

Baffled in his attempt to force a passage at Soissons, Buonaparte declined to renew the attack on that part of Blucher's position, and led his army across the Aisne at Bery le Bac, where his cavalry, under Nansouty, made their way by main force. Persevering in his favourite manœuvre of a flank movement, Buonaparte now indicated his purpose of attacking the position of Craonne, which covered the left wing of Blucher's army. The veteran Prussian resolved on this occasion to show Napoleon that this manœuvre had its dangers. He detached a body of 10,000 cavalry, with instructions, by a circuitous march, to throw themselves on the French line of communication, and charge their columns in flank and rear, so soon as they advanced to the attack of Craonne. The rest of Blucher's army was so disposed between the village of Craonne and the town of Laon, that no loss sustained by the troops which occupied the former, might prevent the army from retreating on the fine position afforded by the latter. At the same time relinquishing to the enemy the posts which he held in front of Craonne, Blucher fortified himself still more strongly on those which extend behind that village. One ravine extended on the right of the position, another on the left, a third stretched along his front, and covered the communication with the heights of Craonne. Strogonoff commanded the Russians in absence of Winzengerode, who was detached to superintend the cavalry manœuvre which Blucher meditated. *March 7.* The French commenced the attack at eleven in the morning, with their usual impetuosity. Field-Marshal Blucher instantly mounted his horse, and galloped to the spot where he expected to find his numerous squadrons of cavalry; but the manœuvre, owing to unforeseen obstacles, had totally failed. The columns of cavalry had not been able, from local difficulties and unexpected impediments, to accomplish their march, and the Field-Marshal saw himself compelled to renounce his intended offensive operations.—

Meantime the attack upon the position at Craonne continued with the greatest fury. Ney assailed the ravine upon the right flank, and Victor in front. The abbey of Vauclair, the key of the position, was obstinately defended, and at length set on fire in the contest. Victor, supported by Drouet, ultimately forced the defile, and the action became general along the heights. Young Strogonoff, the son of the Russian general, fell by the side of his father. Woronzow, and other distinguished officers, were wounded, but the courage of the soldiers remained unabated. On the side of the French, three generals, Victor, Grouchy, and La Ferriere, were also wounded. At length the Russians were turned on every side—fourteen of their guns dismounted—Nansouty arrived with the reserve of Buonaparte's cavalry—their own had been removed by the unsuccessful manœuvre in the morning: it became, in short, indispensably necessary to retreat. The movement was made upon Laon, where Blucher had previously resolved to concentrate his forces, and it was done with such courage, steadiness, and skill, that neither a gun nor waggon was lost, and not more than 50 prisoners were left in the enemy's possession. It was in vain that Buonaparte redoubled his activity, and attempted every mode of disconcerting the retreat. Even a general charge of cavalry, so frequently decisive of the day when victory requires to be completed, totally failed upon this occasion. The Russians concentrated themselves with the rest of the Silesian army upon the position of Laon, yet more formidable than that from which they had been forced, and the French retained, as their only trophy or advantage, unmolested possession of the field of battle. It was in vain, therefore, that Buonaparte in his bulletins announced the battle of Craonne as a decisive victory. The loss, which amounted to about 2,000 men, was equal on both sides; but Napoleon could least sustain it, and he was now no longer in a situation to pay a bloody price for barren laurels. It is said he himself was sensible of this, and exclaimed after the action,—"I see well this war is a bottomless abyss—but I will be the last whom it shall devour."

March 5.

In the course of the same day, and to complete their measures of concentration, the Russians evacuated Soissons, and united themselves with the rest of the army of Blucher, in the superb position of Laon. That ancient town is situated upon a sort of table-land, or sudden elevation, which slopes very abruptly on a large plain. The ridge is occupied by the buildings of the town, by an old castle, the palace of the ancient kings of France, and by several windmills. The face of the declivity is every where steep, shelving, and almost precipitous; it is generally covered with vineyards. The plain beneath is about a league in breadth. The division of Bulow, which formed the centre of the Silesian army, occupied the town and ridge of the hill on which it is situated. The rest of the army was posted on the plain beneath, the left wing, composed of Prussian troops, extending as far as the village of Athies, and the right, formed of Russians, resting upon the hills between Thiers and Lanenville. Thus the wings disposed upon the right and left of Laon, and fronting to Soissons, could be succoured when need was from the centre, which occupied Laon and its height, as a sort of citadel between them. The numerous and powerful cavalry of the army were kept in reserve in the rear. It was in this position,—one of the best that could be chosen, since it could scarcely be turned on any side without affording great advan-

tage to the defendants,—that Buonaparte resolved to attack the army of Silesia, which, in the language of Sir Hudson Lowe, had been his particular object of disquietude during the space of forty-two days, in the course of which they had been constantly either marching or fighting, scarce two days having elapsed without a serious engagement either in front or rear. To all the activity and talent of Buonaparte, Blucher opposed equal valour, equal obstinacy, and a degree of zeal, and even inveteracy, in prosecution of hostilities, which rendered any advantages gained over him both dear-bought and fruitless. He was intimidated by no reverses, disconcerted by no dashing manœuvres. If compelled to retreat in the evening, the morning found Blucher ready to become the assailant. He pretended to no fine system of tactics, and regulated himself by none of the pedantry of the Aulic Council. He made war like one of our old English admirals, whose only principle of science it was, to find the enemy and fight him. The movements of his army were generally directed by his quarter-master-general, Gneisenau, a man of great military genius and extensive scientific endowments, under whose direction the army of Silesia executed some masterly manœuvres; but it was to the veteran Blucher himself, whose defeats were often more fatal to Buonaparte than the victories gained over him by more timid opponents, that the Prussian soldiery looked for their example in enduring hardships, loss, and privations, and devoting life itself, cheerfully and unhesitatingly, to the continuance of the holy warfare against France. He seemed to take the field with a sensation of personal hatred against the ruler of the French, and with the determination to maintain the contest, till one or both should be utterly destroyed. The peevish expressions of Buonaparte, in his bulletins, are Blucher's best eulogium; and, it is said, the following exclamation once burst from him in the vulgar impatience of his enmity:—"That drunken old Hussar!—I would rather fight ten regular generals; for the day after I have totally defeated him, I am sure to find him as ready as ever to renew the combat."

Buonaparte, though in general well acquainted with the local character of the towns of France, was incompletely informed concerning that of Laon, and surveyed with surprise the unexpected strength of position which it afforded to the Silesian army. With the readiness of resource which characterized him, he recollected at once an old companion at the military school, Mons. Bussy de Bellay, who lived retired in that neighbourhood. He sent for him, and the two school-companions met for the first time probably since their separation; the one an emperor, at the head of an army victorious in the late battle of Craonne, the other a retired and private individual, of whose talents and local information that potentate stood in need, and who now therefore deigned to recall to mind his existence. Mons. de Bellay gave the information required of him. "I make you my aid-de-camp," said Napoleon. Bellay was silent, and looked down—"And a colonel," continued the ruler of France. Bellay pleaded the state of health of his mother, and her retired habits. "She must come to Paris," said Napoleon; "I assign you thirty thousand francs of appointment, twenty thousand as a compliment, and five hundred Louis for your appointments."—We preserve this sketch, taken from a historian of credit, as it serves to show how directly Buonaparte could go to the point, when his interest rendered it necessary to gain the services of an individual. We have few instances of his do-

ing good, or of his conferring benefits gratuitously, which cannot be traced to the desire of popularity, or some similar interested motive. But he was never known to spare flattery or largess, when either was necessary to draw into his service those persons for whose talents he had occasion. With an address which resembled instinct, he contrived to discover and appropriate them to his purposes; and had his wayward temper been as well fitted to retain the affections of men, as his judgment knew to distinguish and secure them, his fate might perhaps have been less precipitate.—We return reluctantly from traits of character to the prosecution of our unceasing military details.

March 9. At the earliest dawn of day, and availing himself of a thick mist, Napoleon advanced his columns of attack to the very bottom of the eminence on which Laon is situated, possessed himself of the hamlets, called Semilly and Ardon, and endeavoured to push for the town of Laon itself. His progress was checked by a heavy fire from the ramparts of the town, the terraces of the windmills, and the old castle. The mist, disturbed by the fire of both parties, rose like a curtain, and showed Blucher the French arrayed in full force behind the villages which they had occupied, and supported by large reserves of infantry and artillery, posted on the road from Soissons by which they had advanced, and by a strong battery established advantageously behind the village of Semilly. He instantly ordered his numerous cavalry to attempt to turn the flank of the attacking enemy, ordered his artillery into line, and pushed down two battalions of Yagers to recover the villages of Semilly and Ardon. These stood a charge of the French cavalry, and advanced to check the progress of their attacking columns, and give time for the cavalry to come upon their flank and rear. The shelving steepness of the ground gave at once impulse to the allied columns in their descent, and afforded advantageous positions for the guns. Woronzow drove the French from Semilly, and Ardon was carried by the Prussians about the same time. Thus effectually checked, Buonaparte seemed to shrink from the attack which he had meditated in front of the position of Laon, and retreated, not without loss. But in the meanwhile he had gradually strengthened his right wing, so that, advancing by the road leading from Rheims to Laon, they might turn the left flank of Blucher's position. To do this effectually, it was necessary to become master of the little village of Athies, which, like Semilly and Ardon, is situated under the declivity of the heights of Laon, and was the key of the Prussian's position on the left. Marmont made a desperate attempt to carry the village, and Prince William of Prussia hastened to defend it. While the attacking column was in the act of giving way, the manœuvre which had been meditated by the Field-Marshal in the previous battle of Craonne, and had failed, was now successfully executed. A mass of cavalry, who, detached from the rear of the Silesian army, had, by a circuit, gained that of Marmont, made a *Houra* (so the Cossacks call a charge,) upon his reserves and his artillery, at the moment that the French were most hotly engaged in front, and when the reserve, in full security, had begun to light their fires for the bivouack of the evening. The assailants were completely successful, possessing themselves of thirty pieces of cannon, and confounding the whole right wing of the enemy. When Marmont, embarrassed by this disaster, endeavoured to withdraw from the attack in which he was engaged at Athies, with a view to extricate

his reserves and restore order, his opponent, Prince William, assaulted him in his turn, routed and pursued him, carried all his guns, dispersed his battalions, made great slaughter, and took many prisoners. The defeat of the French on this point was complete, and their retreat was a rout. A similar attempt had been made by the French on the right wing of the Silesian army, a point on which their failure amounted only to a repulse, but it was a severe one. Night separated the combatants.

Any general, excepting Buonaparte, would probably have desisted from the attack of so strong a position after such serious loss. But whether it was the natural obstinacy of his disposition, or whether he feared the moral effect which a retreat might produce upon his army, the capital, and the French nation in general, he renewed his desperate attempt upon the succeeding day.

March 10.

Without troubling himself to protect the fugitives of his right wing, who, still pursued along the road to Rheims by the corps of York, Kleist, and Sacken, suffered greatly in their flight, he made another attempt upon the position of Laon, and on Blucher's right, by attacking the village of Clacy, which, with a wood in its vicinity, was taken and retaken repeatedly during the course of the day, remaining at last in possession of the allies. As evening fell, the French made a final assault, with a body of sharp-shooters, on the village of Semilly, which had been the scene of conflict in the earlier part of the preceding day. They were repulsed by two battalions of Bulow's division, and Napoleon relinquished all further attempts against the Silesian army. He accomplished his retreat indeed without molestation, and established his numerous line of watch-fires in sight of Laon, as if he had meant to bivouack there; but this was only a stratagem, for early in the night he retreated to Chavignon, on the road to Soissons, without pursuit or annoyance. He left behind him, however, three or four thousand prisoners, much arms, ammunition, and baggage, and a field heaped with his slaughtered soldiers. His bulletin announced that the position of Laon was found impregnable. He retreated toward the Aisne, and established himself at Soissons, evacuated by the allies as already mentioned, after the second defeat which he had personally sustained since the allies entered France, the first being at La Rothiere, upon the Aube.

These operations on the Marne, which had a result so unfavourable for the French, were by no means compensated by any advantages over the grand army. Victor and Oudinot had been intrusted with the difficult duty of masking the separation of Buonaparte with the greater part of his army, and of so conducting themselves as to prevent Prince Schwartzenberg from resuming the offensive, or becoming aware of their diminished numbers. With this view, and to inspire awe into the allied generals, Buonaparte, before his departure, had commanded them to attack and possess themselves of the heights of Bar-sur-l'Aube, where Wrede and Witgenstein held their position. The town of Bar itself, after being taken and retaken repeatedly, was at present in possession of the French, but the allies, with a brigade of Bavarians, still occupied the suburbs. The French generals had little choice, therefore, when in such close contact with the enemy, but that of either making the attack or expecting it. The marshals chose the former alternative, and presented themselves to the encounter with as much boldness as if they had been supported by Buonaparte's whole army; whereas their united divisions cer-

Feb. 27.

tainly did not exceed five-and-twenty thousand men. Their principal strength consisted in some fine cavalry regiments lately withdrawn from Spain. They at first partly succeeded, from the very audacity of the attempt: they gained the heights of Arsonval and the wood of Levigny, part of the chain of wooded eminences commanding the valley in which Bar-sur-l'Aube is situated; but as they struggled to gain the ridge of Vernonfait, which formed the centre of the position of the allies, the line of defence was gradually supported and strengthened upon that point by the columns of reserve which Prince Schwartzenberg had directed from Colombey. The Russian artillery were placed in line. One large body of cavalry, commanded by General Pahlen, manœuvred to gain the rear of the French columns, whose inferiority of numbers was now visible. Another mass, composed chiefly of cuirassiers, charged in front that part of the French infantry which had obtained a momentary footing upon the heights of Vernonfait, and at once broke and dispersed them. The veteran cavalry of the Spanish army advanced to cover the retreat of the discomfited infantry with the most devoted courage. It availed nothing; they were dispersed by a fire of grape from the Russian artillery, and two regiments, the 4th and the 16th, were utterly annihilated. The French had not a single gun with which to reply to the incessant thunders that overwhelmed and dispersed them. Prince Schwartzenberg in person led a general attack against the town of Bar-sur-l'Aube, and completed the victory; while such French troops as remained upon the heights of Arsonval, which they had at first gained, were turned on both flanks, and charged and discomfited in their retreat by the cavalry of Pahlen, who had been detached to the rear for that purpose. The French suffered great loss in this ill-advised engagement, and retreated in confusion on the village of Vandœuvres, which is about half way between Bar-sur-l'Aube and Troyes. Prince Schwartzenberg instantly crossed the Aube; thus at once menacing Troyes, which was in front, and threatening the left flank of the corps of Marshal Macdonald, which, stationed higher upon the Aube to defend the line of that river, was exposed to be turned in consequence of the defeat of Mortier and Marmont, and their corresponding divisions. This danger was increased when the bridge of Silvarouvre, another pass on the Aube, was carried by the allies with the bayonet; so that, attacked at once in front and flank, and menaced in the rear, Macdonald was forced to abandon his strong position at La Ferté-sur-Aube, and it required all the military skill of that celebrated tactician to effect a disordered retreat, first to Bar-sur-Seine, and from thence upon Troyes, harassed as he was on the march by the superior cavalry of the allies.

In the meanwhile, Prince Schwartzenberg followed up his success at Bar-sur-Aube, by driving before him, with much loss of every kind, the shattered remains of the French army which had been there engaged, and which with difficulty formed a junction at Troyes with the retreating forces of Macdonald. But it was impossible to attempt the defence of the capital of Champagne, for the Austrians had obtained possession of the bridges at Bar-sur-Seine and at La Guillottiere, where the French suffered much loss. It was now in the power of the allies to invest the town on both sides, and to inclose within it the only considerable body of French who remained to cover Paris

on the south-eastern direction. The marshals, therefore, evacuated the town, which by convention they were permitted to do unmolested; left the streets barricaded to impede the passage of the pursuers, and led out their disheartened soldiers to continue their retreat upon the great Paris road. They were indebted to a thick mist for escaping much damage from the light cavalry and Cossacks of the grand army, who soon appeared in their rear, cutting down stragglers, making prisoners, and destroying or seizing whatever the French were compelled to abandon. Thus the fortune of war restored to the allies the town of Troyes, where the sovereigns again took up their head-quarters, and all the tract of country which Buonaparte had regained by his victory at Montereau. Here the grand army suspended its offensive operations, ignorant of the events of the contest between Napoleon and Blucher, and desirous of re-establishing their communication with the latter. For this purpose the Hettman Platow, with his Cossacks, was detached to the right to occupy Arcis-sur-Aube and Sezanne; thus extending, by means of those active children of the desart, the outposts and reconnoissances of the grand army toward the quarter where the Silesian army was most likely to be heard of. The whole country between the Seine and the Marne was soon scoured by these indefatigable partizans; and all that lies upon the rivers Yonne and Aube must be considered as in full possession of the allies. These were cold news to reach Buonaparte, already disconcerted by his repulse and the discomfiture of his right wing at Laon. All ray of hope, whether by a general or Austrian peace, was now about to vanish from his horizon. And here we must resume and conclude the history of the treaty of Chatillon.

March 3.

When the allies, after a series of disadvantageous actions, had retreated from Troyes, and, according to Buonaparte's representation, were about to evacuate France and dissolve their league, they only employed themselves in knitting their union more closely together, and providing more powerful means to accomplish its great object—the demolition of the power of France. A new treaty was entered into, whereby Austria, Russia, England, and Prussia, entered into a league offensive and defensive, to continue for 20 years; bound themselves to enter into no separate treaty with the enemy; and, in order to ensure the active prosecution of the war until it should be terminated by a general peace, each of the contracting powers agreed to keep on foot an army of 150,000 men, exclusive of garrisons, with an option to Britain to subsidize other troops in place of her own, and an agreement on her part to supply five millions sterling, to be divided among the other powers for the expences of the war. It is obvious that these manly and energetic measures were connected with the spirit which the operations of the grand army now began to exhibit. The treaty was signed the 1st March, and the offensive movements of Prince Schwartzenberg had commenced two days before. It was therefore clear that the eyes of Austria were at length open to the danger of protracting negociations with Buonaparte, of which he seemed only willing to avail himself in the moment of reverse; and that, this great member of the confederacy being determined to stand and fall with the other allied powers, the term assigned to him for producing a definitive statement of the terms on which he would consent to make peace, was not likely to be greatly extended. The 10th of March, which was the day assigned for this purpose, passed without Caulaincourt having it in his power to produce the

ultimatum of Buonaparte. The emperor's military operations were stated as the apology, and were probably the real one, since the nature of the terms which he had to propose would in all likelihood depend upon the good or ill success of his enterprizes upon the Marne. His minister, therefore, on the day appointed, only produced a few detached proposals, each of which was capable of giving rise to prolonged discussion. A short delay of five days was allowed, at the request of the French plenipotentiary, who doubtless expected to hear in the interim of some decisive victory gained by his master, that might give weight to the scheme of pacification which he meant to propose. It was perhaps hopes of the same kind which induced Buonaparte himself to follow up the bloody battle of Craonne by his ineffectual attempt on Blucher's position at Laon. It is said that Prince Winceslaus of Lichtenstein was during this brief interval again dispatched to him by the Austrian cabinet, as a special envoy, for the purpose of conjuring him to accommodate his *ultimatum* to the articles settled as the basis of the conferences, and informing him that otherwise the Emperor Francis would lay aside those family considerations which had hitherto prevented him from acceding to the dispositions of the other allied powers in favour of the dynasty of Bourbon. It is added, that Buonaparte seemed at first silenced and astounded by this intimation; but, immediately recovering himself, treated it as a vain threat held out to intimidate him, and said it would be most for the interest of Austria to join in procuring him a peace on his own terms, since otherwise he might again be forced to cross the Rhine. The Austrian prince retired without reply; and from that moment, it has been supposed, the emperor resigned his son-in-law, without further effort in his favour, to the consequences of his own ill-timed obstinacy. The *ultimatum* which Caulaincourt at length laid before the congress at Chatillon was too inconsistent with the articles adopted by all parties as the basis of the conference to be a moment listened to. He demanded the whole line of the Rhine: He demanded great part of that of the Waal, and the fortress of Nimeguen, which must have rendered the independence of Holland purely nominal: He required Italy, and even Venice, for Eugene Beauharnois, although this important article was not only in absolute contradiction to the basis of the treaty, but peculiarly offensive and injurious to Austria, whom it was so much his interest to conciliate. The possession of Italy embraced, of course, that of Switzerland, either directly or by influence; so that in future wars Austria would lie open to the incursions of France along her whole frontier, and, while concluding a victorious treaty upon French ground, would have been placed in a worse situation than by that which Buonaparte himself dictated to her at Campo Formio! There were stipulations besides for indemnities to Jerome, the phantom-king of Westphalia; to Louis, grand duke of Berg; and to Eugene, in compensation of his alleged rights on the grand duchy of Frankfort. Nay, as if determined to shew that nothing which he had ever done, even though *un*done by himself, should now be considered as null, without exacting compensation at the expence of the rest of Europe, Buonaparte demanded an indemnity for his brother Joseph, not indeed for the crown of Spain, but for that very throne of Naples from which he had himself displaced him in order to make room for Murat! The assembled congress

March 15.

received this imperious communication with equal surprise and displeasure. *March* 19. They instantly declared the congress dissolved; and thus terminated the fears of many, who considered Europe as in greater danger from any treaty that could be made with Buonaparte, than from the progress of his arms against the allies. Something of the littleness of mind which stoops to petty and trifling acts of vindictive spleen was visible on this occasion. The peasants in the neighbourhood were encouraged to attack and insult the representatives of the allied powers, and to plunder their baggage,—aggressions on the law of nations not perhaps emanating from Napoleon individually, but partaking of the character of his government, which was never bound, in any instance, by any law whatever.

All hope of pacification being now over, the war assumed a sterner and more inexorable character. Each party sent forth manifestoes. That of Buonaparte encouraged the people to rise in every direction, and by all means in their power to cut off the supplies and communications of the invading armies, which he stated had entered France to overrun, plunder, and finally divide her fertile provinces. All mayors and other functionaries who should dissuade or discourage the people from those efforts of national defence, were declared guilty of high-treason.—The manifestoes of Schwartzenberg and Blucher retorted on Buonaparte the charge of being an obstacle to peace; disowned any purpose of conquering or appropriating the country of France; declared they were only in arms for procuring the peace and the repose of Europe; and, finally, denounced the utmost severity of military execution against such towns or villages as should listen to the exhortations of Napoleon. It is certain that Buonaparte now placed his hopes in rendering the war national, and committing the people of France, by engaging them in active hostilities with the allies, who still lay under disadvantages, arising from their having adopted no cause or interest, properly French, to oppose to that of Napoleon. To avail himself to the utmost of the advantage which he owed to the deference of the allies to Austria, and to Austria's delicacy towards him, Napoleon anxiously circulated through France, and especially among the lower orders, the most exaggerated rumours concerning the evil intentions of the allied powers, and the horrors committed by their armies. The Cossacks were particularly stigmatized, as a sort of Asiatic ogres, who spared nothing in their rage, lust, and rapine; but, wherever they appeared, slaughtered the men, violated the women, and devoured the children. Strange as it may seem, the *last* charge was actually made and believed! The others were equally exaggerated. We had opportunities of particular enquiry, and found the reputation of the Cossacks, amongst those who had been visited by them, was on the whole rather better than that of other light troops, and their behaviour much less atrocious than that of the French soldiers themselves, who left everywhere the most striking marks, that in the country which is the scene of military operations, a native army may be more cruel than that of the enemy. The Cossacks were more distinguished by love of plunder than by violence towards either sex, and particularly remarked for their extravagant passion for strong liquors, of which they consumed great quantities ere they became inebriated. The terror which they excited spread very wide in proportion to their numbers, from the extraordinary facility which they possess of performing long and concealed marches, in small detached bodies, through woods and ravines, eluding dis-

covery until, suddenly emerging from the deserts which they had threaded in silence and obscurity, they appeared in places where they were least expected, announced themselves as the advanced guard of thousands, imposed contributions, gathered plunder, dispersed the assemblies of conscripts and recruits, and often carried off functionaries, guns, and baggage, or plundered and destroyed magazines of ammunition or provisions. It was to meet this sort of partizan-war that Napoleon endeavoured to excite the mountaineers of the Voges, and the peasants of the other districts in the rear of the allies, to form free corps among themselves, cut off the patroles and detached parties, break down bridges, barricade roads, occupy defiles, and by all the methods of irregular war to infest the communications of the invaders. Napoleon had even formed a plan of supporting these insurrections, by a regular force to be assembled in the rear of the allies. For this purpose, secret agents were dispatched to endeavour to penetrate into the strong places which were occupied by French garrisons on the Rhine, and blockaded by the allies. They carried instructions to the various commandants of these fortresses, concealed in the handles of their knives, in their canes, or in the collars of the dogs which followed them, commanding these officers to make strong detachments from their garrisons, and assigning them places of rendezvous, so that at once and unexpectedly a considerable French army might have taken the field in the eastern departments of Lorraine and Franche Compté. But the scheme totally failed, from the strictness and numerous precautions with which the allies enforced the blockade. Several of the emissaries, who persisted in attempting to penetrate to the invested fortresses for the execution of their perilous commission, incurred its penalty in being detected and hanged as spies. But partial insurrections took place in some departments, where the peasants, worn out and driven to despair by continued requisitions, and all the distresses incident to an invaded country, took up arms, and adopted measures of resistance, which produced no effect but misery and bloodshed on both sides. —We return to the more important events of the regular war.

After the battle of Laon, Marshal Blucher appears to have remained inactive for two days, either because his army had suffered much in the preceding battle of Craonne, or because he waited to adjust his movements by those of Schwartzenberg. In the meanwhile, Buonaparte accomplished the last of those brilliant *coups de main* which had so often distinguished his campaigns. Rheims, remarkable for its venerable cathedral, in which the kings of France were formerly crowned and consecrated, had highly offended him by opening her gates to a handful of Cossacks, whom the bulletin charged them with feasting and complimenting during the time of their residence amongst them. He had lost no time in repossessing himself of this town, important from its situation, and imposing from its venerable name, so soon as his forces had come upon the Marne. A body of French troops, under General Corbineau, expelled from Rheims the Cossacks, who had given Buonaparte such offence, and garrisoned the place in their stead. But the French detachment, by which Rheims was retaken, was itself surprised by the Russian corps of General Saint Priest, a French emigrant of talents, the aid-de-camp of the Emperor Alexander, which, united with a division of the Prussian reserve, un-

March 1.

der General Jacow, might amount to 15,000 men. Upon the *March* 12. 12th March they presented themselves before Rheims, forced the town, and made prisoners the whole French detachment and their officers; Corbineau, their general, escaping with difficulty, and followed only by 100 men. Buonaparte, who still had his head-quarters at Soissons, resolved to wipe this stain from his arms, and *March* 13. on the day succeeding the capture suddenly moved towards Rheims with his whole force, excepting one corps left to observe the motions of Blucher from Laon. The Russian general immediately drew out of the town, and formed his corps on the heights in its front. They soon perceived they had to deal with the principal force of Napoleon, from the long columns of infantry, supported by cavalry and artillery, which continued to deploy from the direction of Soissons and Fismes, and take ground as if for a general attack. Buonaparte personally directed the placing of 50 pieces of artillery, and as he superintended his formidable preparations and recollected his quarrel with the town, he is said to have exclaimed with vindictive glee, "Wait but an hour, and the ladies of Rheims will have a fine alarm!" The attack commenced with great fury, and was most gallantly sustained. The Count de Saint Priest, in particular, set a brilliant example to his soldiers, and fought in the van of the battle. The allies were exposed at once to the fire of grape and round shot from 50 pieces of artillery in front, and to a flank attack from the cavalry. In the very thick of the action, and as the French had commenced their flank movement, the Count de Saint Priest was struck from his horse, dangerously wounded by a cannon-ball. Such an accident at such a moment was decisive of the day. The Russian cavalry, who protected the flank of the position, were overpowered by those of the enemy, and the whole corps, pressed at once on the centre and the flanks, was compelled to make a hasty retreat through the town of Rheims. A small detachment left in the town continued to keep the enemy at bay until night-fall, and even secured by capitulation an unmolested retreat; but the French cavalry, making a circuit, fell upon the retreating columns of the main body, and cut off one of them. Eight cannons, with some hundred prisoners, were the trophies of this day, which was one of the last triumphs of Napoleon. He blazoned it forth in his bulletin with as much splendour as exaggeration could give, and, fond of insinuating that a sort of fatality attended his enemies, he forgot not to assure the Parisian public that it was a bullet from the same cannon which had slain Moreau which had now mortally wounded Saint Priest, another emigrant or exile, who had led the barbarians of the desert to ravage the fertile provinces of France. At Rheims Buonaparte paused for three days, *March* 14, 15, 16. probably for the purpose of attending the final termination of the negociation at Chatillon. His army was divided upon the three great roads which centre in that town, from Laon, Bery-le-Bac, and Chalons-sur-Marne, so that it seemed uncertain what would be his next line of operations. On the evening of the 15th, after a general review of his forces, he moved a large column, under Ney, to occupy Chalons-sur-Marne, which the marshal found evacuated by the enemy. He was followed by Napoleon, at the head of his guards, who was received with jubilee and illuminations in a town from which

his approach had driven those enemies who had occupied Chalons for forty days.

In Chalons he received intelligence that the grand army, whose offensive operations had been probably suspended to wait the issue of the negociations, was now again in advance, had occupied Sens, established its head-quarters at Pont-sur-Seine, and threatened to cross the Seine there, as well as at Montereau and Nogent, and attack at all points the feeble line maintained by Marshals Macdonald, Victor, and Oudinot, on the left bank. Thus Napoleon was once more placed between two hostile armies, one of which was certain to advance upon Paris should he resume hostilities against the other. The news of the occupation of Rheims had, however, checked the advance of Prince Schwartzenberg, who saw in these movements something so alarming, that, withdrawing his head-quarters to Arcis-sur-Aube, and recalling such of his forces as had already crossed the Seine, he seemed rather to meditate making head against Buonaparte, and approximating himself to the army of Silesia, than pursuing his march upon Paris. The news that Chalons was occupied by the French in force made also a deep impression on the Austrian generals. Their tactics being rigidly those of the old school of war, they esteemed their army turned whenever a French division occupied such a post as interposed betwixt them and their allies. This indeed is in one sense true; but it is equally true, that every division so interposed is itself liable to be turned, if the hostile divisions betwixt which it is interposed take combined measures for attacking it. The catching, therefore, too prompt an alarm, or considering the consequences of such a movement as irretrievable, belongs to the pedantry of war, and not to its science. A council of war was held, for the purpose of determining the future motions of the allies; and it is understood that at first the opinion prevailed that it was necessary in all haste to retreat behind the Aube. The Emperor Alexander is believed to have opposed this retrograde movement with great vigour; and we have understood he received no slight support from the short but emphatic declaration of Lord Castlereagh, who, conceiving a retreat behind the Aube to be the preface of one which should only stop behind the Rhine, informed the allied powers that the subsidies from England would cease so soon as measures so fatal to the general cause received their sanction. The allies, therefore, resolved to maintain their offensive position; and, in order to prevent a repetition of the disasters of Montmirail and Montereau, which arose from their occupying too extensive a line by divisions unconnected with each other, it was determined to concentrate the grand army upon Arcis-sur-Aube, and there to give battle to Buonaparte if he chose to accept it, or to move upon Paris if he should refuse it. To this bold measure the allies were now the more disposed, as the information of Messieurs Polignac and other royalists united to assure them that they had a strong party within the walls of that city. In pursuance of this vigorous and decided line of conduct, all the divisions of the grand army received orders to unite themselves upon Arcis, as the pivot and centre of their future operations.

Buonaparte was far from auguring any intention of the Austro-Russians to face him at Arcis, and defend against him the line of the Aube. On the contrary, he concluded they were in full retreat to the eastward, by the main road from Troyes to the Rhine, and expressed himself jocularly as if he had a chance upon that route to

cut off the retreat of his father-in-law, and make him prisoner. With the purpose of disquieting this supposed retreat, by acting on the flank of their columns, Buonaparte moved from Chalons by Episnay, where *March* 17. he was received with exultation. He continued to advance on the following day, driving before him such parties of light cavalry as his advanced posts encountered, still fully convinced in his own mind that the terror of his approach had put the grand army of the allies to full retreat, and that he had every chance to break their line and cut off some of their divisions. Crossing the Aube at Plancey, he moved along the left bank with his cavalry and the corps of Marshal Ney, while the infantry of his guard advanced by corresponding marches along the right bank towards Arcis; his army thus occupying both sides of the river, and being, according to their own military phrase, *a cheval* upon the Aube. He was passing through a sort of defile, of which Arcis is the outlet, and where a succession of bridges, which can only be passed by a few men in front, cross over various marshes, drains, and feeders of the river. The Austro-Russians had evacuated Arcis, and held a strong position behind it, upon the left bank of the Aube, about 20 miles in front of Troyes. Three divisions of Prince Schwartzenberg's army under the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg, maintained the position of Clermont; General Wrede manœuvred in a plain which extends between Arcis and Clermont, and along the bank of the Aube, with a corps composed chiefly of cavalry; and in the rear of the Prince Royal's position at Clermont, the Russian and Prussian guards were drawn up on a strong chain of heights, called Mesnil-la-Comptesse. Napoleon, after his van had passed through Arcis, saw only in the few squadrons of the allied cavalry which caracoled in the plain a feeble body of observation; but when these squadrons were pressed by the French cavalry, under Sebastiani and Excelsman, their numbers suddenly augmented, fresh columns deployed upon the plain, masses of infantry were next discovered, and, finally, a line of 60 pieces of artillery appeared in their support. It was now clear that Buonaparte had unexpectedly come in front of the whole army of the allies, at a time when his own was engaged in passing the succession of bridges already described as forming a defile, of which the town of Arcis is the outlet. It was difficult to bring the French troops up and into line, and impossible to withdraw those who had been inconsiderately engaged. The cavalry of the allies, having already repulsed those of the French, were forcing them back upon Arcis; and the consequences of their carrying the town, by entering along with them in close pursuit, must have been fatal to the main body and rear guard, still engaged and embarrassed in the pass. Napoleon saw the necessity of personal exertion: He drew his sword, threw himself among the fugitives, called on them to remember their honour and their victories, rallied them, and checked the enemy by an impetuous charge, in which he was personally engaged and in danger from the stroke of a Cossack's lance, which was parried by his aid-de-camp Girardin. The combat was furiously maintained on both sides. Buonaparte formed his infantry, as it emerged from the defile and traversed the town, into solid squares, which, drawn up under the walls of Arcis, suffered dreadfully from the incessant cannonade of the allies, but prevented by their firm appearance the enemy from possessing themselves of the gorge of

the pass. At length the Imperial Guards, advancing upon the right bank of the Aube, and crossing the bridge at Arcis to their master's assistance, relieved him from the imminent danger of seeing the town carried and his retreat cut off. The battle, however, still continued to rage fiercely. Buonaparte was obliged to make use of his own pistols; all his staff fought around him sword-in-hand, and he had a horse shot under him:—It would perhaps have been happy for his reputation had the rider received the bullet. When night approached, the allies desisted from the action; and as more of their scattered divisions had now arrived upon the point of concentration, Prince Schwartzenberg established his whole army in position upon the heights of Mesnil-la-Comptesse, behind Clermont. Thus terminated, with little effect besides mutual slaughter, the battle of Arcis-sur-Aube, one of the few in which Buonaparte is known to have exposed his person in the thick of the contest; which we observe, not as adopting the vulgar idea that ascribes to him personal cowardice, of which Lodi as well as Arcis furnished a sufficient confutation; but because a disposition to self-preservation, where there was no powerful motive to counteract it, seems to have made a part of the selfish and egotistical system on which he constantly acted. Notwithstanding his personal gallantry, the moral effect of this battle of Arcis-sur-Aube was unfavourable to Buonaparte, whose rash advance incurred a tremendous risk, from which he had been only extricated at the expence of slaughter, which his ranks could ill spare. It remained to be seen whether so active a military genius could devise any means of repairing this false step.

March 21. Early on the next morning, Napoleon reconnoitred the enemy in person, and found them strongly posted on the heights commanding the road between Arcis and Troyes. He had by this time been joined by the troops under Victor, Oudinot, and Macdonald, reinforced in some measure since their losses at Bar-sur-Aube, and by a numerous body of veteran cavalry from Spain. Thus strengthened, he appears to have been strongly disposed to hazard a general action under all disadvantages. But the risk that Blucher, driving before him such feeble corps of observation as Buonaparte had left in his front, might arrive in time to take an unpleasant share in the contest, was rendered yet more probable by the opinion he entertained of the caution of the Austrians, who he deemed would not have hazarded such a daring step as a general action, unless assured of co-operation from the Silesian army. Pressed by these apprehensions, Buonaparte relinquished, after considerable hesitation, all purpose of offensive operations at Arcis, and ordered a retreat upon Vitry and St Dizier, in hopes to impede the meditated junction of the grand army with that of Silesia, and to attract the allies to follow him to a greater distance from his capital, where he might have an opportunity of fighting them on a field of his own chusing. The retreat of the French army through the defile on the left bank and across the bridge of Arcis,—for they retreated, as they had advanced, by both banks of the Aube,—was covered by Sebastiani and Oudinot, who sustained with the greatest bravery the repeated assaults made on them by the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg so soon as he beheld Napoleon's main body in retreat. With less loss than could have been anticipated, Buonaparte effected his extrication from the perilous situation in which he was placed. But his army was

disheartened; they had lost honour, many men, and several guns, which were abandoned owing to the impossibility of withdrawing them; and they had seen themselves a second time repulsed, although the emperor was at their head.

Buonaparte passed the night of the 21st at Sommepuix, about 15 miles to the north-east of Arcis, and consequently considerably farther from Paris than the allied army, and next morning continued his march in the same line upon Vitry. The possession of this place was of extreme importance to him, supposing it his object to obstruct the junction between the armies of Schwartzenberg and Blucher. But a Prussian commandant, who held Vitry with a garrison of three or four thousand men, had put it in a good condition of defence, and turned a deaf ear to every summons of surrender, though enforced by the severest menaces. Marshal Ney had his troops drawn out to storm, with a declaration that no quarter would be given; but this was only a measure of intimidation. Napoleon had no time to try the effect of actual violence, because, supposing the stubbornness of the commandant should protract the defence, he must have run the risk, while engaged in the assault of the place, of being attacked either by the grand army from Arcis, or that of Silesia, or possibly by both at once. He therefore was compelled to establish a bridge of rafts across the Marne at Frigincourt, and to pursue his march to St Dizier, removing himself still farther from Paris. In the mean time, the communication between the two invading armies was, by this further march to the eastward, left free and open, and they became at liberty to form a junction between the ruler of France and his capital.

The causes of a movement so unexpected, and contrary to all the usual rules of war, was to be found, partly, in the peculiar temper and habits of Buonaparte, and, partly, in the necessity of his circumstances. He could not disguise from himself, what indeed he had told the French public, that a march, or, as he termed it, a *Hourra* upon Paris, was the principal purpose of the allies. Every movement made in advance, whether by Blucher or Schwartzenberg, had this for its object. But they had uniformly relinquished the undertaking, upon his making any demonstration to prevent it, and therefore he did not suspect them of a resolution so venturous as to move directly upon Paris, leaving the French army unbroken in their rear, to act upon their line of communication with Germany. It is remarked, that those chess-players who deal in the most venturous gambits are least capable of defending themselves when attacked in the same audacious manner; and that, in war, the generals whose usual and favourite tactics are those of advance and attack, have been most frequently surprised by the unexpected adoption of offensive operations on the part of their enemy. Napoleon had been so much accustomed to see his antagonists bend their attention rather to parry blows than to aim them, and was so confident in the dread impressed by his rapidity of movement, his energy of assault, and the terrors of his reputation, that he seems to have entertained little apprehension of the allies adopting a plan of operations which had no reference to his own, and which, instead of attempting to watch or counteract his movements in the rear of their army, should lead them strait forward to take possession of his capital. Besides, the ground to the north of Paris is very strong, the national guard was numerous, the lower part of the population of a military character, and favourable

to his cause. A defence, if resolute, however brief, would have the double effect of damping the ardour of the assailants, and of detaining them before the walls of the capital, until Buonaparte should advance to its relief, and thus place the allies between two fires. It was not to be supposed that the surrender of Paris would be the work of a single day. The unanimous voice of the journals, of the ministers of the police, and of the thousands whose interest was radically and deeply entwisted with that of Buonaparte, assured their master on that point. The movement to the rear, therefore, though removing him from Paris, which it might expose to temporary alarm, could not, in Buonaparte's apprehension, seriously compromise the security of the capital.

But had the risk of this movement been even greater than it appeared, and had the ruler of France thought his enemies more enterprizing, and the Parisians less willing or less able to defend themselves, the necessity of his own situation was such as to drive him upon operations beyond the usual sphere of military precaution, whatever hazards he might encounter by adopting them. His army was diminished by the numerous bloody actions in which he had been engaged for two months and upwards. The towns which he had reconquered from the allies were, so soon as the exigency of his affairs called him elsewhere, again subdued by a numerous and persevering enemy. Harassed by marches and bivouacks, by weather and by watches, by disease and by the sword, not only the "raw materials for battle, the food for artillery," as the new conscripts were contemptuously styled in the army, but the veterans also who had survived the disasters of Russia, Germany, and Spain, fell in thousands, while their loss was thinly and with difficulty supplied from the provinces yet under the authority of Buonaparte, where the resistance of the peasantry, with the incursions of the hostile light troops, and the dissuasive arguments and threats of the royalists, opposed both the conscription and the levy-en-masse. The most valuable reinforcements to his army had of late been derived from the troops withdrawn from the peninsula. But the misfortunes of Soult and of Augereau were likely to impede all future supplies from that quarter, and to throw the whole of the south into the hands of the allies, from the mouth of the Gironde to the course of the Rhone. And although Napoleon had not yet learned the declaration of Bourdeaux, he must nevertheless have been prepared to expect an insurrectionary explosion there and in La Vendee, so soon as Wellington had passed the Gaves. To retreat therefore on Paris, with an army which had so lately been defeated by Blucher at Laon, and worsted by Schwartzenberg at Arcis, and to suffer himself to be inclosed under its walls, or within its circuit, seemed a measure of desperation; and to attempt to prevent the junction of his enemies, or maintain a position between them, without the advantage of possessing some strong point like Vitry, on which to concentrate his forces, seemed an equal act of wilful despair. Buonaparte seems therefore, not from choice, but necessity, to have preferred breaking through the circle of hunters which hemmed him in, trusting to strengthen his army with the garrisons drawn from the frontier fortresses, and with the warlike peasantry of Alsace and Franche Compté, and, thus reinforced, to advance with rapidity on the rear of his enemies, ere they had time to execute, or perhaps to arrange, any

system of offensive operations. The scheme appeared the more hopeful, as he was peremptory in his belief that his march could not fail to draw after him, in pursuit, or observation at least, the grand army of Schwartzenberg; the general maxim, that the war could only be decided where he was present in person, being, as he conceived, as deeply impressed by experience upon his enemies as his soldiers.

It seems also probable, that Napoleon had in view, when he undertook his movement eastward, a chance in his favour, which the critics of his military conduct have not sufficiently estimated. The diversion undertaken in his favour by Augereau, had, in the outset, been successful. That marshal having been recruited by the *elité* of the army of Catalonia, had not only resumed offensive operations, but had compelled the Austrian general, Bubna, to retreat to the gates of Geneva, before the divisions of Marchand and Dessaix. There was therefore nothing extravagant in the hopes which Buonaparte might entertain, that the projected movement to the eastward might enable him to enter into immediate communication with this powerful and unbroken army, the main body of which was then maintaining the line of the Saone, or at least the possession of Lyons and the Lionnois. Some such hopes he probably encouraged so late as the 22d of March, when his movement in Lorraine was resolved upon. For it seems probable that the whole grand allied army, lying in the line of communication, he might not be then fully acquainted with a train of events, which only three days before had reversed his prospects in that quarter. We have already mentioned that, alarmed by the movements of Augereau in their rear, General Bianchi, with ten thousand Austrians, had been detached from the grand army to secure their communications, and to restore the preponderance of their arms in Burgundy. These forces, marching from Troyes to Dijon, had from thence regulated their march by that of a very numerous division of the Austrian reserve, which was advancing into France, led by the Prince of Hesse-Homberg. Thus the allies moved against Augereau in every direction. He advanced from Lyons, however, and attacked Bianchi, near Maçon, with the purpose of maintaining the line of the Soane, and preventing the junction of the hostile armies. *March* 11. But the French marshal was defeated, and compelled to fall back on Lyons, with considerable loss. Bianchi moving on after his victory, formed a junction with the Prince of Hesse-Homberg, who now assumed the chief command. Augereau, who had assembled his forces at Ville-Franche, stood another action, and received another and a bloody defeat. *March* 18. His troops retired in the most disorganized state, and, retreating in haste, and not without constant loss, along the Rhine, Augereau could hardly find the means of pausing to maintain the line of the Isere, and cover Grenoble and Dauphiné. Marchand and Dessaix were in all haste recalled from the borders of Switzerland, to join the marshal in his new position. Lyons surrendered to the Prince of Hesse-Homberg, and saw with fear and astonishment, after all that had been told of the losses of the allies, an untouched army of 60,000 men, defile through her streets. This large force was now interposed between Buonaparte and Augereau, and so ended all hope of co-operation with the army of the south. We must nevertheless consider that Buonaparte was probably still ignorant of Auge-

reau's defeat, and therefore, though his movement on Saint Dizier was out of the rules of ordinary war, and though it enabled the allies to conceive and execute the daring scheme which put an end to the campaign, yet it was by no means hopeless in its outset; or, we would rather say, was one of the few alternatives which the crisis of his affairs left to Buonaparte, and which, judging from the previous vacillation and cautious timidity displayed in the councils of the allies, he had no reason to apprehend would have given rise to the consequences that actually followed.

CHAPTER XII.

The allied Armies unite, and determine to march on Paris.—Junction of the Grand Army with that of Silesia.—Marmont and Mortier are intercepted in their March to join Buonaparte, and driven back with great Loss.—A large French Convoy is cut off near La Fere Champenoise.—Continued Retreat of Mortier and Marmont, and their Losses.—Defeat of the French near Ferté la Jouarre.—The French evacuate Meaux, and blow up the Magazine.—The Allies come in Sight of Paris.—Description of the Heights of Belleville, Romainville, and Montmartre.—Line of Defence adopted there.—Consternation in Paris.—Exertions of the Police to conceal or disguise the Truth.—Review of the Garrison and National Guards of Paris.—Order of Assault adopted by the Allies.—Battle of Paris.—Interview of Captain Peyre with the Emperor Alexander.—Joseph flies from Paris.—An Armistice is proposed and granted.—Terms of Capitulation are adjusted.—The allied Troops bivouack on the Heights without the City.

THE allied generals, no longer embarrassed by discrepancy in their councils, or by the delusive dependence of a treaty with an enemy whom one of the most powerful members of the confederacy had reasons for regarding with favour, had now their minds, as well as their powerful means, bent on the same end and plan—the dethronement, namely, of Buonaparte, to be effected by possessing themselves of his capital.

Schwartzenberg, the better to mask his real purpose of an united movement on Paris, affected at first to pursue the march of Buonaparte, and established his head-quarters at Vitry, *March* 23. three days after it had been summoned by Napoleon, on his march to St Dizier. But the chief reason of this movement was to accomplish his junction with Blucher, who, with the greater part of his army, had moved from Laon to Chalons. In order to complete his dispositions, and to secure his rear, the Austrian general established a division of troops on the Aube, under command of General Ducca, who was specially charged with protecting the baggage of the army, insuring their communications with Germany and with the allied army of the south, and in particular with guarding the person of the Emperor Francis, who probably did not judge it delicate to accompany the main body in their advance upon the capital of France, which was at least nominally governed by his daughter, under the title of Empress Regent. If pressed by any sudden movement of Buonaparte, General Ducca was

directed to retreat on the army of the south, which, numerous, victorious, and in triumphant possession of Lyons, was in full capacity to reinforce him, and protect the person of the emperor. This important arrangement being made, another was adopted equally necessary to deceive and observe Napoleon. Ten thousand cavalry were selected, under the enterprizing generals, Winzengerode and Czernicheff, who, with fifty pieces of cannon, were dispatched to hang on Buonaparte's march, to obstruct his communications with the country he had left, intercept couriers from Paris, or information respecting the motions of the allied armies, and to present on all occasions such a front as, if possible, might impress him with the belief that their corps formed the van-guard of the whole army of Schwartzenberg. The Russian and Prussian light troops meanwhile scoured the roads, and intercepted, near Sommepuix, a convoy of artillery and ammunition belonging to Napoleon's rear-guard, when 20 pieces of cannon, with a strong escort, fell into their hands. They also cut off several couriers, bringing important dispatches to Napoleon from Paris. One of these was loaded with as heavy tidings as ever were destined to afflict falling greatness. This packet informed Napoleon of the descent of the English in Italy; of the entry of the Austrians into Lyons, and the critical state of Augereau; of the declaration of Bourdeaux in favour of Louis; of the demonstrations of Wellington towards Toulouse; of the disaffected state of the public mind, and the exhausted condition of the national resources. Much of these tidings was new to the allied sovereigns and generals, but it was received by them with very different sensations from those which the intelligence was calculated to inflict upon him for whom it was intended. The information confirmed them in the hardy resolution which they had at length adopted, and nothing remained necessary to its accomplishment but the junction of the two armies, and their maintaining a communication during the proposed advance.

Blucher, so soon as he felt the opposition to his movements diminished by the march of Buonaparte from Chalons to Arcis, had instantly resumed the offensive, and driven the corps of Mortier and Marmont, left to observe his motions, over the Marne. *March* 18. He passed the Aisne near Bery le-Bac, re-possessed himself of Rheims by blowing open the gates and storming the place, and, having gained these successes, moved toward Chalons and Vitry. His course had hitherto been south-eastward, in order to join with Schwartzenberg, but he now received from the King of Prussia the welcome order to turn his march westward, and move straight upon Paris. The grand army adopted the same direction, and thus they moved on in corresponding lines, and in communication with each other.

It was soon experienced, that, by the daring manœuvre of throwing himself, with his principal forces, into the rear of the enemy, Buonaparte had necessarily exposed his own line of communication to be destroyed, his rear divisions to be cut off, and his supplies intercepted; and, in short, had subjected himself to the very evils which he proposed to inflict on the enemy. In his rapid march from Vitry to Saint Dizier, and by the closing and uniting of the enemy's armies behind him, he subjected to the risk of being cut off and destroyed the corps of observation intrusted to Marmont and Mortier, who, retreating over the Marne, when Blucher put himself in motion as above-mentioned, entertained no doubt they would be able to

unite themselves with Napoleon about Vitry, where they conceived he was making a stand, upon his usual plan of interposing between the two invading armies. The presence of these troops was so necessary for the defence of the capital, that it is certainly the most extraordinary part of Buonaparte's conduct, that he had not warned them to retire upon Paris, since he did not unite them with his own army. The consequence was, that on the arrival of Mortier and Marmont in the vicinity of Vitry, where they expected to join Buonaparte, they found themselves unexpectedly in front of the grand army of the allies. The marshals, thus surprised, were compelled to a hasty and disorderly retreat as far as Sezanne, harassed on all sides by the numerous cavalry of the allies, and sustaining very great loss. Thirty pieces of cannon were lost in the retreat, much baggage cut off, and many prisoners taken. The cavalry repeatedly charged their rear-guard, and cut down or dispersed whole battalions. Without being actually in a general action, the corps sustained more loss than after many a well-fought day. Indeed, the unexpected and venturous movements on both sides in this part of the campaign, gave rise to events and concurrences which belong rather to the character of romantic narrative, than to the calculated chess-play of modern tactics. The next incident was one of this uncommon and interesting description.

The cavalry of the grand army being engaged in pursuit of the corps of Marmont and Mortier, the infantry defiled towards La Fere Champenoise, which the sovereigns had appointed for head-quarters. They had arrived near that place, when they heard a heavy firing, which seemed to approach directly to the town. In a short time a large column of infantry was perceived marching in close order towards La Fere Champenoise, and defending themselves as they marched, by a fire with musketry and artillery upon several squadrons of cavalry, which hovered upon their rear and flanks, and charged them from time to time. The cavalry were soon recognized to belong to the army of Silesia, and the column of infantry to be French. The Emperor of Russia, who witnessed in person this unexpected scene, immediately ordered a train of artillery, then on the march, to get into line, and interrupt by their fire the farther progress and escape of the enemy.

March 25.

The unfortunate division which thus fell upon Scylla, in endeavouring to avoid Charybdis, was a detached column of 5000 men, escorting from Paris a very large convoy of ammunition and provisions, and other supplies, for Buonaparte's army. The reinforcements, as well as the supplies, were of the utmost conquence to him. Their fate afforded another instance of the danger of the military policy of Napoleon, which, while he moved to the rear of the allies to annoy their line of communication, necessarily exposed his own to a similar risk. The column was commanded by Generals Amey and Pacthod, and they had proceeded without molestation beyond Montmirail, when their march was discovered by Captain Harris, aid-de-camp to Sir Charles Stewart, who chanced to be reconnoitring with a body of Cossacks, and instantly reported the incident to the general. The Prussian Field-Marshal immediately let loose upon them the cavalry of the corps of Kort and Basilischikoff. The French division finding themselves unexpectedly in front of a hostile army, halted, retreated, and by a counter-march threw themselves on the road of La Fere Champenoise, in the neighbour-

hood of which they expected to find the rear-guard of Buonaparte, or the corps of Marmont and Mortier. Instead of this expectation being fulfilled, they fell into the very centre of the grand army, the artillery of which was immediately placed in position to oppose their farther progress, while large detachments of cavalry were dispatched to second those of the Silesian army, already engaged on their flanks. The natural military spirit of the French appeared to great advantage on this occasion. This column consisted entirely of young men, conscripts, or national guards, who had never before been in action; yet, neither the appalling preparations for their destruction, nor the inequality of the contest, nor the astounding surprise of encountering first one and then a second hostile army, where they expected to find friends, could induce them to surrender. They continued their march, firing even upon the officers, who, with flags of truce, advanced to beseech them to capitulate. One fell, who was worthy of a better fate than to die by the hands of his high-minded, though misguided countrymen, while imploring them to consider their own interest and safety. It was Colonel Rappatel, the friend, confidant, and aid-de-camp of Moreau, whom he had followed in exile, and from exile to the German campaigns. He now acted as aid-de-camp to the Emperor Alexander, by whose orders he galloped toward the French column: he was pierced with two balls while he was endeavouring to explain to them the desperate condition in which they stood, and the impossibility that their resistance could be useful or effectual. The artillery of the allies then opened on them, the cavalry charged their broken ranks, forced their way through them, and made great slaughter. The convoy fell into the power of the allies, and the whole escort were killed or made prisoners. Amey and Pacthod, generals of division, five brigadier-generals, 12 guns, nearly 5,000 men, and immense stores of provision, ammunition, and artillery, were the fruits of an affair more resembling, in all its circumstances, a theatrical denouement than an event of regular war.

The shattered divisions of Mortier and Marmont were in the meanwhile closely pursued, on the great road to Meaux and Paris, by the greater part of the allied cavalry of both armies. At Ferté Gauchere they were overtaken as they hastily marched through the village, charged in the flank and rear by the Prussian and Russian cavalry, and so closely pressed that they found it impossible to extricate themselves by the sacrifice of a strong rear-guard of fifteen hundred men, who were made prisoners. Their disastrous retreat was still harassed from Ferté Gauchere to Crecy, where, like a herd of deer, who endeavour, by separation, to divide the attention of the hounds, they parted into two bodies, one retreating upon Meaux, the other on Lagny; but both pursued, attacked, and losing at every mile's march, men, equipage, and cannon. The soldiers, desperate with such continued loss, could with difficulty be kept from disbanding; the artillery-men cut the traces of their guns, and mounted the draught-horses, in order to effect their escape from the clouds of Hussars, Hulans, Pandours, Cossacks, Tartars, and light horse of every denomination, that pounced upon them like hawks, when the slightest opportunity of attack presented itself. From La Fere Champenoise, where their unexpected rencountre with the grand army commenced, to the neighbourhood of Lagny and Meaux, these divisions were computed to have lost 8,000 men and 80 pieces of artillery, besides immense quantities of baggage and ammunition.

And, surrounded as they were by such superior forces, it required no small skill in the generals, as well as steadiness and devotion in the soldiers, to prevent a retreat so calamitous from degenerating into a flight yet more disastrous and irremediable. The unexpected advance of the allies gave them an opportunity of surprising other detached corps of the enemy. General Woronzow made prisoners near Ferté-sous-Jouarre, 2,000 men, whom he surrounded in their bivouack; and similar advantages were every where gained by the heads of the advancing columns. The grand army moved on to cross the Marne at Lagny, and that of Silesia directed itself upon Ferté-sous-Jouarre, thus moving upon two rays of a circle, and gradually approaching to Paris, the common centre, beneath whose walls they expected to form a junction. Their march was pressed with such expedition, *March* 27. that, when the grand army fixed its head-quarters at Collomiers, they had marched in three days upwards of seventy English miles.

A faint effort was made by a division of about 10,000 national guards, to stop a column of the army of Silesia, near Ferté la Jouarre, but they were dispersed by a charge of cavalry, headed by General Horne, who, dashing at the head of his cuirassiers into the very centre of the French mass of infantry, made prisoner with his own hand the general who commanded them. A similar attempt to defend or destroy the bridge over the Marne at Triport was also ineffectual; and the army of Silesia, having effected the passage of that river, pressed hard upon Meaux. The town was evacuated at their approach, by a part of the routed corps of Mortier, who had taken some repose there. These men destroyed the bridge over the Marne, which a double of the river renders it necessary again to cross at that place, and blew up, without any warning to the inhabitants, a very large magazine of gunpowder, shattering the buildings with an explosion like that of an earthquake, and doing considerable damage to the fine old abbey. As gun-powder can always be rendered unserviceable to an enemy, where there is a river near the magazine, the measure of blowing it up either expressed the most wanton recklessness for the safety of the town and its inhabitants, or the extreme confusion and haste of the retreating troops. On the evening of this day the vanguard of the Silesian army pushed on as far as Claye, dislodging the remnants of Marmont and Mortier's divisions from a position there, after a sharp action. These marshals, whose discouraged and broken troops formed nevertheless the only regular forces, excepting the garrison of Paris, that could be reckoned upon for the defence of the capital, were now driven almost within its precincts. They retired on every point, in order to concentrate themselves on the strong chain of heights which cover Paris on the north-east.

The allied armies meanwhile moved forward on *March* 29. Paris, having left Generals Wrede and Sacken upon the Marne, with a rear-guard of 30,000 men, destined to secure the line of that river, and to cover their main body from any sudden attack by Buonaparte, who, it was to be presumed, would press after them so soon as he heard of the danger of his capital. The rest of their army moved in columns along the three grand routes of Meaux, Lagny, and Soissons, thus threatening Paris along all its north-eastern quarter. The military sovereigns and their victorious armies were now in sight of that metropolis, whose ruler and his soldiers had so often and

so long lorded it in theirs; of that Paris, which, unsatisfied with her high rank among the cities of Europe, had fomented constant war until all should be subjugated to her empire; of that proud city who boasted herself the first in arms and in science, the mistress and example of the civilized world, the depositary of all that is wonderful in the fine arts, and the dictatress as well of taste as of law to continental Europe. The heights which environ the city on the eastern side, rise abruptly from an extensive plain, and form a steep and narrow ridge, which sinks again as suddenly upon the eastern quarter of the town, which it seems to screen as with a natural bulwark. The line of defence which they afford is extremely strong. The southern extremity of the ridge which rests upon the wood of Vincennes, extending southward to the banks of the river Marne, is called the heights of Belville and Romainville, taking its name from two delightful villages which occupy it, Belville being nearest, and Romainville most distant from Paris. The heights are covered with romantic groves, and decorated by many pleasant villas, with gardens, orchards, vineyards, and plantations. These, which in peaceful times are a favourite resort of the gay Parisians, on their parties of pleasure, were now to be occupied by other guests, and for far different purposes. In advance of these heights, and protected by them, is the village of Pantin, situated on the great road from Bondy. To the left of Romainville, and more in front of Belville, is a projecting eminence, termed the Butte de Saint Chaumont. The ridge there sinks and admits a half-finished aqueduct, called the Canal de l' Ourcq. The ground then again rises into the bold and steep eminence, called Montmartyr, from being the supposed place of the martyrdom of St Denis, the patron of France. From the declivity of this steep hill is a level plain, extending to the river Seine, through which runs the principal northern approach to Paris from the large village of Saint Denis. The most formidable preparations had been made for maintaining this strong line of defence, behind which the city lay sheltered. The extreme right of the French forces occupied the wood of Vincennes, and the village of Charenton upon the Marne, and was supported by the troops stationed on the heights of Belleville, Romainville, and in the Butte de Chaumont, which composed the right wing. Their centre occupied the line formed by the half-finished canal de l' Ourcq, was defended by the village of La Villette, and a strong redoubt on the farm of Rouvroi, mounted with eighteen heavy guns, and by the embankments of the canal, and still farther protected by a powerful artillery planted in the rear, on the heights of Montmartre. The left wing was thrown back from the village called Monçeaux, near the north-western extremity of the heights, and prolonged itself to that of Neuilly, on the Seine, which was strongly occupied by the extreme left of their army. Thus, with the right extremity of the army resting upon the river Marne, and the left upon the Seine, the French occupied a defensive semi-circular line, which could not be turned, the greater part of which was posted on heights of uncommon steepness, and the whole defended by 200 pieces of cannon, placed with the utmost science and judgment. It seemed impossible that the allies should have leisure or inclination to cross the rivers Seine or Marne, and to attack Paris upon the southern and undefended quarter. This manœuvre was splendidly successful in the following year; but, in that of which we treat, it must

be remembered that Buonaparte, formidable by his actual strength, and yet more so by the terrors of his reputation, and by the spirit of resistance which his sudden approach might have inspired into the population of Paris, was at the head of an unbroken army, somewhere in the rear of the allies, who therefore had not time to defer the assault by operations to the right or left, lest he had come upon them while they were in the act of manœuvring, or while their forces were divided by the river. They were therefore compelled according to the vulgar and expressive phrase, "to take the bull by the horns," to attack the enemy where he was strongest, and to prefer a desperate and sudden assault upon his position, to the slower measures of turning it by manœuvring on the left bank of either of the rivers on which its extremities rested. These circumstances, however, had little in them consolatory to the citizens of Paris, whose fate was now to depend on a battle fought under walls, which, for two centuries, had never heard a hostile trumpet.

Three times since the allies crossed the Rhine, the capital of France had been menaced by the approach of troops within twenty miles of the city, but it had uniformly been delivered by the active and rapid movements of Napoleon. Encouraged by this recollection, the citizens without much alarm heard for the fourth time that the Cossacks had been seen at Meaux. Stifled rumours, however, began to circulate, that the divisions of Marmont and Mortier had sustained severe loss, and were in full retreat on the capital; a fact speedily confirmed by the long train of wounded who entered the barriers of the city, with looks of consternation and words of discouragement. Then came crowds of peasants, flying they knew not whither, before an enemy whose barbarous rapacity had been so long the theme of every tongue, bringing with them their half-naked and half-starved families, their teams, their carts, and such of their herds and household goods as they could remove in haste; these unfortunate fugitives crowded the Boulevards of Paris, the usual resort of the gay world, adding, by exaggerated and contradictory reports, to the dreadful ideas which the Parisians already conceived of the approaching storm.

The government, chiefly directed by Joseph Buonaparte, in the name of his sister-in-law, Maria Louisa, did all they could to encourage the people, by exaggerating their means of defence, and maintaining with effrontery, that the troops which approached the capital composed but some isolated column which by accident straggled towards Paris, while the emperor was breaking, dividing, and slaughtering the gross of the confederated army. So successful were the agents of the police in excluding all accounts of the real state of the country, that an English officer of distinction, made prisoner of war in Spain, and then residing at St Germains, within twelve miles of Paris, was on the 29th only led to suspect the near approach of the allies, by observing the unfortunate Josephine, with her attendants, pass through the village. Her carriage having accidentally broke down, she was seen to weep, and heard to exclaim, "What an evil omen!" a circumstance which led the British gentleman for the first time to entertain some hope of the near approach of the allies to Paris, which a heavy cannonade confirmed upon the ensuing morning. In Paris itself the light could not be totally shut out, but such rays as were admitted were highly coloured with hope, having been made to pass through the medium of the

police and public papers. *March* 27. A grand review of the troops, destined for the defence of the capital, was held upon the Sunday preceding the assault. Eight thousand troops of the line, being the garrison of Paris, under General Girard, and 30,000 national guards, commanded by Hulin, governor of the city, (the ruffian who presided in the military commission which authorized the murder of the Duke d'Enghien,) passed in order through the stately court of the Tuilleries, followed by their trains of artillery, their corps of pioneers, and their carriages for baggage and ammunition. This was an imposing and encouraging spectacle, until it was remembered that these forces were not designed to move out to distant conquests, the destination of many hundreds of thousands which had been paraded before that palace; but that they were the last hope of Paris, who must defend all that she contained by a battle under her walls. The remnants of Marmont and Mortier's corps *d'armée* made no part of this parade. Their diminished battalions, and disordered state of equipment, were ill calculated to inspire courage into the public mind. They were concentrated and stationed on the line of defence already described, beyond the barriers of the city. But the marshals themselves entered Paris, and gave their assistance to the military councils of Joseph Buonaparte.

Those who composed the government were far from sharing the courage which they endeavoured to inspire into the people. Some of its most active members were observed to employ themselves actively in destroying the private papers which formed the dreadful record of the High Police, as it was termed; others were busied in emptying the public chests of treasure, and probably in filling their own—all were preparing to fly from Paris. Maria Louisa herself resolved to leave the metropolis with her son, not being perhaps of opinion, that the national guard would be altogether willing or able to defend their safety, or redeem the pledge which Napoleon had so solemnly entrusted to them at his departure. Of the family of Buonaparte, Joseph alone remained, probably conscious that, from repeated experience, he knew to hit the dexterous moment for retreat, and therefore might safely venture to let danger approach to him within a certain distance. He detained with him, much, as it was supposed, against the grain, Cambaceres, who, from a lawyer and *bon vivant*, had climbed to the dignity of a prince and high-chancellor of the French empire, and whom Buonaparte had, in one of his last councils, threatened to elevate to the honours and dangers of colonel of a battalion. Almost all the other dignitaries departed in the train of Maria Louisa. The ex-king of Spain published, on the morning of the 29th, a proclamation, assuring the citizens of Paris that "he would remain with them;" he described the enemy as a single column which had approached from Meaux, requiring them by a brief and valorous resistance to sustain the honour of the French name, until the arrival of the emperor, who, he assured the Parisians, was on full march to their succour. Between three and four o'clock on the next eventful morning, the *March* 30. drums beat to arms, and the national guard assembled in force. But of the thousands which obeyed the call, a great part were from age, habits, and want of inclination, unfit for the service demanded from them. Most of them were kept within th barrier until about eleven o'clock, an

then, as their presence became necessary, were marched to the scene of action, and arrayed in a second line behind the regular troops, so as rather to impose upon the enemy, by an appearance of numbers, than to take a very active share in the contest. The most serviceable of the national guard were, however, draughted to serve as sharp-shooters, and several battalions were stationed to strengthen particular points of the line. The whole of the troops, including many volunteers, who actively engaged in the defence of the city, might be between 30 and 40,000.

The proposed assault of the allies was to be general and simultaneous, along the whole line of defence. The Prince Royal of Wirtemberg was to attack the extreme right of the French, in the wood of Vincennes, drive them from the banks of the Marne and the village of Charenton, and thus turn the heights of Belleville on the right. The Russian general, Rayefski, making a flank movement from the public road to Meaux, was to direct three strong columns, with their artillery and powerful reserves, in order to attack in front the important heights of Belleville and Romainville, and the villages which give name to them. The Russian and Prussian body-guards had charge to attack the centre of the enemy, posted upon the canal de l'Ourcq, the reserves of which occupied the eminence called Montmartre. The army of Silesia was to assail the left of the French line, so as to turn and carry the heights of Montmartre from the north-east. The third division of the allied army, and a strong body of cavalry, were kept in reserve. Before the attack commenced, two successive flags of truce were dispatched to summon the city to capitulate. Both were refused admittance, so that the intention of the defenders of Paris appeared fixed to hazard an engagement.

It was about eight o'clock when the Parisians, who had assembled in anxious crowds at the barriers of Saint Denis and of Vincennes, the outlets from Paris, corresponding with the two extremities of the line, became sensible, from the dropping succession of musket-shots, which sounded like the detached pattering of large drops of rain before a thunder-storm, that the work of destruction was already commenced. Presently platoons of musketry, with a close and heavy fire of cannon, from the direction of Belleville, announced that the engagement had become general on that part of the line. General Rayefski had begun the attack by pushing forward a column, with the purpose of turning the heights of Romainville on the right; but its progress having been arrested by a heavy fire of artillery, the French suddenly became the assailants, and, under the command of Marmont, rushed forward and possessed themselves of the village of Pantin, in advance of their line, an important post, which they had abandoned on the preceding evening, at the approach of the allied army. It was instantly recovered by the Russian grenadiers, at the point of the bayonet; and the French, although they several times attempted to resume the offensive, were driven back by the Russians on the villages of Belleville and Mesnilmontant, while the allies pushed forward through the wood of Romainville, under the acclivity of the heights. The most determined and sustained fire was directed upon them from the French batteries along the whole line. Several of these were served by the youths of the Polytechnic school, boys from twelve to sixteen years of age, who showed the greatest activity and the most devoted courage. The French infantry rushed repeatedly in columns from the heights, where opportunities occurred to check the progress of the allies. They were

as often repulsed by the Russians, each new attempt giving rise to fresh conflicts and more general slaughter, while a continued, and dispersed combat of sharp-shooters took place among the groves, vineyards, and gardens of the villas, with which the heights are covered. At length, by order of General de Tolli, the Russian commander-in-chief, the front attack on the heights was suspended until the operations of the allies on the other points should permit it to be resumed at a cheaper risk of loss. The Russian regiments which had been dispersed as sharp-shooters, were withdrawn and again formed in rank, and it would seem that the French seized this opportunity to repossess themselves of the village of Pantin, and to assume a momentary superiority in the contest.

Blucher had received his orders late in the morning, and could not commence the attack so early as that upon the right. About eleven o'clock, having contented himself with observing and blockading a body of French troops, who occupied the village of Saint Denis, he directed the columns of General Langeron against the village of Aubervilliers, and, having surmounted the obstinate opposition which was there made, moved them by the road of Clichy, right against the extremity of the heights of Montmartre, whilst the division of Kleist and York marched to attack in flank the villages of La Villette and Pantin, and thus sustain the attack on the centre and right of the French. The defenders, strongly intrenched and protected by powerful batteries, opposed the most formidable resistance, and, as the ground was broken and impracticable for cavalry, many of the attacking divisions suffered severely. When the divisions of the Silesian army, commanded by Prince William of Prussia, first came to the assistance of the original assailants upon the centre, the French concentrated themselves on the strong post of La Villette, and the farm of Rouvroy, and continued to offer the most desperate resistance in defence of these points. Upon the allied left wing the Prussian Guards, and those of Baden, threw themselves with rival impetuosity into the village of Pantin, and carried it at the point of the bayonet. During these advantages, the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg, on the extreme left of the allies, had forced his way to Vincennes, and threatened the right of the French battalions posted at Belleville, as had been projected in the plan of the attack. General Rayefski renewed the suspended assault upon these heights in front, when he learned that they were thus in some measure turned in flank, and succeeded in carrying those of Romainville with the village. Marmont and Oudinot in vain attempted a charge upon the allied troops, who had thus established themselves on the French line of defence. They were repulsed and pursued by the victors, who, following up their advantage, possessed themselves successively of the villages of Belleville and Mesnil-montant, the Butte de Saint Chaumont, and the fine artillery which defended this line. About the same time the village of Charonne, on the right extremity of the heights, was also carried, and the whole line of defence occupied by the right wing of the French fell into possession of the allies. Their light horse began to penetrate from Vincennes as far as the barriers of Paris, and their guns and mortars upon the heights were turned upon the city. The centre of the French army, stationed upon the canal de l'Ourcq, had hitherto stood firm, protected by the redoubt at Rouvroy with eighteen heavy pieces of cannon, and by the village of La Villette, which formed the key of the position. But the right flank of their line being

turned by those troops who had become possessed of Romainville, the allies overwhelmed this part of the line also, and carrying, by assault, the farm of Rouvroy, with its strong redoubt, and the village of La Villette, drove the centre of the French back upon the town. A body of French cavalry attempted to check the advance of the allied columns, but were repulsed and destroyed by a brilliant charge of the black hussars of Brandenburgh. Meanwhile the right wing of the Silesian army approached close to the foot of Montmartre, and Count Langeron's corps was preparing to storm this last remaining defensible post, when a flag of truce appeared, to demand a cessation of hostilities.

It appears, that in the morning Joseph Buonaparte had shown himself to the defenders riding along the lines, accompanied by his staff, and had repeated to all the corps engaged, the assurance that he would live and die with them. There is reason to think, that, if he did not quite credit that such extensive preparations for assault were made by a single division of the allies, yet he believed he had to do with only one of their two armies, and not with their united force. He was undeceived by a person named Peyre, called, by some, an engineer officer attached to the staff of the governor of Paris, and, by others, an officer belonging to the corps of fire-men in that city. Peyre, it seems, had fallen into the hands of a party of Cossacks the night before, and was carried in the morning to the presence of the Emperor Alexander, at Bondy. In his route he had an opportunity of calculating the immense force of the armies now under the walls of Paris. Through the medium of this officer, the Emperor Alexander explained the intentions of the allied sovereigns, to allow fair terms to the city of Paris, provided it was proposed to capitulate ere the barriers were forced; with the corresponding intimation, that if the defence were prolonged beyond that period, it would not be in the power either of the emperor, the King of Prussia, or the allied generals, to prevent the total destruction of the town. Mons. Peyre, thus erected into a commissioner and envoy of crowned heads, was set at liberty, and with danger and difficulty found his way into the French lines, through the shower of balls which were flying in every direction. He was introduced to Joseph, to whom he delivered his message, and shewed proclamations to the city of Paris, with which the Emperor Alexander had entrusted him. Joseph hesitated, at first inclining to capitulate, then pulling up resolution, and determining to abide the chance of arms. He continued irresolute, blood flowing fast around him, until about noon; when, the enemy's columns threatening an attack on Montmartre, and the shells and bullets from the artillery, which was in position to cover the attempt, flying fast over the heads of himself and his staff, he sent Peyre to General Marmont, who acted as commander-in-chief, with permission to the marshal to demand a cessation of arms. At the same time Joseph himself fled with his whole attendants; thus abandoning the troops, whom his exhortations had engaged in the bloody and hopeless resistance, of which he had solemnly promised to partake the dangers. Marmont, with Monçey, and the other generals who conducted the defence, now saw all hopes of making it good at an end. The whole line was carried, excepting the single post of Montmartre, which was turned, and on the point of being stormed on both flanks, as well as in front; the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg had occupied Charenton, with its bridge over the Seine, and pushing

forward on the high-road from thence to Paris, his advanced posts were already skirmishing at the barriers, called the Trone; and a party of Cossacks had been with difficulty repulsed from the Fauxbourg St Antoine, on which they made a *Hourra*. The city of Paris is merely surrounded by an ordinary wall, to prevent smuggling, the barriers are not much stronger than any ordinary turnpike-gate, and the stockade with which they had been barricaded could have been cleared away by a few blows of the pioneers' axes. Add to this, that the heights commanding the city, Montmartre excepted, were in complete possession of the enemy; that a bomb or two, thrown probably to intimidate the citizens, had already fallen in the Fauxbourg-Montmartre and the Chaussee d'Antin; and it was evident that any attempt to protract the defence of Paris, must be attended with utter ruin to the town and its inhabitants. Marshal Marmont, influenced by these considerations, dispatched a flag of truce to General Barclay de Tolli, requesting a suspension of hostilities, to arrange the terms on which Paris was to be surrendered. The armistice was granted, on condition that Montmartre, the only defensible part of the line which the French still continued to occupy, should be delivered up to the allies. Deputies were appointed on both sides, to adjust the terms of surrender. These were speedily settled. The French regular troops were permitted to retire from Paris unmolested, and the metropolis was next day to be delivered up to the allied sovereigns, to whose generosity it was recommended.

Thus ended the assault of Paris, after a bloody action, in which the defenders lost upwards of 4,000 in killed and wounded, and the allies, who had to storm well-defended batteries, redoubts, and entrenchments, perhaps about twice the number. They remained masters of the line at all points, and took nearly 100 pieces of cannon. When night fell, the multiplied and crowded watch-fires that occupied the whole chain of heights on which the victors now bivouacked, indicated to the astonished inhabitants of the French metropolis, how numerous and how powerful were the armies into whose hands the fate of war had surrendered them.

CHAPTER XIII.

State of Paris during the 30th March.—Intrigues of the Agitators to influence the Populace.—Councils of the Royalists.—Various Groups traverse the Streets, proclaiming Louis XVIII.—Their Success is at first doubtful, but becomes more decided.—Interview of the Emperor Alexander with the Parisian Magistracy, and its Effects on the public Mind.—The allied Sovereigns enter the City—The Strength of their Armies—Their Reception by the Citizens.—Movements of Buonaparte upon Lorraine—He defeats Winzengerode's Army of Observation—Menaces Vitry,—and is recalled by News from Paris—Marches rapidly to Troyes—Outstrips his Army, and reaches La Cour de France, near Paris—Receives Intelligence of the Capitulation, and retires to Fontainbleau.—The Royalists in Paris gain Ground.—The Senate assembles, and decrees that Buonaparte has forfeited the Crown.—Buonaparte harangues his Soldiers, and resolves to advance on Paris—His Marshals advise him to abdicate—He hesitates, and at length consents.—Marmont with his Di ision adheres to the new Government,—and passes within the Lines of the Allies.—The Marshals make a Treaty for Buonaparte with the Allies—Its extraordinary Terms.—Account of the Regency at Blois.—Affairs at Bourdeaux.—The Duke of Wellington defeats Soult before Torbes.—Soult retreats on Tholouse, where he entrenches himself strongly.—Battle of Tholouse.—Lord Wellington enters Tholouse, which declares for the Bourbons.—Sortie from Bayonne.—Cessation of Hostilities.

THE situation of the Parisians during the contest which was to decide the fate of their capital had been agitating and perilous. For a time they had listened with a sort of stupified terror to the distant thunders of the battle, beheld the wounded and fugitives crowd in at the barriers, and gazed on the hurried march of troops moving out in haste to reinforce the lines. At length the numerous crowds which assembled in the Boulevards, and particularly in the streets near the Palais Royale, assumed a more active appearance. There began to emerge from the suburbs and lanes those dregs of society, whose slavish labour is only relieved by coarse debauchery, invisible for the most part to the more decent classes of society, but whom periods of public calamity or agitation bring into view, to add by their fermentation to the general confusion and terror. They gather in times of public danger, as birds of ill omen and noxious reptiles are said to do at the rising of a tropical hurricane; and their fellow-citizens look with equal disgust and dread upon faces and figures as strange to them as if they had issued from some distant and savage land. Paris, like every great metropolis, has her share, and more than her share, of this unwholesome population. It was the

frantic convocations of this class which had at once instigated and carried into effect the principal horrors of the Revolution, and they seemed now resolved to signalize its conclusion by the destruction of the capital. Most of these banditti were under the influence of Buonaparte's police, and were stimulated by the various arts which his emissaries employed. At one time horsemen galloped through the crowd, exhorting them to take arms, and assuring them that Buonaparte had already attacked the rear of the allies. Again they were told, that the King of Prussia was made prisoner, with a column of ten thousand men. At other times, similar emissaries, announcing that the allies had entered the suburbs and were sparing neither sex nor age, exhorted the citizens to shut their shops and prepare to defend their houses. Placards were actively distributed by the satellites of Napoleon. One had for title, "Shall we suffer ourselves to be burnt? Shall we suffer ourselves to be pillaged?" and, representing the most obstinate defence as the only means of averting the menaced evils, it recommended measures which, in the circumstances, could have had no other effect than to have rendered them inevitable;—to take up the pavement and barricade the streets,—to pull the roofs from the houses, and convert them into stations for musketry, by striking out loop-holes in the walls and barricading the windows,—to throw stones and boiling oil upon the assailants when they should enter the barriers. "Have we not guns," exclaimed this inflammatory production, "and bayonets, and pikes, and iron-bars?—May we not garrison and defend our houses—fill the upper stories with paving-stones—dig trenches across the streets, or barricade them with our carriages?—The enemies, if thus opposed, must retreat, or be destroyed long ere they penetrate to the centre of Paris." This invitation to make such sacrifices in behalf of a foreign and tyrannical despot, as the inhabitants of Zaragoza had submitted to in defence of their national independence, was ill received by the inhabitants. A free state has millions of necks, but a despotic government is in the situation desired by the imperial tyrant—it has but one. When it was obvious that the Emperor Napoleon had lost his ascendancy, no shop-keeper in Paris was fool enough to risk in his cause his shop, his family, and his life, or to consent to measures for preserving the capital, which were to commence by abandoning to the allied troops and the scum of their own population all that was, to him individually, worth fighting for. The placards we have mentioned were pulled down, therefore, as fast as they were pasted up; and there was an evident disposition, on the part of the better class of citizens and the national guards, to discourage all councils which tended to stimulate resistance to the desperate extremity therein recommended.

But the frantic agitation of the lower orders continued, assuming alternately the symptoms of panic terror, of rage, and of despair. Many labourers, boatmen, and other indigent classes, furiously demanded arms to march against the allies. They were directed to the Place de Vendome, where pikes were distributed to them. But this republican weapon was rejected with anger and disdain, and the cry became loud for fire-arms. Some hundred muskets were then given to them, but fortunately not in numbers sufficient to give their party an ascendancy within Paris sufficient to anticipate the allied troops in plundering its wealth, and then to contest with them possession of the blood-stained desolation to which they might have reduced it. The better class of citizens, far from listening to those who urged such

desperate counsels, persisted in their determination to continue the defence of the town no longer than was consistent with its safety, or rather its existence; and the fervid exhortations of the imperialists, as well as the clamours of the inhabitants of the suburbs, who could lose nothing in the hazard but their lives, were both lost upon the impassive composure of the burghers and national guard It is probable, however, if Buonaparte could have thrown himself at that moment into the town, to enforce by his name and authority the desperate measures which his emissaries could only recommend, that the issue might have been such as would have fully avenged the conflagration of Moscow. But for the protection of the innocent, and for preventing the numberless crimes and nameless miseries which must have arisen from a conflict in the streets of Paris, Heaven was pleased to direct otherwise the termination of the 30th of March. At sunset all was quiet, nor was it generally known in Paris what had been the precise issue of the fight, or what were likely to be the events of the succeeding day. But when the flight of Joseph Buonaparte, and the skirmishes at the barrier of the Trone, became publicly known, few doubted that the allies had been successful on all points, and that further resistance was impracticable.

While the mass of the inhabitants were at rest, exhausted by the fatigues and anxieties of the day, many secret conclaves, on different principles, were held in the city of Paris upon the night after the assault. Some of these even yet endeavoured to re-organize the means of resistance, and some to find out what modern policy has called a *Mezzo-termine*, some third expedient, between the risk of standing by Napoleon and that of recalling the banished family. Of these, the councils of the royalists alone are known, because they only had an interest in making them public. Monsieur had, on entering France, published a proclamation, inviting the people to join the standard of his brother, and promising an abolition of the conscription and all vexatious taxes and burthens. Two young royalists of Paris, becoming printers in the exigence of circumstances, contrived to reprint this manifesto, and throw off a thousand copies, which were carefully dispersed by trusty hands among all classes of society. But this was not the only preparation of the public mind for a change so wonderful as that from Napoleon to Bourbon. In the assembly of royalists, on the evening of the 30th March, it was proposed that five hundred gentlemen, in arms, should assemble on horseback in the morning, and proclaim the restoration of the Bourbons on the Place Louis Quinze. On better consideration, the idea of assuming any appearance of force was laid aside, and it was agreed to send a deputy from the body to learn, if possible, the intentions of the allies. Monsieur de Douhet was sent upon this errand, who escaped from the city with difficulty, obtained the necessary information, and returned to acquaint his friends that the allies were determined to avoid all appearance of dictating any family or mode of government to France, and that their declaration in favour of the Bourbons could only be the result, though the willing and joyful one, of a public demonstration in behalf of that family. The royalists, apprized of this resolution, resolved to spare no exertions on their part to induce the public to take a determined part in the cause, which alone could be effectually put in opposition with that of Buonaparte.

March 30.

In pursuance of this agreement, various small groups of royalists ren-

March 31.

dezvoused early in the morning of the ensuing day in the Place Louis Quinze, the gardens of the Tuilleries, the Boulevards, and other principal places of public resort. They read aloud and distributed a proclamation, signed by the generalissimo of the allies, with which Monsieur de Douhet had been supplied when at the head-quarters on the above-mentioned mission of the Parisian royalists. It plainly indicated, though it did not precisely name, the course which the people of Paris ought to pursue. It declared the ambitious and oppressive government of Buonaparte to be an insuperable obstacle to peace,—announced that it was in the power of the city of Paris to accelerate the pacification of the world,—alluded with obvious favour to the declaration of the city of Bourdeaux, and the peaceful occupation of Lyons,—and concluded, that in these examples was to be found the termination of foreign war and domestic discord, which would be in vain sought elsewhere. "Europe in arms," said the general, "addresses herself to you from under your own walls. Hasten to answer the confidence which she reposes in your patriotism and your prudence."—Strengthened by so powerful a document from the hands of those who might have commanded instead of advising, the royalists commenced their perilous task, for such it still was, by reading the proclamation to the common people, and concluding with the long-silenced watch-word of *Vive le Roi!* Few or none at first dared to re-echo a signal, so long proscribed that it was almost forgotten by the vulgar. Yet they listened with patience to the exhortations of the royalists, who now made temporary standards of their neckcloths and handkerchiefs, and paraded the streets on horseback, assuming the white cockade, the lilies, and other emblems of the old government. Gradually and slowly they obtained reinforcements. The ladies of their party came to their assistance. The Princess of Leon, the Vicomptesse de Chateaubriand, the Comptesse de Choiseul, and other women of rank, joined the procession, distributing on all hands the emblems of royalty, and tearing parts of their dress to make white cockades when their stock was exhausted. The fire, when it was once fairly kindled, began to communicate itself, and at length to blaze out strongly. Many of the national guard tore the tricoloured cockade from their hats, and replaced it with that which was distributed by these fair recruiters. A whole piquet-guard in the Rue St Honoré took the badge of royalty at once, and the common people, moved by the declaration that it was the signal of general peace, and of the termination of the odious conscription and the vexatious imposts, began loudly to join the acclamations of the royalists. Still the voices were far from unanimous. In some districts the loyal cavalcades were insulted by the people, in others stopped, attacked, and wounded by the patroles and military. One party of royalists was even put under arrest, but soon released by the interference of their companions. The populace of the suburbs retained a discontented and threatening aspect, which only the vicinity of the allies prevented from breaking out into open violence. But the predominating force under the walls of Paris was now about to enter them, and their display of numbers and strength was such as exceeded tenfold the anticipation of the citizens of Paris, to whom the bulletins of Buonaparte had so often detailed the discomfiture, slaughter, and dispersion of the allied armies.

The sovereigns received the magistracy of Paris at the village of Pantin, previous to their solemn entry into

the city. The words of the Emperor Alexander on this occasion were remarkable: "Your emperor called himself my ally, but thrice deceived me. He invaded the very centre of my empire, and inflicted evils of which the traces will long remain indelible. But I do not come to retaliate these injuries. I am at peace with France, and it is with Napoleon alone that I am at war." He promised at the same time his protection to the city of Paris, and expressed his willingness to treat with any government which France might adopt, that was sincerely desirous to give peace to that kingdom and to Europe. These gracious expressions generally diffused through the citizens of Paris that gratitude to the allied sovereigns, which naturally arose when the fears which they had been taught to entertain of a barbarous and vindictive enemy were found to be delusive. An immense crowd filled the Boulevards, (a large wide open promenade, which, under a variety of distinctive names, forms a circuit round the city,) in order to witness the entrance of the allied sovereigns and their army, whom, in the succession of four-and-twenty hours, this mutable people were disposed to regard as friends rather than enemies,—a disposition which increased until it amounted to enthusiasm for the persons of those princes against whom a bloody battle had been fought yesterday under the walls of Paris, in evidence of which mortal strife there still remained blackening in the sun the unburied thousands who had fallen on both sides. There was in this a trait of national character. A Frenchman submits with a good grace, and apparent or real complaisance, to that which he cannot help; and it is not the least advantage of his philosophy, that it entitles him afterwards to plead that his submission flowed entirely from good-will, and not from constraint. Many of those who on the preceding day were forced to fly from the heights which defend Paris, thought themselves at liberty next morning to maintain, that the allies had entered the capital only by their consent and permission, because they had joined in the plaudits which accompanied their arrival. To vindicate, therefore, their city from the disgrace of being entered by force, as well as giving way to the real enthusiasm which was suddenly inspired by the exchange of the worst evils which a conquered people have to dread for the promised blessings of an honourable peace and internal concord, the Parisians received the Emperor and King of Prussia with such general and unremitting plaudits as might have accompanied their triumphal entrance into their own capitals. Even at their first entrance within the barriers, we learn from Sir Charles Stewart's official dispatch, the crowd was already so enormous, as well as the acclamations so great, that it was difficult to move forward; but before the monarchs had reached the porte St Martin to turn on the Boulevards, there was a moral impossibility of proceeding; all Paris seemed to be assembled and concentrated in one spot—one spring evidently directed all their movements. They thronged around the monarchs, with the most unanimous shouts of *Vive l'Empereur Alexandre! Vive le Roi de Prusse!* mingled with the loyal exclamations *Vive le Roi! Vive Louis XVIII.! Vivent les Bourbons!* To such unexpected unanimity might be applied the words of Scripture quoted by Clarendon on a similar occasion, "God had prepared the people, for the thing was done suddenly." The procession lasted several hours, during which 50,000 chosen troops of the Silesian and grand army filed along the Boulevards in broad and deep columns, exhibiting a whole forest of bayonets, mingled with long trains of artillery, and preceded

by numerous regiments of cavalry of every description. Nothing surprised those who witnessed this magnificent spectacle more than the high state of good order and regular equipment in which the men and horses appeared. They seemed rather to resemble troops drawn from peaceful quarters to some grand or solemn festival, than regiments engaged during a long winter campaign in constant marches and counter-marches, as well as in a succession of the fiercest and most sanguinary conflicts, and who had fought a general action but the day before. After making the circuit of Paris by the interior Boulevards, the monarchs halted in the Champs Elysees, and the troops passed in review before them as they were dismissed to their quarters in the city. The Cossacks of the guard established their bivouack in the Champs Elysees themselves, which may be termed the Hyde-Park of Paris, and which was thus converted into a Scythian encampment.

When the enthusiasm, which had converted a day of degradation into one of joy and festivity, began to subside, the perilous question occurred to those who found themselves suddenly embarked in a new revolution, Where were Napoleon and his army, and what means does his active and enterprizing genius possess of still re-establishing his affairs and taking vengeance on his revolted capital? That terrible and evil spirit, which had so long haunted their very dreams, and who had been well termed the Night-mare of Europe, was not yet conjured down, though for the present he exercised his ministry elsewhere. All trembled for the consequence of his suddenly returning in full force, combined either with the troops of Augereau or the garrisons withdrawn from the frontier fortresses. But their fears were without foundation; for, though he was not personally distant, his powers of inflicting vengeance were now limited.—We proceed to trace his progress after his movement eastward, from the neighbourhood of Vitry to St Dizier, which had permitted the union of the two allied armies.

March 23.

At St Dizier, Napoleon was joined by Caulaincourt, who, it is believed, brought him the first intelligence of the rupture of the congress at Chatillon. It made no alteration, however, on his resolution to continue his march to Lorraine, and to act upon the communication of the allies with Germany. His light horse had already commenced operations of this nature, and intercepted some prisoners of consequence, chiefly diplomatic characters, who were travelling, as they supposed, in the rear of the allied armies, between Dijon and Troyes. Among these was Baron Weissenbourg, who had been the Austrian envoy at the court of London. It is supposed that in thus scouring the highways with his cavalry, Buonaparte's chief object was to secure the person of Monsieur, who was known to be in Franche Compté, and without any escort, and also that of the Emperor Francis. The latter placed himself out of his son-in-law's reach by a forced march of thirteen leagues, from Bar-sur-Aube to Chatillon-sur-Seine, from which he retreated afterwards to Dijon; and Monsieur also was so happy as to escape the researches of Buonaparte, who did not push his light troops so far as Vesoul. Hitherto Napoleon's course had been to the east, but he now directed it straight southward, which seemed to indicate his purpose of forming a junction with Augereau, while in his march he destroyed the magazines and intercepted the supplies of the grand allied army.

March 24.

He halted the next day at Doulevent. In this neighbourhood he paused, anxious to concentrate his

forces, and learn, if possible, news from Paris, or intelligence concerning the march of the grand army of the allies, which he concluded must have followed him from Arcis. He was strengthened in this opinion by learning that his rear guard, under Macdonald, had been attacked near St Dizier by the allies in force. Instructions were immediately dispatched to the Marshal to ascertain the strength of the troops who were thus acting in his rear, and all reports agreed in describing them as consisting of a large division of cavalry and artillery, which had not shewn a single company of infantry. In truth, the corps which thus watched the rear of Napoleon's army was that of Winzengerode, who, as already mentioned, had been detached with 10,000 horse and 50 guns from the allied armies, to disguise the movement of the allies on Paris, and to hang upon the rear of Buonaparte. Napoleon, notwithstanding the suspicious circumstance of their having presented no infantry, persisted in believing that these troops were the van of the allied armies, and that their main body could not be far distant, and was probably disunited. He instantly counter-marched upon Vassy, and from thence on St Dizier, thus returning to the town he had occupied three days before, the Russian squadrons of observation retiring as he advanced. At St Dizier, he found the whole corps of Winzengerode drawn up along the opposite bank of the Marne, and occupying the high-road to Vitry. Oudinot received orders to attack the left of the enemy in the town of St Dizier, while Napoleon, passing the river at a ford near Valcour, turned their right. The allied cavalry, whose business it was rather to make a shew of force than to attempt substantial resistance against the whole army of Napoleon, gave way in a few minutes, and retreated in some disorder upon Bar-sur-Ornain, not without loss in slain and prisoners, besides two or three pieces of artillery. But to all effectual purposes of the campaign, Buonaparte might as well have combated an unsubstantial phantom. It would seem that he must have learned from the prisoners the real strength and isolated character of the division with which he had been engaged. Yet it is uncertain whether he did not still regard them as the van-guard of the allies; for, instead of counter-marching upon Paris with all the speed which was possible, he lost another day in endeavouring to get possession of Vitry, (a post now of little consequence,) where he again found the same intractable Prussian commandant, as unwilling as ever to surrender the place. The cannon and howitzers were already got into position for attacking the town, when, ere their fire commenced, Buonaparte, fortunately for the inhabitants of Vitry, received the first indirect intelligence that the allied armies were united and marching on Paris. There is a vacillation in his subsequent movements, for which it is impossible to account, unless we suppose him stunned even to vertigo by the information he had received. He suspended his attack on Vitry; but, instead of instantly pressing forward on Paris, either by the road of Sezanne or Chalons, which would have brought him on the rear of the allied armies, or by that of Troyes, which would have placed him on their left flank, we find him on the succeeding day once more at Doulevent, thirty miles farther from Paris than on the 27th, and removed from all the great routes which lead to the capital,—the very same point, in short, which he had occupied five days before. It seems most probable that this lateral movement was necessary

March 26.

March 27.

March 28.

to collect and embody his forces, unless we suppose Napoleon hesitated whether or no he should abandon Paris to its fate, and unite his army with that of Augereau. If so, he had on mature reflection renounced that alternative; for, on the following morning at daybreak, *March* 29. all his army was in rapid march, pressing on with such haste that the artillery and cavalry made eleven French leagues through cross-roads the first day. Baggage, caissons, and carriages, were abandoned in their haste. At the bridge of Doulancourt, on the banks of the Aube, Buonaparte received the first direct intelligence from Paris which he had got for ten days. He met the courier near the bridge, and, surrounded by his marshals and generals, who waited in breathless anxiety the news from the capital, he dismounted in a small meadow and perused the fatal dispatches. They informed him that the allies were under the walls of his capital, and an assault hourly expected. It is vain to enquire with what agony he must have looked back on the five days since the 23d, which had been wasted in useless marches and countermarches, and petty expeditions against unimportant towns and a flying corps of observation, and which now left him many miles distant from Paris, where his presence was so vitally essential. It is said that after perusing these dispatches, which made him sensible of the extremity in which he was placed, he set at liberty Baron Weissembourgh, the Austrian minister, with a commission to implore the emperor's protection for his wife and child. He dispatched other envoys on the same errand to Dijon, to which the fear of the French light troops had compelled Francis to retreat. But the falling ruler of France was too late in claiming a protection which he had rejected with scorn while he conceived himself able to support himself without it. In the meanwhile, he accelerated his march on the capital, and arrived at Troyes with his guard about midnight, or early on the morning of the eventful day when *March* 30. the fate of Paris was decided. In the course of his march he dispatched contradictory orders to the capital. Those first sent from Doulancourt, while surrounded with his officers, who filled his ears with anxious predictions concerning the safety of Paris, were carried by General Dejeau, and recommended that the city should not be endangered by a protracted resistance, in case defence should appear unavailing. As he journeyed on in haste, vexation, and anger, his mandates assumed a severer character. From Troyes he dispatched to Paris different orders by his aid-de-camp Girardin, commanding that the town should be defended to the last extremity, and, even if the northern part of it should be forced, that they should destroy the bridges, and continue to defend that half which is situated on the left-hand bank of the Seine,—a sentence which consigned to destruction the richer and far more beautiful portion of the town, with the royal palace, museum of the arts, and all that they contained. It was somewhat like defending the borough of Southwark after London and Westminster had been sacked. We conceive, however, that the import of these orders has been greatly exaggerated, to heap odium on Buonaparte in the eyes of the Parisians. They occur in the work of Beauchamp, which is in general authentic; but he has given us no documents in support of the statement, nor has he averred it so positively as if he himself had been convinced of its truth.

On the morning of the 30th Napoleon resumed his march, himself always in the van, and heading a column

formed of his guards. Better nourished, clothed, and equipped than the rest of the army, they supported those repeated and exhausting forced marches more easily; but even they were unable to keep pace with their master's impatience. At five leagues from Troyes, Buonaparte and about fifty attendants took post-horses and carriages, and, followed at some distance by a chosen detachment of fifteen hundred cavalry of his guard, he pushed forward on the road to Sens before his army. This is not the nearest road to Paris from Troyes, but it may be supposed that the light troops or small garrisons of the allies rendered the direct route dangerous. Wherever he came he issued orders to prepare rations for 150,000 men, whom he announced to be following him. In this extraordinary manner Buonaparte passed Moret and Fontainbleau, and came to a post-house called La Cour de France, near Suvissy, about four leagues from the capital. It was apparently his intention to throw himself into Paris, and direct personally the measures of defence. But it was necessary to know if the city yet held out.

March 31. He dispatched, therefore, an aid-de-camp to Paris, and, exhausted by fatigue and emotion, laid himself on a bed in the village inn, and slept soundly. His envoy found that the capitulation had just been signed: he instantly returned with the intelligence to his master, whom, to his surprise, he met on the road. Buonaparte's slumber had not been long, and so soon as he awaked, ere it was yet light, he set out on the road to Paris in a chaise-and-four, attended by four other carriages, having the drivers in his own livery, and without any escort, in order to take the chance of meeting either his aid-de-camp, or some other person capable of giving him authentic information respecting the state of the capital. So soon as he saw the officer returning, Buonaparte dismounted from his carriage, as did Caulaincourt, Bertrand, and others in attendance, and eagerly entered into conversation with him. Learning that Paris was in the hands of the allies, he returned on foot towards La Cour de France, reasoning with his attendants upon the news which he had just learned. The Emperor of France could then hardly be said to be at the head even of a detachment; only a few straggling soldiers were to be seen, who had lighted fires, and stretched themselves around them in the extremity of lassitude. Among these were soldiers of the Imperial Guard confounded with the other stragglers. In truth, even the guard was completely exhausted; the remaining columns of the army had not yet appeared, and must be expected in an equal state of fatigue and disorganization. Among the fifty thousand chosen troops of the allies who that morning defiled through Paris, and twice that number at least who remained without the walls, it seems wonderful that a regiment of hussars, or a pulk of Cossacks, had not been detached on the roads to the south, in which direction it was at least an equal chance that Buonaparte should make his appearance. By neglecting this obvious precaution, not only an invaluable opportunity was lost of securing his person, but a great risk was incurred. Had Napoleon been able to force forward his army with rapidity similar to his own movements, it cannot be denied that his presence would have had the effect of a very untimely and unpleasant surprise; or could he even have thrown himself singly into Paris before the capitulation was signed, his authority among his numerous partizans might have reorganized some scheme of further defence. But all chance of this was now over, and Buonaparte retreated unmo-

lested to Fontainbleau, within twenty miles of Paris, to collect and embody his scattered army, with the purpose of uniting it to that which had evacuated the capital, and was falling back on Orleans and the line of the Loire. In the mean time he dispatched Caulaincourt to Paris, with instructions to renew, if possible, those negociations which his haughty demands at Chatillon had so imprudently broken off. He is also said to have meditated a catastrophe, which would have made the close of his reign more fatal to the city of Paris than even its duration. In the great powder-magazine at Grenelles, close by the town, there was an immense stock of ammunition, amounting to twenty-four thousand cwt. of gunpowder in grains, besides five millions of cartridges, twenty-five thousand cartridges for artillery, and five thousand charged bombs. Major de Lescourt, the director of the magazine, avers, that on the evening of the 30th a colonel of artillery appeared at the gate of St Dominic, and delivered orders to him to blow up this immense magazine. As the explosion must have laid in ruins all the adjacent quarter of the city, Lescourt grew pale and appeared confused when he heard this terrible mandate uttered. "Do you hesitate?" said the superior officer. Afraid it might be committed to other hands, the director affected obedience, and the officer retired. As the order was not communicated through the ordnance department, the major remained convinced that it emanated directly from Napoleon himself. It has been since contended that there was an error in the delivery of the message, and that the command only extended to throwing the powder into the Seine. The mistake, if it existed, was one of some importance, and Paris escaped from its consequences as if by miracle.

The mission of Caulaincourt was unsuccessful. The allied sovereigns announced their determination not to treat with Buonaparte upon any terms, nor with any of his family; but they declared that, on the other hand, they respected the integrity of France, disowned all views of making conquests at her expence, and were willing to guarantee any constitution which her legislature might propose to adopt. This annunciation greatly increased the number of royalists, and it was followed up by a declaration of the municipal council of Paris, denouncing Buonaparte as author of every evil which had overwhelmed France, and expressing the most ardent wish to return under the authority of their legitimate sovereign. To the effect of this declaration was added the impulse communicated to public opinion by an eloquent pamphlet, entitled *Buonaparte et les Bourbons.* Ten thousand copies were dispersed in ten days. It places the misfortunes of the house of Bourbon in the most marked contrast with the ambitious projects and crimes of their rival. Monsieur de Chateaubriand, the author, had prepared it for the press nearly a month before the capitulation, and his wife during that period had concealed the manuscript in her bosom. It produced its full effect on the public mind, which was now ripe for a counter revolution. But it was necessary there should be a declaration against Napoleon, and in favour of Louis XVIII., pronounced through some branch of the national representation, and it was difficult to find one of a character sufficiently respectable. The searching genius of Talleyrand discovered this organ where few would have looked for it,—in the Conservative Senate, namely, whose members had been so long the tools of Buonaparte's wildest projects, and the echoes of his most despotic decrees,—

that very body of which he himself said, with equal bitterness and truth, that they were more eager to yield up national rights than he had been to demand the surrender, and that a sign from him had always been an order for the senate, who hastened uniformly to anticipate and exceed his demands. Yet when, on the summons of Talleyrand, who knew well with whom he was dealing, this senate was convoked, in a meeting attended by sixty-six of their number, forming a majority of the body, they at once, and without hesitation, named a provisional government, consisting of Talleyrand, Bournonville, Jaucourt, Dalberg, and the Abbe de Montesquieu, men recommended by talents and moderation, and whose names, known in the revolution, might be a guarantee to those who dreaded a renovation of the old despotic government with the restoration of the ancient race of kings. On the succeeding day the axe was laid to the root. A decree of the senate resolved, that Buonaparte had forfeited all right to the throne, and that the nation and army were absolved from their oath of allegiance to him. When this decisive step was taken, it became evident how little hold Napoleon really possessed on the affections of his late subjects. All the public bodies, the communities around Paris, and most individuals of importance, sent in successively their adhesion to the provisional government; and from the number of eminent officers who adopted this resolution, it seemed plain that the army, in whole or in part, was likely to separate itself from his cause. Waiting the success of this general impulse, and unwilling, perhaps, to shed more blood, the allied sovereigns contented themselves with fortifying the heights which they had gained, without making any serious demonstration against Fontainbleau, where the scattered forces of Napoleon were beginning to rendezvous and draw to a head.

April 1.

April 2.

The divisions of his army, as they arrived, were placed in echellon at Essone, as with the purpose of marching on Paris. At length he deemed them sufficiently numerous to receive a communication of his pleasure. After drawing out and haranguing the fine body of veterans called the Old Guard, he informed them, that the enemy, having gained three days march on them, were possessed of Paris,—that factious men, the dregs of emigration, had displayed the white cockade,—that in a few days he would attack, and drive them from his capital. "Soldiers," he continued, "I have relied on you—will you justify my confidence?" A hundred voices from the ranks replied in the affirmative.—"Ours," added Napoleon, "is the tricoloured cockade—rather than renounce it let us die on the ground that bore us!"—He did not wait for an answer to this speech, but hastily re-entered the palace. The common soldiers were divided in opinion, but most of them, with military faith, felt for their general in his distress, and determined to adhere to his cause. The officers, excepting the Poles and Italians, of whom there were many in his service, could not be so well relied on. To advance upon the capital was to occasion its inevitable destruction; and Paris has, to the ear of every Frenchman, a sacred and inviolable sound. The marshals, in particular, were weary of a war, in which each of them had been left successively without adequate means of resistance, to stem, or attempt to stem, a superior force of the enemy, and sure to be held up to public censure in the next bulletin in case of failure, though placed in circumstances which rendered success impossible. These generals were

April 3.

more capable than the army at large of comprehending the nature of the war in which they were likely to be engaged, and of appreciating the difficulties of a contest which was to be maintained in future without money, ammunition, or supplies, excepting such as should be extorted from that part of the country over which they held military possession; and this, not only against all the allies now in France, and the insurgent corps of royalists in the west, but also against a second or reserved line of three or four hundred thousand Russians, Austrians, and other allied troops, which had not yet crossed the frontier. They agreed among themselves that the fall of their master could not be prevented, made public to the troops the declaration of forfeiture, and determined to exact from him an act of abdication.

Such a measure seems to have been far from Buonaparte's purpose. *April* 4. The morning after the scene we have described, he again reviewed the troops, seemed specially attentive to provide the means of transporting the formidable train of artillery, amounting, it is said, to the incredible number of four hundred guns, and issued orders to his army, which might amount to between thirty and forty thousand men, to prepare to advance. Shouts of Paris! Paris! issued from the ranks, and it is plain that the marshals had not a moment to lose in executing their plan. It was Ney, whose lot it was to play such varied parts in the stormy annals of this period, who first ventured to break their purpose to Napoleon. He followed him uninvited into the palace, and into his own apartment, and asked him whether he had heard of the important revolution which had taken place at Paris. With assumed composure, Napoleon asserted his ignorance. "You are no longer emperor," said Ney. "Behold the decree of the forfeiture. We can no longer answer for the obedience of the soldiers." To this blunt communication he added an exhortation to Napoleon to abdicate the crown. Lefebvre now entered, and evinced more feeling for Buonaparte's situation, but added, that he was "a lost man—He had rejected the advice of his most faithful servants—His forfeiture had been decreed by the senate." Buonaparte shed tears. Macdonald and Oudinot now entered, and supported the proposal that he should abdicate, acquainting him that the impulse of the new revolution was irresistible. Thus pressed on all sides, Napoleon signed an act of abdication in favour of his son, and conjured Ney and Macdonald, in conjunction with Caulaincourt, to carry it to Paris, and endeavour to render the terms acceptable to the senate, and to plead his cause with the Emperor of Russia. The marshals departed accordingly. The same day Napoleon received a decisive proof that the army was no longer under his command. Marshal Marmont, with the 12,000 troops who had evacuated Paris in consequence of the treaty of the 30th, had repaired to Essonne or its neighbourhood, and was in communication with the army of Buonaparte; but finding his late imperial master incensed against him for not having maintained the city to extremity, he resolved to set the example of obedience to the provisional government. After a treaty, therefore, with Prince Schwartzenberg, by one article of which Marmont stipulated for the life of Buonaparte, and permission for him to reside in some foreign country, in case he should be made prisoner, the marshal broke up *April* 4. with his whole corps from the position appointed him by Buonaparte, and, withdrawing within the lines occupied by the allies, took up his quarters at Versailles, from which he sent

in his adhesion to the new government.

Notwithstanding this decisive incident, and although, in the disorganized state in which they found themselves, the regiments hourly melted away by desertion, Napoleon could not so easily relinquish his plans of ambition. He wearied the marshals with plans for carrying the war beyond the Loire, or for moving southward, uniting with Augereau, bursting into Italy, and joining Eugene Beauharnois. "Were I but once there," he exclaimed, "I would soon have all Italy in arms." Oudinot and his other generals could only beat him from this wild project by assurances that the troops would not follow him. "You have abdicated," repeated the marshal.—"Aye, but conditionally only."—"Soldiers do not understand these shades of difference; they consider your power as terminated."—"Then all is over on that side," said Napoleon, with suppressed emotion; "let us wait the news from Paris."—They were of a singular and bizarre complection. Macdonald and Ney had failed, as they probably expected, in procuring any acknowledgment of the allies in favour of the substitution of Napoleon the younger for his father; but, stimulated by regard for their late emperor and for their own character, they had obtained such conditions for him as were never demanded for a dethroned monarch before, and such as, we will venture to say, will never be conceded to one in future, while history can preserve the memory of the portentous consequences. By these conditions, Buonaparte was to remain emperor, but his sway was to be limited to the island of Elba, in the Mediterranean, in extent twenty leagues, and containing about twelve thousand inhabitants! He was to be recognized as one of the crowned heads of Europe, was to be allowed body-guards, and a navy on a scale suitable to the limits of his dominions; and to maintain this state, six millions of francs, or 250,000l. sterling, were settled on him and the other members of his family,—a revenue more splendid than ever king of England had at his own disposal. It was well argued, that if Buonaparte deserved such advantageous terms of retirement, it was injustice to dethrone him. In other points, the terms of this treaty seemed as irreconcileable with sound policy as they are with all former precedents. The name, dignity, military authority, and absolute power of an emperor, conferred on the potentate of such Liliputian domains, was ludicrous if it supposed Napoleon to remain quiet in his retreat, and most hazardous if he should seek the means of again agitating Europe. In the former case, it was making him a sort of emperor-dowager, if such a phrase could be received, who, relinquishing the more extended domains over which he had lorded so long, sneaked off to enjoy a superannuated title, and a fat jointure in a small dowry-house. This surely was no compliment to Napoleon, for whom the most honourable retirement would have been one which united privacy with safety and competence, not that which maintained a vain parade around him, as if in mockery of what he had formerly been. But time fatally shewed, what many augured from the beginning, that so soon as his spirit should soar above the narrow circle into which it had been conjured, the imperial title and authority, the assistance of devoted body-guards and experienced counsellors, formed a stake with which the venturous gamester might again enter upon the hazardous game of playing for the kingdoms he had lost. The situation of Elba, too, as the seat of his new sovereignty, so near to Italy, and so little removed from France, seemed calculated as it were

on purpose to favour his resurrection at some future period as a political character.

The full danger of these provisions was not at first seen, disguised perhaps by their ridiculous incongruity; and yet they were strongly suspected by those who knew the character of the French and of Napoleon. We remember this treaty with Buonaparte was, in a Scottish provincial paper,* likened to the issue of the contest in the Arabian tale between a benevolent enchantress and an evil genie, whom the former, after hunting him through many changes of form, permits to escape her in the insignificant disguise of a pomegranate-seed. Having failed to pick it up, the demon so far recovers his complete power that the enchantress is compelled to encounter him in mid air with the tremendous weapons of fire and lightning; and, although finally successful, sustains in the combat injury under which she sinks, which she might have escaped had she availed herself completely of her superior power when she had reduced her enemy to an object of contempt. It is needless to comment on the prophetic foreboding expressed in this application of a well-known tale, or to remind the reader how fatally it was accomplished. It was not till its evil effects were evident, that men enquired when and by whom so strange a treaty had been concocted. Time has taught us to ascribe it, on the one hand, to the marshals, who were anxious to vindicate their own conduct to the soldiers,—no nice judges in point of taste,—by shewing they had preserved to their master the name of emperor; and, on the other, to him among the allied sovereigns who, feeling himself first in the occupation of Paris, and valuing himself, not without reason, upon the services his troops had rendered to the common cause, took it chiefly upon him to regulate the pressing affairs which suggested themselves at this momentous crisis. It is not known to what extent the King of Prussia was admitted into Alexander's councils, but it is well understood that he was much in the habit of deferring to the opinion of his powerful ally. Austria, it is believed, could not with delicacy object to any provisions in favour of one so nearly allied as Napoleon to his own royal family. And, it is now well known, that the British plenipotentiary, upon his arrival in Paris, found the treaty with the marshals signed and completed, and had therefore no opportunity to remonstrate upon the tendency of its stipulations. He was, therefore, under the necessity of acquiescing in measures of which he did not approve, and which he declined to guarantee.

Possessed of many good and highly honourable qualities, and a steady and most important member of the great European confederacy, it is doing the Emperor Alexander no injury to suppose that he remembered his education under his French tutor La Harpe, and was not altogether free from its effects. With this there always mingles that sort of showy sensibility which delights in making theatrical scenes out of acts of beneficence, and enjoying in full draughts the popular applause which they are calculated to excite. The contagious air of Paris,—the shouts,—the flattery,—the success to a point hitherto unhoped for,—the wish to drown unkindness of every sort, and to spread a feast from which no one should arise discontented,—the desire, to sum up all in one word, to shew MAGNANIMITY in the hour of success, seem to have laid Alexander's heart more open than the rules of wisdom or of prudence ought to have per-

* The Kelso Mail.

mitted. It is generous to give, and more generous to pardon; but to bestow favours and forgiveness at the same moment, to secure the future fortune of a rival who lies prostrate at his feet, to hear thanks and compliments on every hand, and from the mouths even of the vanquished, is the most fascinating triumph of a victorious sovereign. It is only the consequences which teach him how thriftless and unprofitable a prodigality of beneficence often proves, —that, in the attempt so to conduct great national measures that they shall please and satisfy every one, he must necessarily encroach on the rules both of justice and wisdom, and may occasion, by a thoughtless indulgence of romantic sensibility, new trains of misfortune to the whole civilized world. The other stipulations of this extraordinary treaty divide a portion of the revenue secured to Napoleon among the members of his family. The most rational is that which settles upon Maria Louisa and her son the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, in full sovereignty.

When these extraordinary terms, and particularly the amount of his future revenue, were communicated to Buonaparte, he acquiesced, remarking that the sum was a large one for a soldier like him. He shewed no haste, however, in setting off to his future sovereignty, but lingered under various pretexts at Fontainbleau, perhaps in the vain hope that there might still remain for him some chance amid the occurrences which were huddled together, like the last scenes of a play, or the concluding chapters of a romance. This became every day less probable. The war was expiring of itself. The

April 5. village of Pithievillers was indeed taken and pillaged, to avenge the death of an allied officer, bearing a flag of truce, who was shot in the act of summoning the place, by one of Buonaparte's tax-gatherers; and Sens, in which General Alix, a steady adherent of Buonaparte, commanded, was in danger of sharing the same fate, when a lady made her escape over the walls to assure the allied general that the resistance was offered against the will of the inhabitants. This produced a second summons, in which the extremities formerly threatened to the town were now denounced against the garrison which defended it, whom the Russian commander swore he would put to the sword, beginning with Alix himself. The menace produced immediate surrender. But these were the last military movements in the neighbourhood of Paris, and Buonaparte remained at Fontainbleau inactive, and seemingly resigned to his fate. Mean time his Genius continued to walk the earth, and occasion wars and disasters, like a demon which labours in his vocation of mischief after the death of the magician who had summoned him up.

After her hasty retreat from Paris, Maria Louisa, with the ministers attached to her as a council of regency, were, by a dispatch from Buonaparte, directed to fix the seat of their authority at Blois. Here they held frequent councils, of which the chief object seems to have been to spread false reports of the emperor's strength and success, to mutilate or suppress such news as came from Paris,—in a word, to try how the arts of courtiers, for they had not more than 2000 men in arms, could operate in imposing upon a nation. It was at one time said that Paris was burnt down; then that it was repossessed by Buonaparte after a great victory over the allies; and at length a proclamation, in name of Maria Louisa, *April 5.* announced that it was beleaguered by his armies; that, being in possession of the enemy, no notice was to be paid to any orders that emanated from thence; that she invoked

the fidelity of the nation to her husband, herself, and her son, more sure of their hearts (every French proclamation has its pretty and sentimental turn,) than in the days of their prosperity. But though they endeavoured to blind the public as long as possible, the brothers of Napoleon (for Joseph had with great speed joined the regency) could not but foresee that Blois was not long likely to be a safe abode. With the audacity of Napoleon, but without either his pretensions or talents, they meditated to carry on the war in the provinces beyond the Loire, and insisted that Maria Louisa should accompany them. The unfortunate princess replied, that, having personally nothing to fear from the allies, either for herself or her son, and having ceased to hope she could support the crumbling throne of her husband, she was determined to return to her father's house. As the altercation became high, the ex-monarchs of Spain and Westphalia ungallantly seized their sister-in-law each by an arm, and were about to compel her by actual violence to enter the carriage which was prepared to carry her to Orleans. The chivalrous interference of the officers of her household and body-guard, who protested against their mistress being treated thus rudely, chased away the phantom-monarchs, who left Blois instantly. Next day, the arrival of Count Schouwalow, to take the empress under his protection, and convey her to the Emperor of Austria's head-quarters, totally dissolved the ephemeral regency of Blois. Of the members, some sought shelter in their native obscurity, and others hastened to send in their adhesion to the new government, and speculate upon what was to be gained at the court of the Bourbons. Thus far the history of the regency was more farcical than serious. But the disguising and intercepting the truth for a few days, by one of its infamous agents, produced in the south tragical consequences, in which, though Britain gained new laurels, they were moistened by the blood of some of her bravest children.

After the decisive battle of Orthes, Marshal Soult, who had retired towards Conches, had the utmost difficulty in rallying his dispersed troops. But as one-third part of Wellington's army besieged Bayonne, and another, under Marshal Beresford, occupied Bourdeaux, the Duke's forces were too much diminished to permit his pressing farther to the eastward. His head-quarters, therefore, remained at Aires, on the Adour, until he was joined by additional forces from Spain, and by the return of Field-Marshal Beresford from Bourdeaux, where he left a garrison of 4000 men, under Lord Dalhousie. To sum up the affairs of that quarter we must here remark, that although a considerable force, under General Decaen, already, by Buonaparte's directions, menaced the town, and although adverse winds detained the British militia regiments which had gallantly volunteered for foreign service at this interesting moment, yet the good disposition of the inhabitants of Bourdeaux, together with the calm, manly, sensible, and spirited character of the Scottish nobleman, under whose care they were placed, provided effectually against every emergency. The squadron of Admiral Penrose forced the passage of the Gironde, and an expedition from Bourdeaux, under Lord Dalhousie, took *April* 6. the French batteries on that river, and dispersed a body of soldiers, under L' Huillier, excepting such as took refuge in the strong fort of Blaye. No further events of consequence happened near Bourdeaux during the few days when hostilities continued.

The results of the contest were more

bloody where the Duke of Wellington commanded. It was *March* 17. the 17th March ere he had once more concentrated his forces, so as to advance upon Marshal Soult, who, retreating before him from Conches, had established himself in a strong position before the town of Torbes, determined to maintain, if possible, his communication with the Pyrenees, in order to preserve the power of acting in concert with Suchet, now in the act of evacuating Spain, and to organize for insurrection the hardy inhabitants of that district. The English *March* 19. army marched from Vicq-Bigorre, and from Rabastens in two columns of attack. The one, under General Hill, was destined to turn the French position on the right; the other, commanded by General Clinton, was to attack in front. This combined movement, and the attack which followed, had its complete effect in dislodging the French marshal from a field of battle, which he left covered with his slain and wounded. His retreat was so nearly cut off, that had it not been for heavy rains and the state of the cross-roads, he could not have accomplished his retreat to St Gaudens. On his road he had the mortification to witness preparations everywhere for receiving the English as friends, and for hoisting the white flag. Soult rallied his army at St Gaudens as he best might; and, out-marched, out-manœuvred, and beaten as he had been during this active campaign, on every occasion when he ventured to make head, he resolved nevertheless to make a last and decisive stand under the walls of Toulouse. That city is well known by its ancient renown and present consequence. It has many inhabitants of the higher class, having been formerly the seat of a provincial parliament, and being the winter abode of many families belonging to the noblesse. The royalist agents had a branch of their confederacy within its walls, and the inhabitants were supposed to be generally favourable to the Bourbons. It was therefore a matter of the last consequence to prevent Toulouse from following the example of Bourdeaux, and that could only be accomplished by making a stand under its walls. The town being fortified with an ancient rampart, flanked with round towers, and being surrounded on three sides by the great canal of Languedoc, which unites the two seas, and by the river Garonne, is very capable of being defended; and in the space of three days Soult had executed such field-works for protection of his army, as were equally a model of strength and ingenuity. Commencing on the left with the suburb of St Cipriani, on the left side of the canal of Languedoc, he established such batteries and entrenchments in front of its ancient walls as, covered by the artillery and musketry from the old rampart, made it a very strong *tete de pont*. All the bridges over the canal were in like manner secured by *tetes de pont*, covered by the artillery and musketry planted on the ancient walls. Beyond the canal to the eastward, as far as the river Ers, there is a ridge or chain of hills, over which pass all the roads to the canal and town, and which screens and shelters the city. On this ridge Soult established a chain of five redoubts, connected by deep lines of entrenchment; thus adding to the natural strength of the hill a strong defensive chain of fortifications, completely mounted with artillery. To increase the difficulty of an enemy's advance, all the bridges on the river Ers were broken down; and the roads had been rendered so impracticable by the continued rains, that it was impossible to move on the flank to turn the town on the west side, and avoid this line of

defence. The Duke, therefore, had no alternative but to attack this strong position.

The blood spilt upon this occasion, lies more especially on the head of an infamous satellite of Buonaparte. Immediately upon settlement of the new government at Paris, a French and an English officer, Colonels Cooke and Saint-Simon, were dispatched to carry intelligence of the revolution to the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Soult. At the town of Montauban, ten leagues from Toulouse, these messengers of peace were arrested by Bouvier Dumoulart, the prefect of the district, acting under the pernicious influence of the short-lived regency of Blois. Thus the Duke of Wellington knew nothing of the dethronement of Buonaparte; and although it is shrewdly suspected that Soult was better informed, yet, having no official information, he may not have been unwilling to receive battle in a position which he considered as impregnable, in hopes, by closing the war with signal success, to eraze remembrance of the various defeats he had received during the campaign. There is indeed little doubt, that a defeat, or even a repulse, under the walls of Toulouse, would have been greedily adopted and quoted by the French army and nation, as a full counterpoise to all Wellington's victories in Spain and Navarre.

In the mean time the Duke made his dispositions for the attack. Marshal Beresford, with two divisions, crossed the Ers, at the bridge of Croix d'Orade, (which had been very gallantly carried on the 5th by the 18th Hussars,) beneath the position of the enemy, and marched up the river to turn the heights and attack them upon the right flank, while the Spanish division, under Don Manuel Freyre, advanced against them in front. On the left of Soult's division, General Picton, with the third and light divisions, and with the German brigade of cavalry, was appointed to engage the attention of the enemy in the suburbs of St Ciprian, and at the various *tetes-de-pont*, while Sir Rowland Hill menaced the suburbs to the left of the town. These were false attacks, to prevent Soult from reinforcing the troops stationed in the entrenchments and redoubts on the ridge. The Spaniards commenced their front attack on the heights with great spirit, so soon as they perceived the columns of Marshal Beresford advancing on the right flank, as had been preconcerted. They carried some banks, in front of the French lines, and established themselves, protected from the fire of the redoubts. But when they attempted to deploy, in order to turn the left flank of the enemy, they were checked and repulsed; a reverse which became the signal of a general attack upon them by the French, who, jumping out of their entrenchments, charged the Spaniards in every direction, and drove them down hill in the greatest disorder, one regiment alone, (that entitled *le Tirad de Cantabria*,) keeping the ground it had gained until withdrawn by the Duke's commands, and in good order. Marshal Beresford, more successful on his point of attack, carried a part of the heights, and the redoubt which covered the extreme right of their lines; so that the English and Portuguese remained established on the ridge, although the French still held four redoubts and their corresponding entrenchments. There was now a pause, until the Spanish troops could be brought into order, and till Marshal Beresford's artillery, which he had outmarched, could be brought up and got into position. When the Spaniards again presented themselves in front, Marshal Beresford resumed his offensive movement along the heights, storming suc-

cessively in his advance fortified houses, trenches, and redoubts, under a fatal, furious, and continued fire of musketry and artillery, by which his division suffered extremely, but was not checked for an instant. The attack upon the two centre redoubts, from the steepness of the ground, the vivacity of the fire, and the determined obstinacy of the defenders, was for some time unsuccessful. The Spanish and Portugueze troops sent against them in front, were beat off in confusion more than once. The 42d regiment (Royal Highlanders) were then ordered to march to the assault, which they did with the utmost gallantry. They sustained the heaviest fire that could be poured from the French entrenchments, and marched up without taking a musket from their shoulders to return it. "Great God!" exclaimed a French officer, who witnessed the scene, "with what coolness!"—They then jumped into the trenches and carried them with the bayonet. This single regiment had four officers killed and two-and-twenty wounded on this memorable occasion. The greater part of the heights were now in the possession of the British, with three of the redoubts and lines which defended them. A desperate effort was made by the French to recover the ground, but the division of General Taupin, which rushed forward from the canal to execute this movement, was repulsed and almost cut to pieces. The two redoubts on the left being completely turned, and the defenders disheartened, were carried by less loss by General Beresford's division, which still continued to move along the heights, until they remained in the undisturbed possession of them, from one extremity to the other. In the meantime Sir Rowland Hill carried the outworks constructed before the suburb of St Cipriani, and Sir Thomas Picton drove the French into one of the *tetes-de-pont*, near to the Garonne, but, in attempting to storm it, was repulsed with some loss. All the exterior defences of the town were thus carried, and fortifications, accounted, by all who saw them, a master-piece of art, were unable to stop the Duke of Wellington's progress for a single day.

April 11.

The day of this bloody battle, beneath their walls, was one of terror and suspense to the inhabitants of Toulouse, but on the next morning their apprehensions rose almost to agony. A broken army of 25,000 men had been driven within their walls in utter disorder, all taking free quarters with military licence, and many committing the outrages usual at times of insubordination, when discipline is forgotten either in the heat of victory, or the reckless despair of defeat. The pioneers and engineers were soon engaged in pulling down some houses, loop-holing others, barricading the streets, and commencing the dreadful preparations indicative of a resolution to defend the town to extremity, and to make its fate depend on a battle fought in the houses and streets. On being summoned by the Duke of Wellington to surrender the place, Soult replied he would rather bury himself in the ruins. To these ominous scenes within Toulouse, the citizens might now add the preparations without for a general assault, the placing mortars, advancing artillery, and constructing batteries, which they might perceive from the battlements. But Soult, conscious that the city was not tenable, and unwilling perhaps to occasion its utter destruction, retreated during the night under the cannon of the English army, but without being disturbed by a single shot, so unwilling was the British General to oc-

casion any damage to the *April* 12. peaceful inhabitants. The next morning the citizens saw, with joyful surprise, their streets emptied of their military guests, and next observed the allied army drawn up in silence before their positions, as if unwilling to disturb even their slumbers by an early entrance into the town. The victors entered in all the pomp of war, and were received with acclamations by the people and by the magistrates; the white flag was hoisted, and, in the midst of the festivity suitable to the occasion, the Duke received the tidings of the revolution at Paris, and added to the general enthusiasm, by communicating it to the magistrates and inhabitants.

In the meanwhile more blood had been elsewhere needlessly spilt, ere the joyful tidings became *April* 14. known. The garrison of Bayonne made a desperate sortie from that town, on the morning of the 14th of April, before day-break, and gained some temporary advantages over the picquets in the front of the British position. Major-General Hay, an officer of great merit, was killed, and Major-General Stopford wounded. Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope, who commanded the besieging army, coming up in the dark to direct the advance of more troops to the support of the picquets, received two wounds, had his horse shot dead under him, and was made prisoner. The enemy, who were soon repulsed, reaped no advantage from this sortie, except having added many to the domestic mourners whom this war had already occasioned. On their own part they lost many brave men. This was the last action in the campaign 1814. Shortly after the battle of Toulouse, Marshal Soult, as well as Marshal Suchet, who had now entered France, sent to intimate to the Duke of Wellington, that they recognized the new government, and desired the advantage of the suspension of hostilities.

Here then terminated for the present those military achievements, which have not their example in the history of Britain; that career of success which began on the field of Vimeira, and which since that period had seldom advanced to recede, and never receded but to advance more strongly. Two liberated kingdoms,—the defence of one capital, the recovery of another,—the occupation of the two principal cities in the south of France, and the march of a British army deep into her territories,—a long train of skilful manœuvres and marches,—a succession of prosperous sieges,—eight pitched battles fought and won over the best soldiers and best generals of France,—seemed to leave nothing to fill up His measure of glory, whom foreigners, as well as Britons, now termed the FIRST CAPTAIN OF THE AGE. Yet, while we felt that our General and our army had given the first example that France could be conquered in a fair-fought field, and, summing up the number of our trophies, found that they far exceeded those of any other nation, there was still something unsatisfactory in the reflection, that Wellington had never been matched against Napoleon in person, and that no British bayonet had contributed directly to the conquest of Paris. There remained on Wellington's chaplet room for one other, and let us hope only for *one* other, rose.

CHAPTER XIV.

Adherences to the New Government.—Plan of a Constitution prepared by the Senate.—Criticisms upon it.—Entry of Monsieur into Paris.—Buonaparte lingers at Fontainbleau.—Takes leave of his Guard.—Departs.—Is ill received in the Southern Provinces.—Embarks at Frejus—And lands at Elba.—Conduct of the Bourbons during their Exile.—The Reception of Louis XVIII. in London—And in Paris.—Reciprocal Sentiments of the French and Allies toward each Other.—Treaty of Peace.—Treaty with England.—Constitutional Charter.—Remarks upon it by the Royalists and the other Parties.—Congress appointed to meet at Vienna.

THE impulse which the cause of the Bourbons had received, became, after the occupation of Paris, universal and irresistible. Men of all ranks, and particularly the generals and statesmen who had been distinguished in the revolution, hasted to send in their adhesion to the new order of things. There was an entertaining, if not an edifying difference in the stiles of individuals, as they recognized a family so long the objects of contempt and reprobation. Some puffed, some strutted, some blustered; but all were so much delighted at the revolution, that, were their expressions to be received as gospel, the general affection for the Bourbons and detestation of Buonaparte's tyrannic domination ought long ago to have accomplished this great event, without the sword of the allies being thrown into the scale. But the very unanimity of their expressions made their sincerity doubtful, and it remained a question with the less sanguine, whether this so desirable change was not too sudden to be lasting. It seemed to flow rather from weariness of Buonaparte's despotism, than love for the dynasty that succeeded him; and that it was the desire to find a means of escaping from war without admitting themselves to have been conquered, which dictated this rapid transition and transference of allegiance. One trait, peculiar to Frenchmen, was observed in all the letters of adhesion from the garrisons of fortified places in Germany, the Netherlands, and elsewhere:—all took care to express, that their evacuating the fortresses was only in submission to the will of their rulers at home, not to the force of the assailants; and many, as if to prove their assertions, threw peevish and unnecessary delays into the execution of the orders they received. They were obviously anxious to make a shew of proofs which should establish that France was not conquered by the capture of Paris, but remained, even after that event, possessed of means of resistance, which she could have successfully employed had it been her will to have done so. It was partly to encourage this feeling of national vanity, partly from the natural disposition of the people to run into extremes, that their demonstrations of applause amounted to enthusiastic rapture when any of the allied monarchs appeared in public; and that even General Sacken,

whose appointment as military governor of Paris was the very seal of their subjugation, was received in their theatres with the most extravagant plaudits.

In the mean time, it was not judged prudent to admit the recall of the Bourbons as proceeding upon their claims of legitimacy. This must have gone to alter an order of things established for twenty years, and to throw the affairs of France into inextricable confusion. The senate, therefore, laboured at making another new constitution, in addition to those of all kinds which the French rulers and people had successively sworn to during the last twenty-five years. Their experience enabled them to execute the task with even more than usual rapidity, and certainly in many essential particulars they had great credit by their labours. The new government was to be vested in a king, who should exercise the executive power, a senate, and legislative body, and provision was made for convoking the latter annually. The plan recognized equality of imposts, responsibility of ministers, inviolability of the king, independence of the judges. The liberty of the press was asserted, the sale of national domains was guaranteed, the institution of juries was preserved, liberty of conscience was proclaimed. In these great principles we recognize the true foundations of a well-regulated monarchy and free constitution, and it was upon his recognizing them and some more disputable articles that the senate proposed to proclaim Louis XVIII. on his swearing to maintain them. They were not, however, received with unanimous acquiescence. Some censured the senate for assuming to themselves exclusively the right of dictating a constitution for the nation. But this appears unreasonable when it is remembered, that in extraordinary cases that part of the representation which is most easily convoked is often necessitated to act as the readiest organ of the state, far beyond its natural sphere in peaceful times. It was, besides, adhered to by the legislative body, and had the sanction, therefore, of the only two bodies of the state which could be termed national. The royalists censured the annunciation of the constitution as too general, and savouring much of the love of enunciating general political principles, under colour of which the republicans had committed so many crimes; such principles having had no more real influence upon their conduct than the colour or device upon a flag has upon the management of a vessel, and which sometimes remains fluttering idly at the topmast-head after all the rest of the ship is under water. But they objected still more violently to the form by which the king was called, or in some measure elected, to the throne, instead of his legitimate and hereditary title being recognized. On the first of these points we see no room for censure; since the political principles announced in the constitution are of no general undefined nature, like the noted propositions concerning the equal rights of man, but are sufficiently capable of strict definition, and of being provided for and secured by distinct and articulate regulations. On the second point, although, for reasons already mentioned, it would have been rash in the highest degree to suffer the restoration of the Bourbons to take place as a matter of hereditary right, it had been better that the senate had, like prudent divines, avoided any expressions which could lead to the discussion of abstract points, and worded their clause more carefully, so as at once to express the king's legitimate right, and the recognition of that right by the people. For, while to deny the legitimate right of the king to succeed to a crown which neither he nor his predecessors had forfeited, was adopting as just the proscriptions and murders of the Revolution, it was, on the

other hand, to be considered, that this was no restoration of the old despotic monarchy, but the creation of a free government, in which the lawful heir of that monarchy was called upon to preside.

But if there were doubt respecting these grounds for announcing the new constitution, there was one article in it so disgustingly selfish as to incur the censure of all parties, and greatly to lessen the praise which the senate might otherwise have been entitled to from their country. It plainly behoved them, when acting as the voluntary and self-elected guardians of the state, when considering what degree of liberty should be granted to the subject, and where that liberty should be abridged, to keep their own hands clean, and to show that personal interest had never interfered to bias their deliberations. But instead of this dignified conduct, one of the articles of the constitution, while it declared that the senate should consist of from 150 to 200 members, anxiously provided, that the present senators should form part of that number, that their dignity should be hereditary in the direct male succession, that the actual endowments of the senate were their exclusive property, that its revenues should be divided equally amongst them and pass to their posterity, and that the senators to be hereafter named should have no interest therein. The selfish inequality and grasping avarice which this clause expressed greatly lessened the deference paid to the senate, diminished an influence which might have been otherwise exercised with great advantages to the state, and threw a shade of suspicion over their very best actions.

Monsieur, upon 14th April, entered Paris in capacity of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. The constitution was presented to him by the senate. The answer of Monsieur declared, that he was not empowered by his brother to accept the constitution, but that he knew so much of his views and wishes that he had no hesitation to say, that he would admit the bases of it. He then recited, as likely to meet his brother's approbation, almost all the principles referring to national rights, which we have above detailed; but he made no mention of the endowments or revenues of the existing senators. So that it seemed already probable that they were to have the shame of having proposed such a clause, without reaping the benefit which it was designed to secure to them.

While these discussions were taking place, Buonaparte, so long dictator of the fortunes of France and of Europe, set forth upon his journey towards his new and limited realm. During his residence at Fontainbleau he was in bad health, for which different causes have been assigned. Vexation probably, gnawing so haughty a spirit, had its full share in his malady. His resentment sometimes broke out into reproaches against the generals and the troops. "The army," he said, "had dishonoured itself, and was no longer worthy to be commanded by him."—"Ah, Sire," said General Dalauloy, "the army has fought for you to the last;—since we lose every thing else in your cause, leave our honour at least untainted!" Buonaparte apologized and was silent. At length he prepared for a departure *April* 20. which could no longer be deferred. The Old Imperial Guard were drawn out before him in review. Some natural tears dropped from his eyes, and his features had the marks of strong emotion while reviewing for the last time, as he must then have supposed, the companions of so many victories. He advanced to them on horseback, and took his solemn leave. "All Europe," he said, "had armed against him; France herself had deserted him and chosen another dynasty.

He might," he said, "have maintained with his soldiers a civil war of years, but it would have rendered France unhappy. Be faithful," he continued, (and the words were remarkable) "to the new sovereign whom France has chosen. Do not lament my fate, I will always be happy while I know you are so. I could have died—nothing was easier—but I will always follow the road of honour. I will record with my pen the deeds we have done together. I cannot embrace you all, but I embrace your general"—(he pressed the general to his bosom)—"Bring hither the eagle"—(he embraced the standard, and concluded,)—"Beloved eagle, may the kisses I bestow on you long resound in the hearts of the brave—Adieu, my children,—Adieu, my brave companions,—Surround me once more—Adieu." Drowned in grief, the veteran soldiers heard the adieu of their dethroned leader; sighs and murmurs broke from their ranks, but the emotion burst out in no threats or remonstrances. They appeared resigned to the loss of their general, and to yield, like him, to necessity.

Napoleon, after this affecting scene, set out for the southern coast, accompanied by four delegates from the allied powers; the Russian general, Schuwalow, namely, the Austrian general, Koller, Colonel Niel Campbell on the part of England, and the Prussian general, Truchsess-Waldbourg. He was polite to the three first, but seemed to consider the presence of the Prussian as an unnecessary insult. Generals Bertrand and Drouet, honourably faithful to the master to whom they owed their preferment, accompanied him as sharers of his exile. In several of the towns which he passed, attachment to his cause, or pity for his misfortunes, still procured him some shouts of *Vive l'Empereur*, which seemed to give him spirits and triumph. His route lay through Valence, where Augereau had found refuge after his defeat before Lyons. This Marshal had embraced the new order of things, in a declaration where Buonaparte was stigmatized as one, who, after exacting every sacrifice from his generals and troops, and having devoted millions of victims to his cruel ambition, knew not himself how to die like a soldier. They now met, *April 24.* and a scene of mutual altercation is said to have been abruptly terminated by a charge of treason brought by the emperor against the marshal. "'Tis thou art a traitor," retorted Augereau, "to the army and to France." "Thou hast chosen thyself a new master," continued Buonaparte.—"I owe you no account of my conduct," said the general.—"Thou art void of courage," said Napoleon.—"'Tis thou thyself art void of courage—begone!" answered Augereau, and, turning on his heel, concluded the interview. To be thus bearded by one of his late vassals was not the only mortification he had to sustain in this journey. After Montelimart he came into a country where his person and government were especially odious, and was insulted in most of the towns and villages with cries of *Vivent les Bourbons, a bas le tyrant!*—In some places they were executing him in effigy; in others, and particularly at Avignon and Orgon, the mob threatened him with personal violence. The women were particularly furious, demanding from him their children who had fallen in his wars. A figure, designed to represent him, with its clothes daubed with blood, was held up to the windows of his carriage, with loud threats and execrations. Buonaparte's spirits sunk under these furious expressions of animosity, and he shewed several tokens of personal apprehension. In one place he disguised himself as a courier and rode before his own carriage, which was attacked by

the mob. He refused to eat at La Calade, as if afraid of poison, and was frequently observed to shed tears. Every precaution was taken by the commissioners who attended him, to provide for his personal safety. At a chateau near Luc he had an interview with his sister Pauline Borghese, who agreed to join him in his retirement. At length, at the port of Frejus, where, fifteen years before, he had landed on his return *April* 28. from Egypt, he embarked on board the Undaunted, an English frigate, commanded by Captain Usher, making choice of that vessel instead of a French frigate, the Dryad, which had been specially appointed for the service. Accompanied by General Koller and Colonel Campbell, he set sail for Elba, where there had been some disturbances. All, however, was quiet on his *May* 4. arrival, and he made the ceremony of a public entry into his new capital of Porto-Ferrajo, with circumstances more suited to the extent of his kingdom than the splendid imperial title under which he was to govern it. He appeared reconciled to his fate, and soon was, or seemed to be, absorbed in planning public buildings, roads, and other improvements of his insular dominion. In the meanwhile, the rightful heir was assuming the reins of his late empire.

The personal conduct of the members of the house of Bourbon, during their protracted years of exile and distress, had been in the highest degree honourable to them. It is no small proof of this, that while they resided in England, where the foibles and vices of public characters furnish constant food for diurnal scandal, we do not remember that any of them afforded matter even for a single paragraph. At Hartwell, an abode furnished by the munificent hospitality of the Marquis of Buckingham, the heir of the crown of France lived in strict seclusion, known to the neighbourhood only by acts of beneficence, which even his precarious income could not limit. He was now called upon by the voice of a repentant people to assume the throne of his ancestors, and in his journey was to pass through the metropolis of the empire which had so long afforded him an asylum, the native enemy, as she has been called, of France, but the hospitable protectress of her afflicted exiles. Never was there evinced, from one end of Britain to the other, so deep and general a sensation of joy. The heart of each Briton felt how much his country had been exalted by the glory she had acquired during the war, and what a high rank she now held among the nations upon its happy termination. Difference of polities was forgotten in this noble and patriotic swell of the public feeling, or if such were remembered, each party found in the late happy events something peculiarly flattering to their own opinions. If the disciples of Pitt gloried in the brilliant conclusion of the war which had commenced under his auspices, and hailed the triumph of legitimacy in the restoration of the Bourbons, those of opposite principles rejoiced in the popular turn exhibited by the mode in which Louis XVIII. was called to the throne, and in the events which seemed to secure to France the blessings of a free government. All, therefore, were prepared to greet the restored monarch. At Stanmore, the Prince Regent, with the delicate courtesy due upon such an occasion, and which no prince ever knew better how to pay, received Louis in person, and accompanied him to London. They were met on their journey by thousands and ten of thousands, whom the metropolis poured forth to meet and to hail them. Laurels, lilies, white ribbons, the display of the united flags of England and France, indicated the joyful interest taken by all ranks in

events, which, as we then vainly imagined, had sheathed the swords of contending nations, probably for the date of the present generation. The same enthusiasm continued during the two days that Louis remained in London, the people in their eagerness to see him almost forcing the doors of the hotel where he resided. "Open the door to John Bull," said the king on one of these occasions, with the good-humoured felicity which often accompanies his observations—"Open the door to John Bull—he has kept the door open for me." A concourse, equally immense, and equally delighted, attended the King of France on his leaving London, the populace exclaiming, "God bless your majesty—A happy return to your native land!" The Prince Regent attended his royal guest to Dover, and set the example of the shouts of acclamation which accompanied the monarch on his voyage. "What more," said Louis, much affected, "what more can my own people do for me?"

April 23.

On his landing in France his reception was a joyful one; but his entry into Paris was far from being accompanied with the heartfelt and eager acclamations which had rent the air in London, and on the beach at Dover. The difference was much remarked by such intelligent spectators as witnessed both. The soldiery who attended the procession through the streets, notwithstanding all the pains which had been taken to conciliate them, appeared with dubious, sullen, and discontented looks, as if they felt, that in the festivity they were playing the part of the vanquished enemy, and were the subjects, not the partakers, of the triumph. Few corps could be prevailed on to cry *Vive le Roi*, and the Imperial (now Royal) Guard, in particular, were distinguished by the gloomy ferocity of their appearance. The populace shouted, indeed, as they always do when collected, but there was an obvious indifference to the cause of their convocation. Some were heard to say, "It is a fine sight, but the entrance of the allied sovereigns was more striking on the whole." There was one place, however, in the capital, where Louis received a sincere, an affecting, almost an ecstatic welcome. It was in the cathedral of Notre Dame, which was filled through its vast extent with royalists, whose affections, long suppressed, now broke forth in prayers, tears, and benedictions, with a zeal which formed a strong contrast to the disaffection of the soldiery and the coldness of the populace. The higher classes in general, excepting those who were direct losers by the dethronement of Napoleon, hailed with sincere satisfaction a prospect of peace, tranquillity, and freedom from vexatious exactions. If they had not, as they could hardly be supposed to have, any personal zeal for the representatives of a family so long strangers to France, it was fondly hoped the absence might be supplied by the unwonted hope of ease and security which their accession promised. The allied monarchs, on their part, did every thing to favour the Bourbon family, and relaxed most of the harsh and unpalatable conditions which they had annexed to their proposed treaty with Buonaparte; as if to allow the legitimate heir the credit with his people, of having saved their honour, and gained the most advantageous terms. The French readily caught at these indulgencies, and, with the aptitude they possess of accommodating their feelings to the moment, for a time seemed to intimate that they were sensible of the full advantage of the change, and were desirous to make as much of it as they possibly could. There is a story

of a French soldier in former times, who, having insulted his general in a fit of intoxication, was brought before him next morning, and interrogated, whether he was the person who had committed the offence. The accused replied *he* was not, for that that man had gone away before four in the morning, —at which hour the culprit had awaked in a state of sobriety. The French people, like the arch rogue in question, drew distinctions between their present and former selves, and seemed very willing to deny the identity. They were no longer, they said, either the republican French, who had committed so many atrocities in their own country, or the imperial French, that had made such devastation in others; and God forbid that the sins of either should be visited upon the present regenerate race of royalist Frenchmen, loyal to their native princes, faithful to their allies, who desired only to enjoy peace abroad and tranquillity at home. These professions, backed by the natural anxiety of the monarch to make, through his interest with the allied powers, the best terms he could for his country, were received as current without strict examination. It seemed that Buonaparte, on his retirement to Elba, had carried away with him all the offences of the French people, like the scape-goat which the Levitical law directed to be driven into the Wilderness, loaden with the sins of the children of Israel. There was, in all the proceedings of the allied powers, not only moderation, but a studied delicacy, observed towards the feelings of the French people, which almost savoured of romantic generosity. They seemed as desirous to disguise their conquest, as the French were to conceal their defeat. The treasures of art, those spoils of foreign countries which justice loudly demanded should be restored to their true owners, were confirmed to the French nation to gratify the vanity of the Parisians. By a boon yet more fatal, announced to the public in one of those moments of romantic and more than questionable generosity which we have alluded to, the whole French prisoners of war in the mass, and without enquiry concerning their principles, or the part they were likely to take in future internal divisions, were at once restored to the bosom of their country. This was in fact treating the French nation as a heedless nurse does a spoiled child, when she puts into its hands the knife which it cries for. The fatal consequences of this improvident indulgence appeared early in the subsequent year.

In pursuance of the same system, and as if in order to convince the French of the advantage which they had reaped by adopting a government in which other nations could repose faith, the allied monarchs, in treating with Louis, departed from all those harsh conditions of surrenders and guarantees, which they had held out as indispensable in the conferences at Chatillon. *April* 23. There was, indeed, more than one just view of policy in making such a distinction; for, independently of the superior good faith, which was expected with reason from the house of Bourbon, it was considered that, as their feelings could not be so much wounded by the cession of the fruits of France's foreign conquests, as those of the victor who had made the conquests now resumed; so their vindictive eagerness was not likely to be on the watch, like his, to seize the first favourable opportunity to recover them. Belgium, Holland, and Italy, were acquisitions made by France since the exile of the Bourbons; they had never belonged to that family, and the restoration of their independence was, of course, no object of regret to them. In truth, the only events which could have restored France to the royal family, were those which must in their

course limit her within her ancient territories; and the allies were justified in prudence in confiding in the good faith of the Bourbons, when guaranteeing the natural consequences of the events connected with their own restoration. By a convention entered into even before the king had re-entered his dominions, the allies agreed to suspend all hostilities against France, and to evacuate the French territory as it stood in 1792, in proportion as the French should deliver up and evacuate the strong places and countries held by them beyond the boundary of the territories so described. The 1st of June was allotted as the period before which these cessions were to be performed.

The definitive treaty of peace between the allied powers and the French government was settled upon the same terms of liberality and moderation. The continental dominions of France, which extended beyond her natural bounds in a degree so portentous to the independence of Europe, were, generally speaking, restricted to those which she possessed on the 1st of January, 1792. But she received some small additions on the side of Germany and the Netherlands, to square her frontier, and to connect with her ancient territory the fortresses which she still retained there, and on the side of Savoy she obtained a still more considerable augmentation. Chamberri and Annecy, together with Avignon, the Venaisson, and Montbeliard, including a population of about six or seven hundred thousand souls, were assigned to her,—as if to spare a shock to the feelings of the French nation, and to leave it still in their power to say they had gained something by twenty-five years of war and revolution.

On the part of Britain, the treaty was indeed a proud one. She had nothing to stipulate, nothing of which to demand restitution, for she had sustained no territorial loss during the period of hostilities. The war, which had nearly ruined most other nations, had put Britain in possession of all the colonies of France, and left the latter power neither a ship nor a port in the East or West Indies; and, to sum the whole, it was not in the power of united Europe to take from England by force any one of the conquests which she had thus made. The question, therefore, only was, what we were to cede to an enemy who could give us no equivalent, excepting her pledge to adopt better principles, and to act no longer as the disturber of Europe. The cessions were such in number and amount, as to show that England was far above the mean and selfish purpose of seeking a colonial monopoly, or of destroying the possibility of commercial rivalry. All was restored to France, excepting only Tobago and the Mauritius. Britain was indeed to retain Malta and the Cape of Good Hope, and the small island of Heligoland in the Baltic; but these had never been any part of the territories of France. France was allowed to have factories, but no fortifications, at Pondicherry and Chandernagore, and the Newfoundland fishery was put on the footing which it rested upon before the war,—a boon of the last consequence, when the education of seamen is considered. Sweden relinquished, in favour of France, the claims which her treaty with England had given to her, and Portugal agreed to cede the French province of Cayenne. Both these acquisitions were made through the mediation of Britain. It may be also accounted a cession on the part of Britain, that France was allowed to retain two-thirds of the fleet laid up at Antwerp, with the express view of encouraging her again to turn her attention to maritime objects. The treaty, therefore, gave the lie in every

point to the insidious assertions, that Great Britain disturbed the peace of the continent, in order to fix more firmly a monopoly of fleets, colonies, and commerce. Possessed of every means of securing such a monopoly, she voluntarily resigned them into the hands of her rival, and sought no equivalent, excepting in the restoration of peace, independence, and tranquillity to Europe at large. These sacrifices, made in the spirit of peace and moderation, were not made in vain. They secured to Britain the gratitude and respect of other states, and, giving to her councils that character of justice and impartiality which constitutes the best national strength, they placed her in a situation of more influence and eminence in the civilized world, than the uncontrouled possession of all the cotton-fields and sugar islands of the east and west could ever have raised her to. It is no slight evidence of the high respect paid to the good faith of England, that, of all the European powers, she alone was left in the independent exercise of her own judgment, concerning the conquests which she should cede or return, not only without controul from the intended congress, but without even an expression of apprehension that she would abuse this unlimited discretion. In this point of view, the surrender of so many conquered colonies to France, was more beneficial to Great Britain than the possession even of those important territories which she retained. Neither had her rival any just cause of complaint. France was indeed left by this remarkable treaty stript of her borrowed feathers, and deprived of all that victory and violence had wrested from other states; but she was still powerful enough to fill her equal rank among the nations, while new sources of distinction and new channels of wealth were opened to her active and ingenious inhabitants. And, added to the concessions of foreign powers in her favour, France experienced from her new ruler that attention to her liberties and immunities, which was a still higher mark of the advantages they were likely to reap, by exchanging the rule of a despotic conqueror for that of a lawful and pacific monarch.

One of the first acts of Louis was to present to his people a set of resolutions, afterward embodied in the Constitutional Charter, or Magna Charta, by which their liberties were in future to be secured. As we intend to examine more particularly into the principles and character of this great national document, in our annals for 1815, we shall here content ourselves with saying, that the charter, though far from being perfect, contained in it all that we have been accustomed to recognize as the basis of a free constitution, and adopted, in all points of a general and national tendency, the principles fixed in the constitution proposed by the senate. The Chamber of Peers and Chamber of Deputies were the titles applied to the aristocratical and popular branches of the constitution, instead of the Senate and Legislative Body—their public duties were divided something like those of the House of Peers and Commons in England. The independence of the judicial order was recognized, and the military were confirmed in their rank and revenues. The Chamber of Peers was to be nominated by the king, with power to create its members for life, or hereditary, at his pleasure. The income of the suppressed senate was resumed, and vested in the crown, excepting confiscated property, which was restored to the lawful owners. The catholic religion was declared to be that of the state, but all other Christian religions were to be protected by it. The king's authority was recognized as head of the

army, and the power of making peace and war was vested in him exclusively. The liberty of the press was established, but under certain restraints. The conscription was abolished—the responsibility of ministers recognized; and it may be said, in general, that a constitution was traced out, good so far as it went, and susceptible of receiving the farther improvements which time and experience might recommend. The charter was presented to the legislative body by the king in person, with a speech, which announced that the principles which it recognized, were such as had been adopted in the will of his unfortunate brother, Louis XIV.

June 4.

This constitutional document underwent criticism, both from those who, attached to the old system of France, had desired to see it restored as it stood before the revolution, and from the much more numerous class, who, though they had submitted in silence to Buonaparte's domination, still hankered after the principles of revolutionary liberty, and disdained to accept either security of property, or freedom personal or political, which came in the ancient feudal form of a boon from a monarch, instead of emanating directly from the will of the sovereign people. The charter was regarded by the former as a mean and degrading surrender of the royal authority, and by the latter as a badge of servitude imposed on the nation. The disaffection of the soldiers, also, became daily more evident. They insulted the national guard of Paris with the nick-name of *Chevaliers de Pantin*, insinuating that their retreat from that village on the day of the assault had been more precipitate than honourable. A more bloody discord arose between them and the Austrian soldiers. The green boughs which the latter always wear in their caps, when engaged in foreign war, were regarded by the French as an insulting emblem of victory. In a drinking-house at the Palais Royale, some of the Imperial Guard attempted to snatch these obnoxious emblems out of the helmets and caps of some Austrian soldiers. A skirmish ensued; a picquet of the National Guard in vain attempted to restore order, and sixty or seventy lives were lost. The French Guards were removed from Paris to Fontainbleau to prevent the repetition of such scenes, and a proclamation was issued by the Austrian commandant to explain, that the emblems which had given offence were matters of ordinary usage in their armies. But as this had been only assumed as the immediate pretext of a quarrel to which they were otherwise predisposed, the guards of Buonaparte remained almost openly irreconcileable to the new dynasty, although they wore their colours and received their pay. It was hoped that time and moderation might work a change in their sentiments.

Still, from the disaffection of the soldiers and the discontent of the revolutionists, there arose, even in the halcyon months of the restoration, a cloud on the political horizon, at first as small as that seen by the prophet from Mount Carmel, but which ceased not to increase, until the monarch of France, like the King of Israel of old, betook himself to his chariot and horses, and was fain to seek for shelter until the storm past away. But the affairs of France have already occupied so much of these annals, that the task of tracing the rise and progress of these dissensions must be necessarily deferred until we can trace them down to their explosion and catastrophe in the succeeding year.

For the same reason we shall here content ourselves with stating, that the task of arranging the confused and complicated interests of the various

states of Europe, was referred to a congress, to consist of the plenipotentiaries and representatives of the principal sovereign states of Europe, which was summoned to meet at Vienna. The councils of this assembly were interrupted by the return of Buonaparte, so that the result of their deliberations was not given finally to the world. The lapse of twenty-five years of constant war and general change had made so total an alteration, not merely in the social relations and relative powers of the states of Europe, but in the habits, sentiments, and principles of the inhabitants, that it appeared altogether impossible to restore the original system as it existed before 1792. The continent resembled the wrecks of the city of London, after the great conflagration in 1666, when the boundaries of individual property were so completely obliterated and confounded, that the king found himself obliged, by the urgency of the occasion, to make new, and in some degree arbitrary, distributions of the ground, in order to rebuild the streets upon a plan more regular, and better fitted to the improved condition of the age. That which proved ultimately an advantage to London, may perhaps produce similar good consequences to the civilized world, and a better and more permanent order of things may be expected to arise out of that which has been destroyed. In that case, the next generation will reap the advantages of the storms with which their fathers had to contend. It is a good omen, that the necessary changes appear hitherto to have been effected without much appeal to force, and that remonstrances founded on the principles of justice have always been pleaded, and often successfully, in opposition to the interested claims of the strong and powerful. If such pleas have not always been victorious, it is at least something that they have been favourably listened to, and that they have been rather eluded, than openly and with scorn repelled. From this we would willingly augur the increasing influence of principle in the councils of the European republic.

The august congress, to whose deliberations the fates of Europe were thus entrusted, met at Vienna. There appeared in person, assisted by their prime ministers, the Emperors of Russia and Austria, the King of Prussia, with the Kings of Bavaria, Wirtemberg, and Denmark. The interests of England were well committed to Lord Castlereagh, who had represented her during the whole progress of the campaign with a steadiness, wisdom, and spirit, which will make his name long remembered in her annals. As an additional mark of respect for Louis XVIII., Talleyrand was permitted to attend as plenipotentiary for France; an indulgence which, in any other point of view, that kingdom had no right to pretend to, as all her own interests had been arranged by the treaty of Paris, and she, the late oppressor of Europe, could scarce in modesty have expected to be called in to the councils, which had for their object the reparation of the injuries which she herself had inflicted.

The Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia were received at Vienna, by the Emperor of Austria, with the greatest pomp, so early as the 25th of September. But the opening of the congress was delayed until the 1st of November ensuing.

CHAPTER XV.

Military Affairs in Germany.—Blockade of Hamburgh.—Evacuation of the Fortresses held by the French beyond the Limits of France.—Cession of Norway.—The Norwegians chuse Prince Christian for their King, and proclaim their Independence.—Considerations respecting the Justice of their Cause.—The Crown-Prince invades Norway.—Prince Christian resigns his Rights.—A new Diet is assembled, and an Union with Sweden acquiesced in.—State of Poland.—The Duchy of Warsaw adjudged to Russia.—Prussia to be indemnified by the Dismemberment of Saxony.—Impolicy and Injustice of this Measure.—Convocation of the States General of Hanover—And the Duke of Cambridge's Speech to them.—Union of Belgium with Holland.—New Constitution of Switzerland—Resisted by Bern, but finally acquiesced in.—Geneva accedes to the Helvetic League.—Reflections on the Mode in which these Revolutions were accomplished.

WHILE the war was blazing furiously in France, its embers in Germany were slowly dying out. The large garrisons left by Buonaparte in the north, now without hope of relief, and isolated from all the French armies, were one by one compelled to surrender, or, being blockaded by superior numbers, maintained an useless resistance. *Jan. 2.* Dantzick surrendered on the 2d day of the year, and the garrison were made prisoners of war. Shortly afterwards *Jan. 12.* Wittenberg was stormed by General Tauenzein in a night attack. The citadel surrendered at discretion, and the garrison were sent to Berlin.

Hamburgh, the most interesting and important of the towns which were yet maintained by French garrisons, remained still in the calamitous state of a blockaded city. Abandoned by the Swedes, it had been seized by the French; and Davoust, one of Buonaparte's most devoted adherents and most skilful generals, occupied the place with an army of about 40,0000 men. There can be little doubt it was the expectation of Napoleon in 1813, that the army commanded by Bernadotte would have been employed against this place, and that thus the number of his foes on the Elbe would have been considerably diminished. But he was mistaken; for, whatever might be the policy of the Crown Prince, in suffering Hamburgh to fall into the hands of the French when it could have been easily defended, it would have been a more cruel blow to the allies, had he wasted his time in attempting to recover it, instead of co-operating with the grand

allied army, and contributing so materially as he did to the signal victory of Leipsic. The siege, therefore, or rather the blockade, of Hamburgh, was left to Bennigsen, with an army of observation, which was finally augmented to about 30,000 men. There is little doubt that Davoust, after the battle of Leipsic, would have gladly evacuated Hamburgh, and fallen back on Holland and Belgium, where his presence, at the head of so considerable an army, would have done much to keep down the flame of insurrection. But he was anticipated by the movement of the Crown Prince upon Holland in November, and found himself therefore obliged to remain in Hamburgh, which he began to fortify, with a determination to defend it to the uttermost. The beautiful suburbs were levelled with the ground, without even allowing the miserable inhabitants the leisure they implored to remove their effects. The French soldiers marched to the work of havoc, as to a joyous fete, preceded by bands of music, and bearing lighted brands on their bayonets. All nations have practised in their turn such stern severities of war; but it is reserved to the French to mix their cruelty with mockery and derision. Another and even more horrible scene followed. The hospital for the poor, and for the children of the poor, adjoins to the walls of Hamburgh, a large and strong building, which, with the church belonging to it, was essential as a military point of defence. The sick, the insane, the orphans, and the aged, were all ruthlessly expelled from their asylum, in the depth of a northern winter, and compelled to wander out among the snow; the wild laughter of the maniacs, rejoicing in their freedom, mingling strangely with the wailings of childhood, and the groans of infirmity and age. Yet Davoust did not utterly deprive them of refuge. His master, whose word was his law, had commanded him to spare those well-regulated establishments of charity, for which Hamburgh is celebrated all over Germany, and Davoust did that in deference to Napoleon's will, which he would not perhaps have done from a better feeling. The village of Eppendorff, within two miles of Hamburgh, was *not* burnt, being left as a place of refuge for these unhappy outcasts. But with this act of doubtful humanity, Davoust's consideration for them begun and ended. The care of their maintenance was left to the inhabitants of the village, and the humanity of General Bennigsen. They were quartered in a large *Banerhaus*, or farm-house, combined with its offices; and it is remarkable, that although few of the sick survived their violent ejection from the hospital, yet, such is the hardihood of the human frame, that almost all the orphan children lived and throve upon their change of residence. The village was soon afterwards occupied by the Russians, after a smart skirmish, and continued to be their most advanced post during the blockade. General Bennigsen's army was not numerous enough to press the siege in form, nor did he ever attempt it. He confined himself to such operations as were likely to engage the French in sallies and skirmishes, and expose them to loss, which in their situation they could ill afford. A principal means which he employed, after driving in all their advanced posts, was to menace the communication between the city and Harburg, a suburb situated on the opposite bank of the Elbe, which the French had fortified very strongly, and where they maintained a garrison. It was connected with Hamburgh by a bridge, or rather series of bridges, which united the low flat islands which there intersect the current of the river. The Russian general twice advanced his troops upon the ice, as if threatening this

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communication, and he twice succeeded in engaging Davoust in sharp skirmishes, which had no other result than the loss of men, which pressed hard upon the diminished forces of the French marshal. At length, perceiving that the intention of Bennigsen was only to waste the strength of his garrison by frequent actions, Davoust confined himself strictly to the defensive, and suffered the Russians to repeat their movements on the bridge without alarm or opposition, satisfied that they could establish no post between Harburgh and the city. From this period active operations were at a close, and in the end of April, Davoust received official information of the change of government in France. As the marshal's attachment to Buonaparte amounted to fanaticism, he was among the last of his generals who submitted to the new order of things. At length, however, he acquiesced in the orders sent to him for the evacuation of Hamburgh, General Girard was substituted to him by the new government, and assumed the command of the garrison for the purpose of conducting it to France. Slaughter, disease and desertion had reduced the number from above 40,000 to about 20,000 men, who marched out under arms, leaving 4000 convalescent in the hospitals.

May 16. Soon after the French had left Hamburgh, that city resumed her rank as an independent free state, governed by her ancient senate and native laws, with every prospect of recovering the wealth which she had lost, by the opportunities afforded to her of resuming her commerce, as universal factor for Germany.

Magdeburg was surrendered about the same time, together with Maestricht, Mentz, Huningen, and all the other fortresses occupied by the French within the limits of Germany. In Holland and Belgium, Flushing, Bergen-op-Zoom, Venloo, and other places which French garrisons had hitherto held, were in like manner evacuated, in compliance with the treaty of Paris, and the troops who had defended them were withdrawn into France, to add to the strength of her re-organized army, and, as it proved, to the weakness and instability of the new government.

The political affairs of Germany, and indeed of Europe, remained in uncertainty during the progress of the war, and, after its conclusion, every point of debate among the regenerate states of the empire, was referred to the congress of Vienna. But the fate of the empire itself was decided in one grand particular. The Emperor of Austria refused to resume the style of Emperor of Germany, and it was settled by the treaty of Paris that the German empire should not be revived under its ancient complicated political constitution, but should in future form a federate union of the princes and monarchs who were formerly vassals of this ancient state. Important changes were also meditated in the north of Europe.

We have already glanced at the powerful bribe held forth to induce the Crown Prince of Sweden to join the European league. It must be allowed, that it was made not only at a time when his services were essential to the allies, but when his weight, thrown into the other scale, would have formed a tremendous addition either to the force with which Buonaparte was threatening Russia, then the last barrier of European independence; or, at a later period, to the armies which, gaining the battle of Bautzen, threatened to re-establish the domination of France over the north of Europe. It is in such moments of emergence that the interested demand, and the anxious are apt to yield conditions, without scrupulously weighing their jus-

tice. Besides, Sweden could shew an equitable right to have her former losses repaired, and, considering the circumstances in which she had been deprived of Finland, had both an interest and an apology for demanding that it should be restored to her, as the first pledge of amity between Russia and Sweden. Such a demand the Crown Prince was unquestionably entitled to make, and it would not be difficult to shew that it might have been the interest of this country to have backed a condition, which, besides restoring a conquest iniquitously made and unjustly detained, would have limited the powerful empire of the Czars to their original share of the shores of the Baltic. On the other hand, the value of F nland to Russia was nearly inestimable. By this acquisition she gained for her frontier an almost impregnable line of sea-coast; and, instead of being skirted by a neighbouring and often hostile state, on a line commencing within a hundred and thirty miles of St Petersburgh, Russia now only comes in contact with Sweden in the distant and inhospitable regions of the North Pole. It was, therefore, in vain to expect, that, once possessed of a country so valuable to her from its situation, Russia would ever resign it; and the question remained how to find a compensation equally advantageous to Sweden. This was not difficult; for, whatever advantage Russia could promise herself from the possession of Finland, Sweden would receive the same, and much more, from the acquisition of Norway, since it would assign to her the sea as her frontier, almost along the whole chain of her possessions, instead of an independent and inimical dominion. Denmark also was, and had all along been, the determined ally of France, and Norway, as a part of her dominions, might, it was thought, be justly promised to the Crown Prince, in case of the success of the allies, as the reward of his adherence to the general cause In the treaty, therefore, between the Emperor of Russia and King of Sweden, the former power became bound, either by negociation or military co-operation, to procure for the crown of Sweden the cession of Norway. Great Britain also pledged herself to effect the same object, either by mediation with Denmark, or naval co-operation. By the law of nations, cessions of this sort are often recognized as the purchases of peace. That it would be unjust to enter into war for the purpose of dispossessing an unoffending power of any part of her dominions, is an evident truth. But, the sword being once drawn, a state of war implies the right of the stronger party to such part of the territories of the other, as he can either wrench from him by force of arms, or compel him to surrender as the price of peace. It is in this manner that a beaten nation must submit to the penalty of her weakness, and to the denunciation expressed in the *væ victis* of the Gallic conqueror. But it appears a very different question, how far a monarch can cede a kingdom which belongs to him in sovereignty only, and not in patrimony, which was the relation in which Norway stood to Denmark; although it seems probable, that, in the hurry of that interesting moment, when the fates of all Europe were depending on the event of the bloody game between France and Russia, and in the eagerness to secure an active and powerful co-operation on the part of Sweden, our ministers gave no particular consideration to the peculiar circumstances of Norway, but regarded that kingdom as equally transferable with the colony of Guadaloupe, a conquest from France, which, by the same treaty, Britain agreed to resign to Denmark. It is not in time of war, or during the

impendence of such a momentous crisis, that the rights of nations can be scrupulously weighed; and experience has too often shown that considerations, at other times of the highest importance, form at such periods no greater obstacle to the conclusion of a treaty, than a field of standing corn, from which the peaceful traveller turns aside, would oppose to the march of an army advancing to battle. But with peace there returned a nicer sense of the principles of justice; and, if it were impossible to avoid completing the transaction in which we were thus entangled, there were few so hard-hearted as to view the fate of Norway without compassion.

That kingdom had been long independent, and, though governed under a despotic form by the kings of Denmark, their laws had never been tyrannically administered. A race of herdsmen and foresters, they lived sequestered among their woods and mountains, acknowledged, since the corruption of the ancient Swiss manners, to exhibit the most interesting picture which Europe now possesses, of ancient worth, bravery, and simplicity. To men in this state of society, the name of national independence is deservedly and peculiarly dear. Their minds and affections are not blunted by the disgusting egotism, which teaches the native of a more luxurious society to drown the sense of public honour in his own selfish wants and enjoyments. To Sweden also the Norwegians had long nourished that uncontroulable aversion, with which small states regard a more powerful neighbour. The successful resistance which they had made to the numerous attempts upon their independence, were (like that which Scotland formerly offered to England,) the proudest chapters in their history; and the duty of following the example of their ancestors, and maintaining the honourable character bequeathed to them, was the first lesson which each Norwegian impressed on his children. A nation of this character is not to be transferred, like a flock of sheep, from one master to another; and, let Vattel, Puffendorf, and Grotius, say what they will, concerning the right of Denmark to cede, and of Sweden to receive, their allegiance, the unsophisticated feelings of the reader will suffer like our own, when we detail the history of their subjugation.

The Crown Prince of Sweden had, as we have already noticed, spent his leisure hours at Liege with his Swedes while the bloody campaign of Paris was fought and won. *April* 10. His farthest excursion towards the scene of action had been a peaceful visit to Nancy, when that town was far in the rear of the allied armies; but he returned to his head-quarters without even visiting those of the allies. When all was over, indeed, he met the allied monarchs at the French capital; but it is supposed that his dilatory conduct was resented, and that his reception proved a cold one. Accordingly he made no long stay where probably his presence was not very acceptable, but, perceiving no chance of his assistance being called for in the new order of things at Paris, returned towards the shores of the Baltic, in order to possess himself of Norway, before any obstacle should occur to prevent fulfilment of the treaty by which that kingdom was destined to change masters.

The Norwegians had already been apprized of their fate by a proclamation from the King of Sweden, in which, using *Feb.* 8. the best arguments which the case admitted of, he acquainted them that by the treaty of Kiel they were ceded to the crown of Sweden. He promised them, however, a compensation for the

wounds which their feelings must undergo, by the boon of a free constitution, founded on the two grand principles of a national representation, and the exclusive right of taxing themselves. War, he promised, should infest them no more, and the mountains between Sweden and Norway should no longer form an imaginary line of division between two nations of the same race, and whom Nature had destined to be members of one state. The Norwegians received this summons as the Scotch of former times would have received that of an English monarch. The nation resolved to declare itself independent, and to nominate to the government of Norway, vacant by the cession of the King of Denmark, Prince Christian Frederick, hereditary crown prince of that kingdom, under the title of regent. The young prince, with more spirit than prudence, accepted of the invitation, without well weighing the power of the adversaries with whom he had to contend. He passed to Norway, and instantly became actively engaged in preparing the means of defence against the expected invasion of Sweden. The Norwegian army was neither numerous nor well provided. But on the other hand, the frontier mountains can only be penetrated at particular passes, and that with difficulty. The country is too poor to afford supplies to a numerous army of invaders, and the peasants, well disposed to consider the war as national, were expected to conduct themselves like those of the Tyrol, who, in a country similar in natural strength, often proved superior to regular troops. Assisted by a council of regency, Christian prepared for his new state the constitution of a hereditary limited monarchy, upon a liberal plan. It recognized the king as wielding the executive power, and as possessing the privilege of making peace and war. The people were to exercise by their representatives the legislative authority and the powers of taxation. Liberty was secured to the press, and freedom of conscience to Christians of all persuasions. By thus assimilating their constitution to the English, it is possible that the poor Norwegians hoped to sooth the power on which they were aware that their fate must ultimately depend; for Norway is a barren country, and, even in the most favourable seasons, never produces corn enough to support her inhabitants, so that they depend chiefly upon importation for the means of subsistence. The wretched bread of their country, although the meal be economically eked out by the bark of trees, saw-dust, and other materials, which may fill the stomach though they supply no nourishment to the system, cannot, even by these miserable shifts, be made sufficient for the use of the inhabitants; a naval blockade, therefore, on the part of England, must prove a death-blow to their project of independence. Aware of this cause of apprehension, yet hoping that England might sympathize with a spirit so much akin to her own, and espouse the cause of a nation which was willing to adopt a constitution on the same free basis, Mr Anker was sent as an envoy to Britain to secure the amity, or at least the neutrality, of this country. Anxious at the same time to shew their own amicable disposition, the regency sent forth a proclamation abolishing privateering, the species of naval war in which Denmark had done so much damage to the English trade, and courting a reconciliation on any terms, except that of being transferred to the dominion of a hated and hereditary enemy.

It is probable that the English ministry now saw this article of their treaty with Sweden in a light different from that in which it had appeared when it was entered into. When they promised their assistance, by media-

tion or force, to compel Denmark to ratify the cession of Norway, they had not augured that the devoted victim should assume an interest in her own fate, and burst from the horns of the altar to which she was led; or that their engagement, different from its original purpose, should not only bind them to force the surrender, but to assist actively at the sacrifice. Any combination to deprive a country of independence, which is desirous of retaining it, is—we cannot repeat it too often—decidedly wicked in principle, and in practice of the very worst example. But—this had been entered into; and it was impossible to retreat from the fulfilment of the engagement, for which the faith of the country stood pledged by solemn treaty. It was in vain that the Norwegians, by their envoy, appealed to the justice, to the humanity, almost to the mercy, of the British parliament. The men of talents upon the opposition bench, with eloquence which would have had more weight had not their censure been too systematic on all occasions to seem quite disinterested, pointed out the hardship and injustice of the fate of the Norwegians; but Britain, like the Duke in the Merchant of Venice, was, in order to preserve her character of good faith, compelled to make good a contract, the nature of which jarred severely upon her own feelings. The blockade of *April* 29. the ports of Norway was announced to the public; and it became obvious that, since the power of the British navy was employed to prevent importation into her harbours, the nation must resign the contest. We do not share the scruples of the statesmen who regard this particular measure as contrary to the rules of war. The intercepting the means of subsistence, whether destined for the supply of a hostile army or a besieged fortress, is among the most ordinary and obvious of warlike measures. But we regret that this, or any other, should have been employed on the present occasion.

The Norwegian national diet met at Christiana, and by a great majority acknowledged the proposed constitution, and received Christian Frederick as their sovereign. But it had hardly dissolved ere four envoys, from Austria, Russia, England, and Prussia, arrived to announce the pleasure of this powerful confederacy. They required of Christian again to convoke the diet, and resign into the hands of the national representatives the powers of royalty which he had rashly accepted; they demanded the evacuation of the Swedish frontier, and that certain fortresses of importance should be occupied by Swedish troops; and on these terms they promised the suspension of the blockade. These conditions, after some capitulation, were rejected by Christian, and it seemed as if the fate of Norway were to be decided by arms. The new king was deserted by his father the King of Denmark, who was at great pains to disavow the proceedings both of Christian and of the diet, and to express his willingness to abide by the conditions of the treaty of Kiel.

The Crown Prince of Sweden mean time, having suddenly recovered from the lethargy which seemed to oppress him while at Liege, was not only vehement in his threats, but active in his preparations and prompt in his movements. His flotilla had the advantage in a naval action *July* 26. near the islands of Hualorn, and he shortly afterwards entered Norway at the head of a large Swedish army. One of his divisions, under General Gatin, received a check from the Norwegians; but his own progress was uninterrupted and successful, and Frederickstadt surrendered with little resistance. After some other partial

actions, all of which were favourable to the Swedes, the Crown *Aug.* 12. Prince forced the passage of the river Glommen, and made preparations for attacking Christian at his position of Moss. But further resistance on the part of Norway was now desperate, and the cause of the new king had been already deserted by most of the mercantile interest and many of the nobles. Christian yielded to his fate, and entered into a convention with the Crown Prince, by which he virtually resigned his rights upon Norway. A diet was to be summoned, and the Crown Prince, always in the name of the King of Sweden, bound himself to accept the constitution which had been adopted at the former diet of Eswold, with no other alterations than were necessary for the union of the two kingdoms The diet assembled at the time appointed, and received the resignation of Christian Frederick, who returned to Denmark, refusing, and doubtless with a swelling heart, the offer of a British frigate. The diet of Christiana next declared the union with Sweden, and adopted the king of the latter country as constitutional monarch of Norway. Thus terminated this new incident in our age of revolutions. It is probable that the high spirit displayed by the Norwegians, as it procured them the respect of the victor, will continue to secure the benefits of the free constitution, which, in the moment of victory, he judged it prudent as well as generous to recognize. Nor can it be doubted, that, when old enmities and antipathies are forgotten, the union of Norway with Sweden will prove a happy measure, for countries resembling each other in manners and language, and so situated that Nature herself seems to have intended them to form one state. This favourable prospect, however, arises from our confidence in Providence, which so often extracts good out of evil; and can never sanction the original violence to the will of a free people, by which the event, however desirable it may prove in the end, was originally brought about.

Denmark, stripped of Norway, and receiving only a nominal compensation on the continent, is now reduced to the lowest order of European states. We cannot pity this descent, when we recollect that it proceeded from her blind and obstinate adherence to the cause of Buonaparte, even to the very last. She can only be said to have shared the ruin of the tower to which she resorted as a place of refuge. But in regard to British policy, it may be well doubted whether we have acted wisely in strengthening Sweden at the expence of her ancient and constant rival. A northern confederacy, and our exclusion from the Sound, may be much more easily effected hereafter, than while the states of Denmark and Sweden continued upon an equipoise.

A political arrangement, of more importance to Europe, though not of more interest in itself, than the union of Norway and Sweden, was the resumption of the duchy of Warsaw, and the dismemberment of Saxony. It will be recollected that Napoleon, in his plenitude of power, and anxious after the battle of Tilsit to secure for a time the alliance of Russia, had ceded to her some districts of Poland, as Byalistok and Tarnopol, which he had wrenched from Austria and Prussia. But the great wound which he dealt to the latter kingdom, was by creating the grand duchy of Warsaw, and giving a nominal independence to great part of Poland, under the administration of the King of Saxony. This was probably the commencement of a new course of experiments upon that unfortunate country, which for half a century has been regarded by the statesmen of Europe as clay in the hands of the potter, capable of being moulded into any

form that should suit them for the time. To Napoleon, during his power, the advantages of Poland were inestimable. Her hopes, her fears, her resentments, her vengeance, were all implements in his hand, which he knew well how to use. He made his grand duchy of Warsaw an object of dread to Prussia, Austria, and Russia, all of whom saw in it the germ of the resurrection of Poland as an independent and formidable neighbour, glowing with recollection of the wrongs she had sustained, and supported by an ally whose power appeared next to irresistible. From Poland, Buonaparte drew his best and most faithful troops, whose blood he disposed of as his own free property in all quarters of Europe; and in the extremity of his distress, when a fugitive from Russia, it was still upon Polish assistance that he calculated. To raise that military nation in mass, and oppose to the Russian irregulars clouds of lancers as active and indefatigable as those who had harassed his own flight from Moscow,—to put, as he termed it, all Poland on horseback, would not have proved a task so difficult as it may seem, had not Napoleon's shuffling and tricking manœuvres fully convinced the nation that he sought only his own ends, and had no serious purpose in favour of their national independence. With Buonaparte fell the system he had erected; but the importance and difficulty of settling the affairs of Poland continued to engage the attention of the allies, and of the congress at Vienna. To hope to restore the independence of Poland upon a footing of strength sufficient to be, as in former times, a barrier between Russia and Germany, was like asking the lion and eagle to disgorge the prey they had devoured. Russia, Austria, and Prussia, would have considered it a strange termination to a successful war, which should compel them to surrender the spoils they had been possessed of for so many years subsequent to the partition. To have maintained the grand duchy as an independent state in the centre of three such powerful neighbours, would be but laying the foundation for future intrigues, partitions, and wars. It was therefore obvious that Poland was no longer to have even nominal independence, and it followed as a matter of course that Russia would possess herself of the largest share of that which remained unappropriated at the meeting of congress; and it seemed probable that Prussia would be unable to resume that portion of the dismembered state which had been originally assigned to her. All, or the greater part, of the grand duchy of Warsaw, it was plain, would fall to the lot of Russia. The strides of this powerful nation into the centre of Europe may indeed be regarded as fraught with future danger; and good policy required that Prussia, her natural rival, though at present her close ally, should be so strengthened, as in time of need to form a counterpoise to a power of such tremendous influence.

But it was no easy matter to arrange the affairs of Prussia so as to give her the necessary extent of country and population to supply the large armies she is under the necessity of keeping on foot, in numbers so disproportioned to those of her subjects; nor is it less difficult to consolidate the dominions which she already possesses. Her territories, whose length, compared to their breadth, is so much extended, that they were likened by Voltaire to a pair of garters, are disposed, besides, in the most irregular manner, and intersected at every point and angle by the dominions of some other power. Reaching from the banks of the Niemen to those of the Rhine,

Prussia has frontier everywhere, without depth or extent of territory to defend it; thus resembling an army which some unskilful general has drawn up upon a line so long and so thin, that it is liable to be penetrated at every point. She is sovereign besides of a number of detached and insulated possessions, which she probably nurses the hope of uniting to her state by arrondissements as opportunities shall arise. Thus Prussia seems to appear and disappear successively through all the north-east of Germany, and to be always present, though never in force. The most obvious interest of Europe was to give this important state depth and consolidation, by embodying the grand duchy of Warsaw with her Polish dominions. But the transcendent influence of Austria limited the claims of Prussia to that part of the duchy which lay nearest to her own dominions, and it was necessary to seek indemnification elsewhere. Saxony presented in its present condition the fairest scope for confiscation.

This state, once one of the most powerful in Germany, and which exerted a predominating influence in the diets of the empire, long ere the house of Brandenburgh had risen out of obscurity, held latterly a low rank among the German powers. This decadence was chiefly owing to the wars in which Saxony had been engaged by the two electors who ventured to assume the thorny crown of Poland, and saw their national domains wasted, the first Augustus by Charles XII., and the second by Frederick of Prussia. Since that time her rulers have followed a pacific policy, and, compelled to join the Prussians in the war which gave so deep a blow to their power, the Elector of Saxony lost no time after their defeat at Jena to join the party of France, to which he afterwards adhered. If he hoped to purchase an exemption, by this early submission, from the ordinary fate of Buonaparte's allies, it was mistaken policy. Saxony did not obtain the repose for which her ruler had been in such haste to sacrifice the national honour by premature submission to the victor. The Saxon troops were employed in the French army constantly from the very day after the battle of Jena, and the country was compelled to waste its resources in paying and supplying them. The elector had for his reward a mock regal title, and was created nominally, but not in effectual sovereignty, Grand Duke of Warsaw. Every thing about Napoleon's government was shadowy, fantastic, and delusive, excepting the sad reality of his bayonets and artillery. He rewarded his allies by empty titles, as he gave his people bulletins of French glory instead of the sons whom he had torn from their arms. When the long and fearful vision was closing, the King of Saxony was one of the last to awaken, or at least to shake himself free from its terrors. So far as the monarch was concerned, therefore, he could have no reason to complain of the forfeiture of his dominions. He had attached himself to Buonaparte's fortunes, not with the generosity of a grateful ally, but as being the party whom he esteemed most likely to be successful in the struggle; and he had done so after some vacillation, as if to wait the depression of the scale, which gave the allied sovereigns the right of upbraiding him with breach of faith. In losing the whole, or any part of his dominions, therefore, he only incurred the natural penalty of his conduct. But it was different with the Saxons themselves, whose active assistance, as well as their best wishes, had attended the allies through the whole struggle, and who therefore had done nothing to merit either to lose their

independence, or to be despoiled of their territory. When the Saxon troops left the French banners, to array themselves under those of allied Europe, they acquired, by a deed of no ordinary merit or utility, the right of being considered as a free people. Their dislike to the Prussian government and nation had been increased during the wars of the great Frederick; and the proposal to melt down and incorporate their territories with those of his successor, was galling to their pride as an ancient and independent state, and to their prejudices against their ancient enemies. On the part of the king, it was alleged, that he had intended to go over to the allies, had the rapidity of their motions allowed him time to mature his plan of secession from Buonaparte. "There can be no doubt of the truth of this," said Talleyrand, as he enforced the plea; "it was only the King of Saxony's misfortune, that his watch went slower than that of the allied sovereigns, and he was too late by a quarter of an hour." All these circumstances rendered the Saxons much averse to any alteration affecting their ancient independence.

When the purpose of the allies, therefore, was made manifest, by Prince Repnin, the Russian general, surrendering to Prussia the administration of Saxony, which he had hitherto exercised, their feeling of the proposed injustice and indignity assumed among the Saxon military a tone of decided violence. Two Saxon regiments mutinied at Liege, the head-quarters of Blucher, and even assaulted the house of the Prussian Field-Marshal, but were repelled by his guards, although not without bloodshed.

Alarmed by these appearances of discontent, and yielding in part to the remonstrances of Talleyrand, who is understood to have been vehement in support of the King of Saxony, the congress shewed an inclination to compromise matters between his claims and the demands of Prussia, by assigning to the latter power the two provinces of Lusatia on the right bank of the Elbe, and others most convenient for her frontier, leaving to the king his title, and permission to wear a crown at Dresden, almost within hearing of the Prussian drums. Like other half measures, this accommodation between justice and policy is likely to serve the purpose of neither. The same moral objections lie to the seizure of any part of the Saxon dominions, as to the annihilation of its independence entirely; and the effect of the evil example is the same, though the extent of the aggression be diminished in degree. On the other hand, the political object, which was the excuse for the measure, will be imperfectly attained by the cession of one half of Saxony only. Completely united with Prussia, she might in course of time forget her independence, and become an integral part of that kingdom. But a King of Saxony in Dresden will be like an Emperor in the Isle of Elba,—an object of attachment and affection to fix the hopes and the wishes of the inhabitants of the ceded provinces; and so long as the name of Saxony is preserved as an independent state, so long will the inhabitants of Lusatia consider themselves as Saxons, not as Prussians, and be an incumbrance, rather than an advantage, to the court of Berlin. We fear that, when this arrangement shall be completed, the congress will be found to have done too much for moral justice, and too little for political prudence.

In the King of Britain's electoral dominions, which he recovered, of course, upon the expulsion of the French, an important change of constitution was adopted. As the ancient system of the German empire was not

again to be revived, and as several of the sovereigns who held the great fiefs of the empire had been gratified with the royal dignity, it was not decorous that the King of Great Britain should, in his capacity of a member of the German league, hold a lower place than the Kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg. Count Munster, therefore, the Hanoverian minister of state, announced to the congress, that the Prince Regent, in order to maintain the dignity of the house of Brunswick Lunenburgh, and secure for it its ancient and becoming rank among the members of the Germanic body, had resolved to assume the title of King of Hanover; in which, of course, the assembled plenipotentiaries acquiesced without hesitation. But a more important change than that of surmounting the scutcheon of Hanover with a royal crown for an electoral coronet, was the convocation of the states of the king's German provinces in a general diet, assembled at Hanover by the royal proclamation, for the purpose of adjusting an uniform system of taxation and finance. Thus, as it was the proud fortune of Britain to be the most steady, and consistent, and unawed upholder of the independence of Europe during twenty-five years of usurpation and revolution, she had the satisfaction to see that her ruler was the first who shewed to the assembled sovereigns the manly and generous example of placing that independence upon the only sure foundation, by admitting his people to a just share of the government of his hereditary states, and consequently to full enjoyment of the liberty for which they had struggled. In the meeting of the Hanoverian estates, the Prince Regent was represented by his brother the Duke of Cambridge, whose speech at opening the diet pointed out the duties of this representative body. After receiving an address from the assembly, his royal highness answered them in a speech couched in manly, liberal, and constitutional language. He claimed for the Prince Regent the well-deserved praise of having given the first example to the potentates of Germany, by calling together a representative body of his states; and he gave to the Hanoverian people the applause well won, by the zealous loyalty which survived and defied so long a course of foreign tyranny and oppression. The conclusion must be quoted at length:—

Dec. 15.

"Assembled deputies of the kingdom, the whole country has its eyes on you. From you it looks for deliberations on the new measures which the Prince Regent has to take in concert with you.

"You will weigh the relations of all classes, and maintain them in just equilibrium, having in view the good of the whole, which is founded on the good of the single parts. Never forget that the Regent feels himself intimately connected with his subjects. If the difficult times require great sacrifices in the increase of the revenues, consider that the sovereign demands nothing for himself,—that we ask only what the country requires.

"If some privileges must be sacrificed to form a better internal order, remember that the Prince Regent gives up rights which others consider as an essential part of the royal dignity, by assembling you here—to be to him, here, what the parliament is in the sister kingdom of Great Britain, the high council of the nation."

Hitherto none of the German sovereigns, excepting the Duke of Nassau, have ventured to follow the noble and disinterested example set to them in Hanover, by establishing a national representation; but we may prophesy that they will not long neglect it with-

out serious inconvenience. There is a spirit abroad in the world that will not and cannot be repressed; nor did the whole population of Germany rise to expel foreign usurpation, in order to resume with patience the degrading and galling yoke imposed on them by their own princes. The madman who neglects to supply his house with a chimney must be suffocated with smoke, or consumed with fire; and what that necessary accommodation is to domestic comfort, a national representation is to the social system. It affords at once means of evaporation and escape for noxious fumes, and affords genial comfort and warmth to the system by judiciously encouraging, and at the same time regulating, the spirit of freedom and love of right, which despotism will in our day find it difficult to smother.

The fate of Belgium was next to be determined. Upon the evacuation of that country by the French, the provisional government of what was once called the Austrian Netherlands had been assumed by General St Vincent; but it was generally understood that the emperor had no inclination to resume the property of those distant provinces, which cost more in a single year of war than their revenues could repay in ten years of peace, and which had been now long severed from his dominions. It was speedily agreed among the plenipotentiaries at the congress, that the natural union between Belgium and Holland should be renewed, and that the whole Netherlands should be placed under the dominion of the house of Orange. This purpose, which had been long anticipated, was formally communicated to the inhabitants of the ten catholic provinces by a proclamation of Baron St Vincent, dated upon the 31st July. He surrendered the government of Belgium to the Sovereign Prince of the United Netherlands with these remarkable expressions concerning their future destiny:—

"The peace which has given repose to Europe is going to confirm the happiness of the people of Belgium and Holland. Already connected by the natural bonds of a common descent, of common industry and virtues, you will find the pledge of your durable prosperity in the strict conformity of your administration.

"Belgium, under the government of the serene house of Orange, under a system the most favourable to its commerce, and with the preservation of its religion and manners, will soon be restored to its ancient lustre; your fine cities, Ghent, Bruges, Ostend, Antwerp, &c.; the monuments of your national industry, which languished in the late unhappy times, will again rival in industry and prosperity with the first commercial nations.

"People of Belgium, the general interest of Europe destines you an enviable fate; an indissoluble union shall ensure its duration under the most venerable guarantee that human power can give."

Aug. 1. In a proclamation by the Prince of Orange, he announced that he was to hold the government provisionally, until the new destination of these beautiful provinces, and their consolidation with the sister states of Holland, should be recognized by the court of Vienna; and declared his purpose to honour and protect religion, to give to nobility the splendour due to its merits, and to encourage agriculture, commerce, and all branches of industry. "These," said the prince, "will be my most delightful duties, the objects of my incessant care. Happy if, in multiplying my claims to your esteem, I shall succeed in preparing and facilitating the union which is to fix your destiny, and which will permit my love to make no difference between you and that people

whom Nature herself seems to have destined to form with Belgium one powerful and prosperous state."

It appeared, from subsequent circumstances, that the fates of the Netherlands were to be intrusted in a great measure to the protection of Great Britain, as being not only chiefly interested in maintaining the integrity and independence of the new kingdom, but believed at that time to be about to connect her own royal family with that of Orange by a most close and intimate tie. English troops were sent into Flanders in great numbers, and formed garrisons in most of the towns towards the French frontier, where they were advantageously distinguished by their good discipline and orderly conduct. The new sovereign of the Netherlands made, at the same time, the greatest exertions to recruit and organize his national forces, a precaution, of which the awful events of the next spring shewed the prudence and necessity. Thus enlarged and secured, the kingdom of the Netherlands became well worthy of good government, and, if necessary, of valiant defence; for few countries of the same size are equally populous in proportion to their extent, or wealthy and fertile in proportion to their population. The Scheldt was opened by the treaty of Paris, and Antwerp declared a free port, but for commercial purposes only. The course of the Rhine being, therefore, now free, it may be expected that its ports will soon become the emporium of continental importation, and that the cities of Flanders will resume the wealthy and splendid appearance which they had before the reign of Philip II. Difference of religion is the only essential obstacle to the union between Flanders and Holland becoming close and intimate; nor is it in these days that we expect any permanent ground of division to arise on this topic. This union will probably be found one of the wisest measures which has received the sanction of the congress of Vienna. *Nov. 7.* On his return to Holland in the beginning of winter, the Prince Sovereign opened the session of the States General. Their attention seems chiefly to have been turned on matters of finance, and the secretary, M. Falck, had the satisfaction of making a very favourable report upon the economical reduction of the public expenditure, and the thriving state of the public revenue. *Dec. 8.*

The nineteen Sovereign Cantons, which form the confederation of Switzerland, had availed themselves of this great crisis, to make such alterations in their constitution as were adapted to the liberal ideas of the age. The principle on which they proceeded, was to introduce a proportional equality into the representation, the levies, and the taxation of the cantons in general, to abate or to abolish particular taxes, and to give the vassal districts, hitherto called *subjects*, of the respective cantons, the same rights with the provinces they were attached to.

This new federal compact was accepted in the beginning of July, by the diet of Switzerland. But it was keenly opposed by the canton of Berne, who, by her early acquisitions through conquest, was possessed of more *subjects* than any of the other cantons, and had, besides, been accustomed to assume among them a sort of precedence, the root of which was struck at by this new doctrine of equalizing the rights of all members of the confederation. On the other hand, the Pays de Vaud and Argovia, which Berne numbered among her subjects, were eager to assert the rights and the independence which the new compact held out to them, and to free themselves by force of arms, if necessary, from the state of vassalage in which

Berne seemed determined to retain them. The allies were now called on to interfere, to prevent a civil war being lighted up in a territory *Aug.* 8. closely adjoining to France, and where it seemed likely she would have formed some pretext to interfere. A note was addressed to the diet by the ministers of Austria, Russia, and England, which intimated plainly, that if the Diet of Switzerland found themselves incompetent to arrange and enforce a new constitution, the interference of the congress would become a matter of inevitable necessity.

Admonished by this significant intimation, the diet wisely hastened to settle their own affairs in their own way. They executed a re- *Sept.* 8. vised federal compact, by which they guaranteed to each canton its peculiar constitution, and settled a contingent of troops to be levied, which, taken at a computation of two men for every hundred, amounts to about 30,000 soldiers. They appointed a revenue for the general use of the confederacy, to be levied by duties on foreign goods. It was declared, that no separate alliances, to the prejudice of the general league, were to be formed among the cantons; but, in case of internal commotion, or foreign invasion, each should receive assistance from the others. All differences betwixt the cantons were to be settled by the diet. This body, composed of a representative from each canton, was to represent the federated republic in its intercourse with foreign nations, possessing the power of peace and war, and, in general, exercising the executive government of the union. Lastly, a full equality of rights was recognized among the cantons of Switzerland and their inhabitants, and the name and incapacities of the subject districts were abolished for ever. The diet received the congratulations of the allied powers, on having perfected this good work by their own hands, and thus guaranteed, it was adopted by all the cantons, and now forms the constitution of Switzerland,—a constitution plain indeed in its construction, but the better suited for the simplicity of the mountaineers, for whom it is intended. The Helvetic League received, about the same time, an increase of strength, by the accession of Geneva.

This little republic, of which the name is dear to letters and to religion, had long subsisted as a free state, rather by the respect due to its renown and to its history, than from having the power to resist aggression, until it fell under the all-grasping ambition of France. It was now, when delivered from that yoke, wisely assigned to the protection of the Helvetic confederation, not as a subject state, but as an equal ally of the League. A new constitution was adopted, recognizing the protestant faith as the predominant religion, but assigning a church for the exercise of the Roman catholic worship,—acknowledging the liberty of the press, but requiring each author to sign his work,—and vesting the legislative power in a representative body, and the executive in a council of state, chosen from among these representatives. When the internal organization of the state was completed, Geneva, whose territories had been augmented by Neufchatel and the Valais, assigned to her by the allies, offered herself as a *Sept.* 19. member of the Helvetic confederation, and was joyfully received by the diet into every privilege of an united canton.

It may be briefly remarked, that in these instances of Hanover, Holland, Flanders, and Switzerland, the allied powers acted wisely in not attempting to do more under their own name and authority, than to indicate the course

which the nations in question would do wisely to pursue, leaving them to avail themselves of their own lights and their own reason in following out the measures recommended. No constitution, imposed by foreign powers, can ever be so well adapted to the government of a state, as that which is arranged by those acquainted with the wants, the temper, the prejudices of them who are to live under it. But were it possible to construct at Vienna, Berlin, or London, as good, or a better plan of government, it would be deprived of the greater part of its merit, when considered as a constitution not adopted by a free people in their own free choice, but forced on them by strangers whom they had no power to resist. The great allied powers, at so critical a period, were as well entitled to interfere in the affairs of the less powerful states for preventing civil war, as a proprietor might be to enter forcibly the cottage of a poor neighbour, in order to extinguish a conflagration which threatened to extend itself to his own house. But it follows from this admission, that all beyond measures demanded by necessity and general safety, can only be termed a wanton interference with the affairs of others, and however well intended, is almost certain to be followed by the most inauspicious results.

CHAPTER XVI.

Military Events of the Year in Italy.—Battle of Roverbello.—Advance of Murat against Beauharnois.—Convention with the Austrians.—The English make an Attempt on Leghorn.—Disembark an Army, and take Genoa after a Battle.—Lord William Bentinck's Proclamation.—Genoa united with Savoy.—Reinstatement of the King of Sardinia in his Continental Dominions.—Acquisitions of Austria.—The Pope returns to Rome.—His Measures.—Re-establishment of the Jesuits.—Sicily.—Affairs of Spain.—State of Parties in Spain.—Fanaticism of the Royalists.—Errors of the Liberalists.—Character of the King, and expectations formed upon it.—Return of Ferdinand.—Discord betwixt the King and Cortes.—Ferdinand dissolves them by Proclamation.—Takes possession of Madrid, and imprisons several Members of the Cortes.—Restores the Inquisition and other Abuses.—Discontents among the People.—Enterprize of Mina.—Reflections on Ferdinand's Conduct—and on the Intercourse betwixt Britain and Spain.—Spanish Colonies.—The Flotilla of the Royalists defeated, and Monte Video taken.—Pacification of Chili.—Venezuela conquered by the Royalists.

ITALY had, during the latter part of the last, and first years of the present century, been the usual stage of contest in the wars between Austria and France. But since the treaty of Austerlitz, this fine region had been under the exclusive dominion of Buonaparte, and had furnished him with some of his best soldiers. In the disastrous campaign of Moscow, no troops were more distinguished than the fourth corps *d'armée*, commanded by Eugene Beauharnois, the Prince Viceroy, as he was called, of Italy. They consisted of upwards of 50,000 men, almost all Italians, scarce the twentieth part of which recrossed the Russian frontier. Of a guard of honour, composed of some of the first families in Italy, and amounting to nearly five hundred men, only *eight* escaped the rigours of that dreadful retreat. Italy had her share also in the losses of the German campaign of 1813. Yet, at the commencement of the subsequent year, Eugene had been able to collect and equip a formidable army, with which, but for the defection of Murat, he might not only have defended the north of Italy against the threatened descent of the Austrians, but even operated a diversion upon their frontier in favour of Napoleon.

Secure, however, of Murat's co-operation, by the treaty which we have already quoted, General Bellegarde crossed the Adige with thirty thousand Austrians, while Murat, advancing with his Neapolitan army, occupied Rome, Ancona, and Florence, and expelled the feeble bodies of French troops which garrisoned those cities. Beauharnois, thus menaced on all sides, advanced, nevertheless, against the Austrian general, who, having taken possession of Verona, was now about to cross the Mincio. Eugene attempted to anticipate him in this movement, and, debouching from the Mincio with the *elité* of his army, marched to surprise the Austrians *Jan. 8.*

near Villa-franca. They were already in motion, and, by a singular coincidence, at a moment that the French were deploying from their *tete du pont*, the Austrians effected their passage to Borghetto. A sharp but indecisive action took place on the plains of Roverbella, and the loss of both armies was considerable. The French claimed the victory, but it is clear that the Austrians maintained their ground; and although the former professed to have recovered the line of the Mincio, we soon after find Bellegarde in undisturbed possession of both banks of the river. Besides the action of Roverbella, several bloody skirmishes took place between the contending armies. The Neapolitans began to appear on the field. A skirmish took place betwixt Murat's troops and the French-Italians of Beauharnois near Reggio, to the disadvantage of the latter, and shortly afterwards, in a succession of actions, the Neapolitans forced the passage of the Taro, and advanced upon Placentia. But these conflicts were of little consequence, and only served to swell the general sum of slaughter, without producing any material effect on the affairs of Europe. It is enough to say, that Beauharnois, driven back upon the line of the Adige, was in a very critical position when he received news of the Treaty of Paris. It is to the credit of this general, that, although personally more deeply affected by the downfall of Buonaparte than almost any one else, he did not, like other French officers in a similar situation, attempt to gratify his spleen by an useless continuation of hostilities. By a military convention, entered into between him and General Bellegarde, the French troops under the command of Eugene Beauharnois were to be sent back to the kingdom of France, and the fortresses of Osopo, Palma-nova, Venice, and Legnago, were to be delivered up to the Austrians. The Italian troops of Beauharnois changed masters, like their country, and were withdrawn to supply the Austrian garrisons in Germany. This convention closed hostilities in Italy.

The English forces had not been inactive in aiding the emancipation of Italy. An attempt had been made to surprise Leghorn so early as the middle of December, 1813, *Dec.* 13. by a body of the Italian levy, as it was called, and of English marines, disembarked from on board the Edinburgh ship of war. They obtained possession of the suburbs, and repelled with loss a sally of the garrison. But the fortifications being found too strong for a *coup-de-main*, the troops were re-embarked. Leghorn fell into possession of Murat on his advance to the north of Italy, and soon afterwards an English fleet landed in that city an army of eight thousand men, commanded by Lord William Bentinck. Learning that Genoa was occupied by a garrison of only two thousand men, the English general formed the plan of possessing himself of that important city, with its harbour and fortresses. Having occupied *April* 6. Spezzia as a point of retreat, if necessary, he moved rapidly forward, although he had learned that, in the interim, the garrison of Genoa was augmented to five or six thousand men. Lord William Bentinck manœuvred with such success that he drove all their advanced posts before him out of the strong country around Sestri, Mount-Fascia, and Nervi, and pushed the enemy under the walls of Genoa, where they took up a formidable position. With a *April* 17. motley army, composed of Greeks, Calabrians, Italian insurgents, and Croats, mingled with English, Lord William Bentinck succeeded in carrying the strong forts of Richlieu and Tecla, which covered the enemy's left wing, while General Montresor's

division, after hard fighting, in an intersected and difficult country, surmounted the resistance of their right, and drove them into Genoa in confusion. The French commandant shewed less obstinacy, and more sympathy for the inhabitants of Genoa, than might have been anticipated; and Lord William Bentinck, still more anxious to save the city from the horrors of a bombardment, entered into a capitulation, by which the French were allowed to evacuate the town. This important acquisition was made with very inconsiderable loss on the part of the British.

The final destiny of Genoa seems not to have been determined when the English general took possession of the city. In a proclamation by Lord William Bentinck, he held out to the Genoese a prospect of the restoration of their former independent government, with its ancient rights and privileges. Accordingly, it was for some time governed by a provisional administration upon these principles. We have no doubt his Lordship thought, that in doing so he spoke the intentions of his government. Indeed, in a dispatch from Lord Castlereagh to Colonel Dalrymple, he expresses his regret that the separate existence of Genoa could not be preserved, while he informs him of the resolution of the allies, that Genoa should make part of the dominions of the King of Sardinia, as the best way of providing for the tranquillity of that city. This change of intention has been urged as a breach of faith on the part of England; but it must be observed, that the promise of Lord William Bentinck, being gratuitous, and altogether unmerited by any exertion which the Genoese had made, either to free themselves or to assist the British, cannot in any sense be strained beyond an annunciation by the British general of what he believed to be the purpose of the allies towards Genoa. He was not empowered, nor did he pretend, to bind these powers to such a line of conduct, nor were the Genoese called upon to do any thing in consequence of this flattering prospect, in order, by a fulfilment of the contract on their part, to tie down the British nation to a guarantee of their independence. Genoa was simply occupied as a military station after an action, in which her citizens were passive, and by a convention to which they were no party. Whatever their disappointment might be, the proclamation of Lord William Bentinck cannot be wrested farther than as extending a hope which circumstances did not admit to be fulfilled. The question, therefore, concerning the future destination of Genoa remains open to be determined on its own merits.

The restoration of an independence which she is now unable to maintain, would have been a gift now of little consequence to this once famous republic. Genoa's age of commerce and splendour had long passed away,—her golden book, once so famous, had been reduced to ashes by the hand of foreigners,—her merchants were no longer among the mighty of the earth,—and to give her independence without power to maintain it, was laying her at the mercy of the first belligerent power who chose to violate her neutrality. While we reprobate and deplore the destroying, or dismembering such states, as, from their size and strength, are capable of making integral parts of the commonwealth of Europe, we would deprecate, on the other hand, the restoration of the numerous petty sovereignties, both in Germany and Italy, which, under the semblance of independence, must always be the passive tools of their nearest or most powerful neighbour. It were another question, whether the Congress ought to bereave, even of that semblance of freedom, any state, however small, whom they shall find vested with it. But in the case of Genoa, Venice, and other ancient govern-

ments of Italy, the overwhelming tide of revolution has long since merged them with other states; and, after so many changes, they retain as little sense of their original independence, as their ancient coin, after many years currency, presents marks of the emblems of sovereignty with which it was impressed during their splendour. The other powers of Europe, therefore, are in no shape obliged to restore to such states a nominal, or, at best, a precarious independence, when it is evident that their consolidation with some more powerful neighbour may contribute to mutual defence and mutual happiness. We, therefore, approve of the policy which has eventually adjudged Genoa to Savoy, as it united Geneva with Switzerland. It furnishes the King of Sardinia with a noble harbour, extends his dominions to the sea, and closes on all hands the road by which the French may again propose to invade Italy, of which, by force, or influence, they would have always become masters had Genoa retained a separate sovereignty. The Austrian troops, shortly after the capture of Genoa, and the general pacification, evacuated Turin, and the other districts of the kingdom of Savoy, so that his re-establishment in his ancient kingdom must be considered as completed.

But if Austria resigned the provinces adjacent to the Alps, it was with the view of reserving to herself a rich indemnification in another quarter. A proclamation of Field-Marshal Bellegarde announced to the Italians, that Lombardy, Mantua, Brescia, Bergamo, and Cremona, were definitively united to the Austrian empire. Parma, Guastalla, Placentia, nominally governed at present by the Archduchess Maria Louisa, must be reckoned possessions of Austria, and Florence is nearly in the same situation. This was but a small part of the acquisitions of Austria. She has recovered the mountains of the Tyrol and Voralberg, with their high-spirited, warlike, and invaluable population. She has regained Venice, Carniola, all the sacrifices which had been rent from her in Carinthia, and Istria, and the whole tract of Dalmatia, with the Adriatic islands. She is mistress of the sea-coast of the Adriatic from the mouth of the Po to that of the Cattaro, a tract inestimable for the commerce of the Mediterranean. In a word, her power is immense, and would be formidable to the liberties of Europe, were it not qualified by the slowness, hesitation, and, to speak truly, by the unambitious moderation which has hitherto characterized her councils. United with Prussia, with whom she has no longer jarring interests, Austria must be regarded as the natural counterpoise to the more enterprizing power of Russia, and we cannot, therefore censure the policy which has augmented her power and revenues. We trust, however, that, taking warning by the spirit of the times, a more mild and beneficent spirit will mark her Italian government in future, and that the cities of these annexed states will not be considered as mere garrison-towns, or subjected to commandants who know no law but that of arms. The humiliation of being the subjects of strangers, whom they account inferior to them both in talents and taste, is sufficiently galling to the Italians, even if that power should not be exercised capriciously, or with rigour. The north of Italy is by far too good a country to suffer under such harsh and iron government, and if its rulers refuse to do justice to the inhabitants, they will one day do justice to themselves.

Murat, aware of these discontents, and not feeling sufficiently the disadvantages of his own situation, appears early to have entertained hope of one day uniting the various states of Italy into one kingdom. This is evident from

the singular tone of his proclamations as he marched to the northward. *Jan. 17.* In one of them he announced, that he had surrendered three islands in the Bay of Naples, and his whole fleet, but that he was to receive an ample compensation, and that he was to take possession of the south of Italy as far as the right bank of the Po. The phrase was studiously obscure, but the most obvious sense implied, that he was to take possession of them in sovereignty. Such were his expectations in consequence of the aid which he rendered to Austria. They were as vain as those of Æsop's crane, who, demanding a reward for having pulled a bone out of the fox's throat, was answered by the patient, she might be thankful he had not bit her head off. The allies, in like manner, seem to have thought the suffering Murat to remain sovereign of Naples, was a sufficient reward for his exertions, nor does it appear that they ever encouraged him to expect much more. He was, therefore, compelled to disgorge his easy conquests, and Rome, in particular, was soon delivered up to the pope.

No part of Buonaparte's violence had more injured his cause through the catholic countries of Europe, than his wanton and injurious treatment of Pius, an aged and venerable priest, the sovereign pontiff of the religion which he himself for the present professed. The steadiness with which the pope sustained both insult and imprisonment had raised him high in the eyes of Europe. The provisional government of France, almost immediately upon their appointment, *April 2.* took the merit of decreeing the liberation of his holiness, and appointed him to be conveyed with due honours to his own territory. When the pontiff reached the outposts of Murat's army, he was received with great reverence, and escorted to Rome, where his entry was the signal for general rejoicing.

While we do just honour to the firmness with which the pontiff supported adversity, and risked the uttermost of Buonaparte's wrath, rather than comply with demands which he regarded as unjust and sacrilegious, we regret that his conduct, since his restoration, does not appear to have been marked by a sense of the present state of Europe, or the lights which general education have afforded to its inhabitants. The reverse of wrong is not always right, and though we can pardon the attachment of an old man and a priest to forms and observances rendered yet more dear by their contrast with the disregard paid to religion by the atheists of France, we deeply regret that the government of the church of Rome had not, at this period, been in the hands of a man of bolder and more liberal spirit, who might have ventured to get rid of a part, at least, of her superstitious formalities, and bring her rites and doctrines more near to a level with these enlightened times. The pope's first ordinances, however, were of an unexceptionable and moderate tendency; for, while he took measures for reclaiming the allegiance of those Italians who had submitted to Buonaparte, and resuming the domains of the papal see, which had been alienated during the French usurpation, he qualified those necessary and just measures, by prohibiting all enquiry into the conduct of individuals during these troublesome times, when assailed by temptations arising out of circumstances so uncommon as those which have lately convulsed Europe. But when the pope began to re-establish every usage and rite, however ridiculous and trivial, which had the sanction of antiquity, wise men judged him more likely to hurt than to

serve the catholic religion, by uniting its doctrines with the observances of dark ages, absurd and contemptible to all but mere barbarians. This was only ludicrous. But the attempt to revive the monastic orders, against the sense and feeling of all Christendom, had a more menacing tendency.

Aug. 7. A bull, for the re establishment of the Jesuits, was formally promulgated at Rome, authorizing them to resume the rule of that memorable and rational person, Saint Ignatius of Loyola, and taking it upon the pope's conscience, that he would deem himself guilty of a great crime towards God, if he had delayed the restoration of that sanctified and self-denying order. The actual apparition of any of the sable phantoms with which nurseries were in our childhood threatened, could scarce have more surprised the European public, than the resurrection of an order, which all the catholic powers in Europe, sanctioned by the bull of Clement XIV., one of the most able pontiffs who ever wore the Roman mitre, had abolished forty years before, as the most artful and dangerous combination that priestcraft had ever formed to extend its influence over the social system, under the hypocritical mask of religion. *Aug.* 15. Another edict announced the holy father's intention to restore the other monastic institutions, as far as possible, to their original splendour; and, as a commencement, the members were invited to assemble themselves at Rome, where all vacant convents should be prepared for their reception. Amidst these symptoms of weakness and bigotry on the part of the pope, it is some comfort to know, that not even the kings of France and Spain, who alone can be suspected of such weakness, have now the means of essentially aiding his holiness in his desperate attempt to renew, in the nineteenth, the absurdities of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The will of the Roman see to restore these communities, and to settle them once more as a burthen on the industrious laity, cannot be doubted. But the charm has been broken, and in our time the most devoted vassals of catholicism have neither the inclination or the means to re-establish this ruined fabric. Denunciations of freemasons, and other secret societies, seem to intimate that there is some hidden discontent among the subjects of the church, which the pope is afraid may be drawn to a head by means of these assemblages.

In the meanwhile, Murat seems to have thought that the false steps of the pontiff were likely in their result to favour his own private views, by diminishing the general respect paid to the Roman see. He maintained garrisons in the marches of Ancona, treated with little ceremony the refractory priests and agents of the pope, augmented his army, and plainly indicated his purpose of aggrandizing himself at the expence of the papal see, at least as far as his treaty with Austria could be supposed to authorize, and probably as much further as he could find opportunity. The end of the year left him in active preparation for the field, but the details of his policy and projects belong to our next volume of annals.

In Sicily little of consequence appears to have occurred. In our zeal for affording the Sicilians the benefit of a representative government, we had forgotten the previous enquiry, how far they were fitted for it. The parliament, convoked under British auspices, and by the express interference of Britain, made the first use of their privileges to exclaim against English influence. They

might have said, and truly, like Caliban to Prospero,

> "You taught me language, and my profit on't
> Is—I know how to curse——"

They adopted, indeed, the English loan as a part of the national debt, but not without a severe censure on the minister who had contracted it. Great internal discord prevailed, of which we are unable as yet to ascertain the cause. By one article in the Palermo Gazette, (20th November,) little to have been expected from the parliament of Sicily, they seem to meditate a resumption of the church-lands, a measure of too general and sweeping a nature to permit the hope of its being realized. "The great quantity of territorial property," says the article in question, "possessed by the ecclesiastical corporations, is the cause why in Sicily the number of landholders is very inconsiderable, which is extremely injurious to agriculture. The parliament is employed in applying a remedy to this evil. On the 7th, a plan of law was proposed in the Chamber of Commons, enacting a perpetual alienation of all landed property, whether dominal or feudal, held by churches, pious foundations, orders of knighthood, episcopal sees, and universities, under condition of an annual payment being made to the present titulars, calculated on the basis of their existing emoluments."

The sentiments of the Sicilian government respecting Murat were distinctly ascertained by a prohibition to any Neapolitan vessel to enter their harbours. This inimical conduct, on the part of a court so intimately allied to those of France and Spain, joined to his own precarious condition, ought to have made Murat peculiarly cautious in giving offence to the powers which had guaranteed to him the sovereignty of Naples. But he was warned in vain, as appeared from the events of the next year.

Spain, whose gallant resistance to the encroachments of Buonaparte, has so often furnished our history with its most brilliant chapters, was this year doomed to afford us a different and more deplorable subject. Were we not deeply and reverentially convinced that Providence, in its own good time and manner, will bring forth fruit from the seed which has been sown; were we not assured that the blood of so many thousand patriots, as have bled in the peninsular battles, will not ultimately be found to have been shed in vain, we should turn with disgust from the recital of blighted hopes and disappointed exertions, which it is now our duty to record, and believe with the cold-blooded philosophers of our day, that the victory of Baylen afforded only barren laurels, and that the self-devotion of Zaragoza amounted but to Quixotic extravagance. But deeply convinced as we are, that as yet "*the end is not*," we proceed to detail those unexpected and deplorable events which for a time have disappointed the hopes of every lover of rational liberty.

The Spanish cortes, who, always with dignified firmness, and sometimes with considerable ability, had sustained the burthen of government during the peninsular war, were divided into two parties, both indeed hostile to France, and so far favourable to national independence, but unfortunately differing with each other upon the use which should be made of the final expulsion of the foreign invader. These were the *Liberales*, who resolved to avail themselves of this favourable opportunity, to ingraft upon the monarchical constitution of Spain the principles of freedom, of which, unfortunately, they had studied rather the theory than the practical advantages;

and the Royalists, stigmatized by their opponents with the name of *Serviles*, who were desirous that the power of the monarch, with the privileges of the clergy and nobility, should remain in full force as before the French invasion. The Liberalists were the most active, though not the most numerous party in the cortes, but the Royalists had much more extensive influence with the nation at large. This was owing partly to the proud and inflexible character of the Spanish people, obstinately attached to the ancient forms and laws of their country, and much disposed to reject, as alike odious and unnecessary, any improvement which amounts to innovation. But the Royalists were also much aided by the extensive influence of the clergy, who found little difficulty in convincing the most bigotted people in Europe, that whatever measures might be proposed to limit the exorbitant power of the church were an insult to the Deity, and destructive of the catholic religion.

Each of these parties had its own peculiar bigotry. The Royalists rejected with horror, or entertained with suspicious reluctance, every idea of improving a constitution so infirm in principle, and so corrupt in practice, that it had reduced Spain to the lowest rank in the European system, and procured for her little more respect than might have been claimed if she had been still under the yoke of the Saracen conquerors. So proud were these men of their chains, that the deputy of Seville, named Reyna, had the audacity to declare in a public meeting of the cortes, that when *Feb. 8.* Ferdinand was born, with him was born the right of despotic authority over all Spain. He was driven from the assembly by the denunciations of the Liberales, but he did not the less speak the sentiments of most of the Royalists, who, in this particular, well merited the epithet of Serviles. These men had no idea of profiting by the opportunity, which, while it spared Spanish hands the disgrace of destroying their ancient monarchy, called upon them, as with a voice from heaven, to rebuild, out of the ruins to which foreign violence had reduced it, a frame of government better suited to the necessities of the people, and the improvements of the age. Nor did the Liberales act with greater wisdom. Theorists by profession, and deriving most of their opinions in politics, as well as in religion, from the French school of philosophy, their ambition was to construct a government upon the newest and most approved plan which that school afforded them. Instead of endeavouring to conciliate the prejudices of their opponents, by ingrafting the proposed improvements upon the old constitution of Spain, for which, like most of the feudal governments of Europe, it offered considerable facilities, and thus avoiding as much as possible the appearance of innovation, they acted in many instances as if that very display had been in itself a thing to be desired. Hence, their ostentatious labours in framing a new constitution, and the waste of time bestowed upon the discussion of political metaphysics, when they ought to have been busily employed in organizing the means of national defence. Hence, also, the deep and general offence which they gave to the Spanish public, unprepared either by education or disposition to adopt changes of any sort, by making a general and radical revolution in all that they held sacred in church and state; and hence, finally, the supine indifference with which the people beheld their plans destroyed, and themselves imprisoned or exiled. Yet, amongst these labours of the cortes were to be numbered many na-

tional improvements of the first importance. The Inquisition, so long the infamy of Spain, had been abolished, together with the use of torture, and the tyranny of the ancient feudal rights; and all those boons, inestimable to people who could comprehend their value, were to be ascribed to the exertions and eloquence of the party called Liberales, who had alternately reasoned, guided, or urged their less enlightened coadjutors into measures so favourable to the regeneration of Spain. It might well have been hoped, that if their efforts in behalf of liberty should have proved ultimately unavailing, they might at least have been forgiven for making them. And this was the less to be doubted, when the character and situation of the restored monarch were taken into consideration.

No king ever owed so much to his subjects as Ferdinand of Spain. They had maintained his cause and the independence of his crown, long after he had, in his simplicity, abandoned both, by throwing himself into the power of Buonaparte. To re-establish the throne from which the monarch had fled, to steer the vessel from among the breakers after the pilot had deserted the helm, was the work of the Spaniards themselves; and surely, did they not otherwise possess a natural and inherent right to the privileges of free men, their own disinterested and devoted exertions gave them a title to claim an amelioration of the government, which their exertions had supported and restored. The feelings of the cortes towards Ferdinand were well expressed in their ministerial paper, the Conciso, at the period when Ferdinand's return was expected to have taken place, in virtue of his treaty with Buonaparte. "There is not a good Spaniard who does not desire the return of the unfortunate Ferdinand; but he wishes it for the good of his country, and not to expose it to greater evils than those it has already suffered. Ferdinand must return in the way in which Spaniards wish it, and not as Buonaparte means it. He must come to make us happy, and not to be the cause (though the innocent one) of new calamities. Happy will be the day on which Ferdinand, restored to his loyal subjects, may be thus addressed: 'Here is your throne, preserved by the loyalty of your subjects; here is your crown, ransomed by the blood of Spaniards; here is your sceptre, which Spanish constancy replaces in your hands; here is your royal robe, tinged with the blood of thousands of victims who have fallen that you might preserve it: read our history, inform yourself of all that Spaniards have done for you, never forget that to the Spanish people you owe every thing! Never forget that you are come to be the chief of a nation, the monarch of subjects who have abolished the vestiges of despotism: It is the law which orders—the king is the executive magistrate.' But that such a day of jubilee may arrive, King Ferdinand must return absolutely free; neither influenced by the tyrant of France, nor by Spaniards ignorant of the state of Spain, or who view our institutions with repugnance."

It is certain, that in the new Spanish constitution, there was much that savoured of the metaphysical school of politicians, to which the framers belonged, and some things particularly inapplicable to the situation of Spain. But there was also much that was excellent, and few doubted that Ferdinand, in the first burst of his gratitude, would have confirmed to a generous people the privileges which they so well deserved to share, and which they had won at the expence of such sacrifices. His personal character favoured these hopes, for he had shown

himself tractable, unenterprizing, and disposed to submit to circumstances—such a monarch, in short, as would prefer the pomp and pleasures of royalty to an active exertion of its authority, and be disposed to slumber upon the throne as he found it, rather than to disturb himself by efforts to raise it higher. But unfortunately weak princes are not apt (unless by dint of intimidation) to favour the liberties of their subjects. It requires strength of mind, and liberality of thought, to discover that the king of a free people is in reality more powerful than a tyrant, and that the head of a government, like that of Britain, strong through the very strength which his people have acquired by freedom, holds a much higher office as the monarch o so many millions of freemen, rich in arts and powerful in arms, than if he reigned a solitary despot in the towers of Windsor. It generally happens also, that kings of an easy and indolent disposition are addicted to favouritism, and wholly guided by some worthless minion, who is interested in urging them to the extension of the royal authority, because the effective exercise of its power devolves upon himself. Such an adviser had the infamous Godoy proved to Carlos; and there can be no doubt there were more than one eager to sooth the ear of the youthful king, by the pleasing doctrine that the people of Spain, born only to to be his subjects, had done no more than their duty in defence of his throne, and were no better entitled to political rights in reward for their exertions, than servants who have repelled from their master's house a band of robbers become thereby entitled to a share of his property. Another feeling may have influenced Ferdinand in that aversion towards the cortes, which his conduct early displayed. Weak minds, like his, are little capable of forgiving those whose conduct forms an unfavourable contrast with their own, and the prince who had surrendered himself at Bayonne could not be greatly flattered by recollecting, that while he hunted and fished in contented captivity at Valençay, the independence of Spain had been maintained by the cortes. All these things tended to alienate the mind of Ferdinand from those who, during his imprisonment, had administered the affairs of his kingdom.

It cannot be denied that there was a strong and overpowering party in the kingdom unfavourable to the alterations proposed by the new constitution, and that not only among the nobles and churchmen, whose rights were particularly affected by the new order of things, but also among the lower orders, who, obstinately attached to ancient usages, and bigotted to the catholic religion, were shocked and alarmed by political innovations which seemed directed against both. It was in the middle classes alone, and especially among those whom education had led to read and think on political subjects, that the new order of things found favourers. Thus, although the knowledge of the country might be with them, they numbered among their opponents both its wealth and its population. In the concussion which seemed inevitable, the cortes reckoned much upon the support of some of the most distinguished guerilla leaders, particularly upon Mina and Porlier, who, while defending the rights of the monarchy, had also avowed themselves protectors of those of the people.

On the 24th March there was read in the cortes a letter from Ferdinand, announcing his return to his dominions by the way of Catalonia. A circumstance occurred during the reading which formed a curious contrast with the declaration of Reyna, already noticed, and served to shew how little

prudence and moderation some members of the cortes mixed with their zeal for liberty. Ferdinand, in his letter, had termed the people of Spain *Vasallos*, that is *subjects*, the usual denomination expressive of the connection betwixt the sovereign and the people through all Europe. With delicacy as absurd as it was ill-timed, a member exclaimed, "We are not subjects!" and Senor Arispe, by an explanation which threw yet more suspicion on the sentiments of the cortes, as coming from the mouth of a distinguished member, agreed with the objecter, that the Spanish people were *subjects* to the law alone, while he exculpated the use of a word "peculiar to the ancient despotism," as arising from Ferdinand's long imprisonment, and ignorance of the new political phraseology of Spain. This circumstance did not fall unnoticed to the ground, but was much founded upon by those who represented the ultimate views of the cortes as unfavourable to the monarchical establishment. With the same rashness they proceeded to limit and fix the endowments of the royal household; thus assuming the sole exercise of that prerogative which was most likely to be warmly contested by the monarch, ere they had been able to settle their own authority on such a permanent basis as might induce him to recognize them as a legitimate branch of the constitution.

April 17.

Ferdinand in the meanwhile, avoiding Madrid, and maintaining an alarming silence on the subject of the constitution, which he had been required to accept, had fixed his abode at Valencia, where he strengthened himself by drawing around him the prelates and nobles attached to the royalist party. The ranks of the cortes were daily thinned by those members who deserted their hall to join the king at Valencia; but those who remained continued unanimous in their resolution, to receive and submit to Ferdinand in no other capacity than as the constitutional King of Spain. They reiterated their invitations to the king to come to Madrid, assume the reins of government, and restore by his authority and wise measures the happiness of Spain and the peace of her colonies. But to these messages no answer was returned. The cortes even made some shew of military preparation, and General Lacy, distinguished in the Catalonian war, was placed at the head of their forces. But their party became every hour weaker, while the grandees and dignified clergy of Spain threw their whole weight and influence into the scale of the monarch. At length Ferdinand judged himself strong enough to adopt decided measures against the body by which his authority had been so long administered. A proclamation, or rather a manifesto, dated from Valencia, briefly retraced the history of the peninsular war, and stated the cortes to be an illegal body, assembled in a manner unknown to the ancient laws and usages of Spain. It charged them with having formed a scheme of a constitution which was utterly subversive of the regal authority, and which a minority even of the cortes themselves had by threats, shouts, and revolutionary measures of intimidation, compelled the rest to sanction. This proclamation further upbraided them with having adopted the revolutionary principles of modern France, and attempted to establish, not a limited monarchy, but a democracy, having at its head a magistrate, whom, to conciliate the people, they permitted to retain the name, though without the authority of a king. It was then faintly admitted that some abuses had crept into the Spanish government, which might require regulation and correction; and

May 4.

the king promised he would in due time convoke the cortes in a legitimate form, and act in concert with them for these purposes. But concerning the labours of the present assembly, "I declare," continued the manifesto, "that my royal intention is, not only not to swear nor accede to the said constitution, nor to any decree of the general and extraordinary cortes, and of the ordinary at present sitting, those, to wit, which derogate from the rights and prerogatives of my sovereignty, established by the constitution and the laws under which the nation had lived in times past, but to pronounce that constitution and such decrees null and of no effect, now, or at any other time, as if such acts had never passed, and that they are entirely abrogated, and without any obligation on my people and subjects, of whatever class and condition, to fulfil or observe them." The proclamation concluded by declaring that the cortes should cease their sittings; that their place of meeting should be shut up, their books and papers placed in the town-hall of Madrid; and, finally, that those opposing this royal decree should be held guilty of high treason, and punished with death.

If there was some truth in this proclamation, in so far as it imputes to the cortes a rash and eager desire to legislate and to innovate, it is not such as to qualify its gross falsehood in other particulars, and the deep and disgraceful ingratitude which it displays in all. If the cortes were irregularly elected and convoked, the king ought to have remembered that his own conduct, in truckling to the usurper of France, had placed the better part of the kingdom in possession of foreign enemies, which impeded the regularity of elections; nor can we stifle our indignation at observing that this king, for whom Spain resigned all, cannot, while he dwells upon and exaggerates the errors of his temporary rulers, afford one grain of candid praise to their unparalleled exertions, or one word of sympathy with their unparalleled sufferings. Yet this production was received by the people of Spain not merely with passive obedience, but with enthusiasm. Madrid immediately declared for the king. "Long live *March* 10. Ferdinand, and perish the constitution!" was the unanimous cry of the populace. The cortes, perceiving that the voice of the nation declared itself against them and their cause, submitted to their fate without even an effort at resistance. The principal members were arrested, particularly those who had aspired to distinguish themselves as literary characters, and the jails were filled with those who had contributed so much to the liberty, or rather, we must now say, to the independence of their country. Ferdinand entered his capital as if in triumph, after *March* 14. this victory over the men who had so actively supported his sinking monarchy. He named an administration, at the head of which was his ancient preceptor, the Duke de San Carlos. The royal vengeance was then directed against the regency, by whom the national resources had been administered in his cause, always with good faith and sincere loyalty, if not with uniform success or energy. The venerable Cardinal of Bourbon, whose very name had been so long the incentive of Spanish patriotism, was banished to Rome, Agar to Carthagena, and Ciscar to a Catalonian fortress. Arguelles, the most eloquent among the Liberales, was condemned to serve as a common soldier; and many other sentences served to prove that the proverbial ingratitude of democracies may be paralleled by that of a weak prince, who thirsts for absolute power.

All the new measures of the Spa-

nish government kept pace with those which we have detailed. The liberty of the press was annihilated, and, with a happy correspondence, the Inquisition was re-established in its detestable tyranny over the souls and bodies of mankind. To eradicate the taints of heresy left by the presence of their protestant allies, was alleged as one especial reason for restoring this tribunal. All that had been attempted as a reform of old abuses was indiscriminately undone, and the former state of things restored in all its absurdity. Even the council of Mesta, by the orders of which the royal flocks of Spain traverse the kingdom from one end to the other, to the great prejudice of all proprietors and farmers whose possessions lie in their way—even this tyrannic system was revived in its plenitude of impolicy and injustice. In short, after so many and such violent convulsions as Spain had undergone, and which in most other kingdoms would have been necessarily followed by political changes of one sort or other, the kingdom seemed destined to relapse into the same degenerate, despicable, and enfeebled state from which it had so suddenly started at the call of patriotism.

Yet the apathy of this extraordinary people, though general, was not universal. In Cadiz, so long the last asylum of the cortes, the spirit of freedom and of resistance continued to survive. Some popular commotions took place, and the captain general, Don Juan de Villaviciosa, appears to have had difficulty in restoring tranquillity. The university of Salamanca, with a spirit worthy of its reputation, called upon Ferdinand to remember his promise of convoking the cortes, and regulating, in concurrence with that body, the public taxes and the laws which should determine the rights of the subjects. The guerillas also, partly from political motives, and partly from the predatory and military habits acquired during the war, continued in arms in different parts of the country, and the royal forces were directed against them, with orders to execute all prisoners by martial law. The kingdom was agitated by rumours of the return of the old king, and by more reasonable apprehensions, arising out of the perverse obstinacy of the government, the disorder of the finances, the discordant state of political opinions, and the convulsions of South America. At length a conspiracy was discovered in the capital; ninety persons, supposed to be implicated in it, were arrested on suspicion, and the kingdom seemed to be on the eve of civil war.

Sept. 16.

The gallant Espoz y Mina, the most distinguished among the guerilla leaders, was, from the commencement of the Spanish war, understood to be fighting as well for the liberties of the people, as for the independence of the kingdom. As a friend to the doctrines adopted in the constitution, he was an object of suspicion to the government, and received the royal orders to fix his residence at Pampeluna as a retired officer, while the troops whom he had led through such extraordinary perils were placed under the command of the captain general of Arragon. They were generally supposed to be influenced by the same sentiments, and were called the Partida. It would seem that, alarmed by the discoveries which had taken place at Madrid, Mina resolved to try the fate of arms. He advanced to Pampeluna, and succeeded in scaling the walls of that strong fortress. But he found that the soldiers who had followed him were not to be relied upon, and therefore suddenly relinquished the undertaking which he had suddenly undertaken.

He dispersed his followers and retreated into France, followed only by his nephew, a gallant young soldier, who had long languished in the dungeons of Vincennes, and a few officers. They were at first arrested by the French police; but on application to Louis XVIII., "Let the gentlemen be set at liberty," was the spirited and benevolent answer of the good sovereign; "the laws of France afford them hospitality; and it is farther our pleasure that the commissary who arrested them be suspended from his office." The liberty of Mina and his officers was instantly restored, and they were permitted to fix their undisturbed residence in the kingdom of France.

The proscription which took place in Spain on account of these incidents involved many highly respectable characters, who were adjudged to imprisonment, to the gallies, or to military service, deprived in many instances of their property, ruined by fines, and otherwise impoverished, so as to add the want even of common necessaries to the other evils of their condition. Cabrera, a man of literary eminence, had his name erazed from the academy, and was fined four thousand dollars. Tapia and Barra, editors of patriotic journals, with Savinon, a dramatic author, and Dominique, a magistrate of Madrid, were condemned for seven years to the Castillo de las Galeras. Nearly thirty persons, all of whom had supported Spanish independence with the sword, tongue, or pen, were punished with the like severity. When we peruse these miserable results of a war so justly undertaken and so nobly maintained,—when we behold a brave and high-spirited people resuming passively, and at the mere nod of royal imbecillity, the fetters which they had flung aside when the strong hand of Napoleon was about to rivet them, we cannot help adopting the language of our honoured laureate,—

"Strange race, of haughty heart and stubborn will!
Slavery they love, and chains with pride they wear;
Inflexible alike in good and ill,
The inveterate stamp of servitude they bear.

. . . .

Is this the issue, this the happy birth,
In those long throes and that strong agony brought forth?"

And yet, amid the disappointed hopes and bitter regrets which it is impossible to suppress and unavailing to pour forth, we cannot but admire the wisdom of Providence, and the blind ambition of Buonaparte, which, by aiming to wield the formidable strength of Spain more directly than by guiding and influencing the legitimate monarch, converted at once her passive population into a race of soldiers and patriots, and laid the foundation of his own ruin. Had Ferdinand remained at Madrid, it is now evident he would never have attempted to emancipate himself from the thraldom of Buonaparte; and it is at least equally certain, that in no other cause, except in the name of the King of Spain, would that people have been roused into energetic resistance. We dismiss the subject, with a hope, that where national independence has been so well guarded and so highly prized, national liberty may one day find root. It is probable that the rights which, in many instances, have been wrung from kings by violence, may in the case of Spain flow from royal concession. The lights which have arisen upon this age are such as will force themselves upon the dullest understanding; and, disorganized as the finances of Spain now are, her villages dispeopled and plundered, her forests and mountains become the refuge of hordes of banditti, her frontier provinces in a state of revolt, her capital discontented, and her ministers without talent, the king

may yet find himself obliged to throw a part of his cares and his responsibility upon a national representation, and convoke the cortes, in compliance with the solemn promise which he has made to his people.

In these circumstances, and with this hope, we can see nothing but affectation in the opinion of those who have maintained, that the unjust and despotic conduct of Ferdinand towards his subjects called upon Great Britain to break off all friendly relations with his court, and to repulse with scorn the usual tokens of respect exchanged among princes. It requires little logic to prove, that the misgovernment of a monarch gives his neighbours no title to interfere with his affairs; and still less does it appear either just or politic that the exterior relations maintained between two countries, as conducive to the advantage of both, should be broken off in a pet, because the one nation or government, less enlightened than the other, has adopted towards its own subjects an unjust or unworthy line of conduct. The allied powers, and Britain in particular, are well known to have used their utmost intercession in favour of those individuals whose fate we have commemorated; but having done so with energy and sincerity, we conceive them to have gone as far as policy and the law of nations will permit. We are to wish well to the cause of liberty all the world over; but we do not conceive ourselves called upon to break off friendly relations with every monarch whose subjects, from choice or necessity, are for the present in a state of servitude. We cannot altogether forget the maxim, *Volenti non fit injuria;* and we fear that either active interference, or strong and offensive expressions of our disgust at the line of conduct adopted by Ferdinand, would be attended with as bad effects, and meet as little gratitude from the people of Spain, as the officious interference of their own well-meaning redresser of wrongs, in the case of the farmer's boy whom his master was chastizing.

The state of the provinces in South America, from which the court was wont to draw the means of supporting its luxury and paying its armies, was an affair of moment with the government of Ferdinand. A compulsory loan imposed on the merchants of Cadiz supplied the means of equipping an expedition of about 8000 troops, destined for the reduction of the insurgent colonies. The command of these troops was entrusted to Morillo, and the expedition to which they belonged sailed from Cadiz late in the year.

The convulsions of these provinces continued to present the same melancholy and uniform details of slaughter and calamity. Monte Video persisted for a long period to hold out in the cause of the mother country, though blockaded both by land and sea, and reduced to extremities by famine. Vigodet, the governor, after an unsuccessful attempt to negociate with the insurgent army, sent out a flotilla, consisting of four corvettes, three brigs, and several smaller vessels, with the purpose of fighting and destroying the blockading squadron, of inferior force, commanded by Don Guillermo Brown, an Englishman. The insurgent admiral succeeded in decoying the enemy to some distance from the harbour of Monte Video, where he attacked them with skill and bravery, and, meeting little resistance, obtained a complete victory, and took two corvettes and two brigs, destroying some other armed vessels. Seventy-three pieces of cannon, and two thousand five hundred muskets, fell into the hands of the insurgents. This victory rendered the case of Monte Video desperate, and

May 15.

the town was surrendered to the insurgents, the garrison remaining prisoners of war. The patriots of the river of Plate obtained by these means possession of an important sea-port, with a great quantity of arms and stores of every description.

In Chili, the contending parties, through the mediation of an English officer, agreed upon terms of pacification. By the first article, Chili, as an integral part of the Spanish monarchy, agrees to send deputies to the cortes, for the purpose of sanctioning the constitution which the latter have framed, acknowledging also the authority of Ferdinand VII. and that of the regency, with this proviso, "that the internal government of Chili be maintained in all its powers and privileges, and free trade with allied and neutral nations, especially with Great Britain, to whom Spain owes, under God, and next to her own valour and constancy, her political existence." The 2d article provides for the immediate cessation of hostilities, and the evacuation of Talca and the province of Conception by the troops of Luna, Valdivia, and Chiloe. Article 3d, stipulates the mutual restoration of prisoners, and an ample amnesty. By article 4th, mercantile relations with all the other parts of the Spanish monarchy shall continue with the same freedom and harmony as before the war. By article 5th, Chili engages to afford to Spain all that assistance which is compatible with the deteriorated state of her territory, in consequence of the war which has raged there. By article 11th, Chili gives three hostages to answer for the exact fulfilment of the treaty on her part; and the national army, on the other part, gives an equal number of hostages to answer for the evacuation of Chili.

The 15th article is very honourable to Captain Hillyar of the British navy, and is as follows:—"The contracting parties acknowledging that the suspension of hostilities, the restoration of peace, good harmony, and close friendship between the governments of Luna and Chili, are owing, in a great measure, to the efficacious endeavours of Commodore Don Santiago Hillyar, captain of his Britannic majesty's frigate the Phœbe, who offered his respectable mediation to the government of Chili, acquainting it with the sentiments of the Viceroy of Lima, and who has not hesitated to make sacrifices of every kind in order to be present at all the conferences which preceded this convention; we, therefore, return him our most expressive thanks as the mediator and principal instrument in this interesting work."

We cannot record this transaction without an ardent wish that other British officers had with similar success acted as mediators in this unhappy war. Whatever laurels Captain Hillyar may have gained, even in his profession, they cannot rival in value the bloodless honour which he acquired by healing the wounds of this distracted province, and promoting a pacification so honourable to himself and to his country.

The success of the insurgents at Monte Video was balanced by the loss of Venezuela and the Caraccas. This was the consequence of a severe battle, fought in the vallies of Azuaza, where *June* 18. the insurgents were routed with great slaughter. In consequence of this victory the royalists obtained possession of the Caraccas. The insurgent chiefs fled to the mountains, or escaped by sea, for the royalists gave no quarter either during or after the engagement. We have distorted and partial accounts of other battles in different parts of the new world, where the civil strife seems to be carried on with a sangui-

nary fury, which reminds us of the bloodshed between the parties of Pizarro, Almagro, and other conquerors of South America, whose mutual battles, slaughters, and executions upon the scaffold, formed some atonement for the unprovoked miseries they had inflicted on the aboriginal inhabitants.

We turn, however, from these dubious and disjointed articles of intelligence, to events occurring in the northern part of the same continent, with which we are not only better acquainted, but unfortunately much more immediately connected.

CHAPTER XVII.

The American War.—Impolicy of the War.—Inferiority of the American Armies.—America proposes Peace through the Mediation of Russia.—Britain rejects the proposed Mediation, but agrees to enter into a direct Treaty.—Naval Actions.—Capture of the British Sloop Reindeer.—Engagement between the Wasp and the Avon.—Capture of the Essex by the British Frigate Phœbe.—Americans defeated near Buffaloe, and the Town burnt.—Reflections on this Mode of Hostility.—Retreat of General Wilkinson to Sackett's Harbour.—The British destroy the American Fort Oswego.—General Real worsted at Chippawa, and forced to retreat to Niagara.—General Drummond advances to his Support.—Battle of Niagara.—The Americans retreat to Fort Erie.—Unsuccessful Attempt to storm that Fortress.—Expediti n up the Patuxent.—Destruction of the American Flotilla.—Battle of Bladensburgh.—Burning of the public Edifices at Washington.—Policy and Justice of these Proceedings.—Capitulation of Alexandria.—Action before Baltimore, and Death of General Ross.—The British retreat.—Death of Sir Peter Parker.—Capture of the Passmaquoddy Islands, and of Part of the Province of Mairie.—Expedition of Sir George Prevost.—Defeat of the British Flotilla before Plattsburgh, and retreat of their Army.—A Sortie from Fort Erie is repulsed.—The Americans advance in Force to Chippawa, but retreat and evacuate Fort Erie.—The Eastern States are dissatisfied with the War.—They appoint a Convention to consider of the Provisions of the Union.—Proceedings of the Commissioners of Ghent.—Peace concluded—Its Terms.—The West-Indies.—Tranquil State of the East-Indies.

THE war between England and America, in so far as Britain is concerned, is the least satisfactory chapter in the present annals. It formed, on our side, a contest in which no laurels were to be expected, since we had no object to gain, and only went to war because we were not permitted to remain at peace. The American pretexts for hostility had fluctuated, and been abandoned or resumed according to circumstances. The orders in council were originally alleged as the motive. These orders had been made for years before war was declared, and were repealed when it was hardly begun. The right of search,—the right of naturalizing British seamen,—the rights of commerce, and we know not how many rights besides, were then proposed as the ostensible causes of continuing hostilities. But the real cause was too obvious to admit of being coloured. It consisted in the dislike which the ruling party in America, with the president, Madison, at their head, entertained against a nation more wealthy, powerful, and respectable than

their own, to whom they found themselves always and everywhere filling a second place. It seemed to these statesmen, that there was a full opportunity of feeding fat their ancient grudge while Britain had to contend with the gigantic force of Buonaparte, and all Europe armed to back him. Canada, a possession which, perhaps, in good policy, Britain ought not to have retained at the close of the former war, but which she could not now relinquish with honour, was a tempting bait for American ambition, and it was expected to fall an easy and unresisting, perhaps a willing prey to the invader. In this hope the Americans had been woefully deceived by the event of the former campaigns, so honourable to Sir George Prevost and those who acted under him. Unfortunately, the British were equally disappointed in their expectations of displaying, in their contests with the republicans of the new world, the same naval superiority which had driven from other seas all ships save their own. Each power struggled to maintain the honour they had unexpectedly acquired in the mode of warfare in which their rival had been deemed superior, and to recover that which they had lost in a department more immediately their own. The truth is, that in full confidence in their own resources and ignorance of those of the enemy, each nation seems to have formed an inaccurate and somewhat presumptuous view of the probable events of the war.

We have elsewhere discussed the impolicy and injustice of the measures of the American government in precipitating the nation into a war, for the sake of territorial conquest, through which they must necessarily lose the commerce of which they stood so much in need, in order at the utmost to acquire an extent of territory in addition to the wide and waste regions which they had not yet been able to people and to cultivate. These reasons of policy had given way to the temptation of opportunity, and the supposed facility of accomplishing a splendid and popular conquest. But the military events of 1812 had disappointed these sanguine expectations. America, like an infant giant, had been found on the trial to possess neither breadth nor sinews in proportion to her size and appearance. Her territories, so boundless in extent, and so thinly peopled, offer every facility for defensive war; but a population, impatient alike of restraint and of taxation, living at a distance from, and almost independent of their government, are ill calculated to send forth armies for foreign conquest. Funds for paying regular armies cannot be easily collected from among them; and those who serve in person form a body of volunteers, brave, perhaps, and hardy, but as self-willed and irregular as the ancient feudal militia. The general officers had been found deficient, not only in those rare and eminent qualifications necessary for the commander who must make irregular troops do the duty usually required from disciplined forces, but in the more ordinary qualities of conduct and even courage. The campaign of 1811 had been disgraceful to their arms; and although their efforts in 1812 had divided the success more equally, yet it was only by means of such extensive preparations as the finances of America could ill support, and which, after all, had frequently been baffled by the British with much inferior means. Taxation, the only mode of continuing these burthensome and expensive efforts to possess themselves of a province which their empire so little needed, was a measure not only utterly odious to the citizens of the United States, but likely to be ineffectual, from the difficulty of enforcing the duties which might be imposed. The wisest became sensible that

they had rashly engaged in a doubtful contest, and it appeared difficult to say how their executive government could prosecute the war with success, or make peace with reputation.

On the part of Britain this unhappy war had also its loss and its dishonour. The capture of our vessels in single fight, by the American frigates, were events the more galling that they were totally unexpected, and, joined to a sense that the quarrel was unjustly forced upon us by the Americans, excited a strong feeling of irritation against that country. Even the mob in Palace-yard, when harangued on the subject of peace by their most popular orator, turned a deaf ear to his eloquence when he touched upon this topic. "War, active war with America!" was the cry which replied to his pacific exhortations, and there was through the whole kingdom a sense of animosity against that nation, as if the quarrel had been personal and peculiar to every Briton. But it was much more easy to long for revenge for wrongs and injuries sustained from a nation, whose injurious conduct was the more aggravating as they spoke the same language and sprung from the same ancestors with ourselves, than to devise effectual means for carrying on offensive measures against America. Her commerce was already annihilated, and her sailors only subsisted by privateering; she had no fleets to send to sea, and her solitary frigates continued with the same happy dexterity to escape from and return to the ports of her extended continent. At sea, then, our commercial interests were certain to suffer, and we could only hope for the occasional satisfaction of capturing an armed vessel, after she had done more damage by an hundred fold than her guns and timber were worth. On land the prospect was hardly more flattering. Any extended plan of serious invasion, or conquest of any part of the American states, was a measure obviously impolitic, even if it could have been judged practicable. On the other hand, descents upon the coast, the destruction of public property and stores, the burning of their sea-ports, and destruction of their shipping, were measures, indeed, fully within our power, and suited to the vindictive feelings of the moment, but which were more likely to exasperate than to subdue the enemy. America, in reference to her vast extent of territory, was like a huge leviathan, and we fishers, who, possessing no means to inflict a deep or vital wound, could only deal such stabs as might serve to rouse the unwieldy monster into rage and fury, without materially diminishing its vigour. The result of this reasoning is, that nations, having so little the means of maintaining active hostilities against each other, should have hastened to resume those pacific relations which had been so unadvisedly broken off. It has always, however, proved more easy for nations and individuals to plunge into difficulties, than to extricate themselves when engaged in them. Besides, the British, who had been dragged into the war with reluctance, were now flushed with the successful events on the European continent, and began to take a deeper and keener interest in the operations against America, while her rulers, on the other hand, could not even open negociations for peace without relinquishing every pretext for which they had undertaken the war.

The disasters of Buonaparte in Russia and Germany had, however, their effect upon the mind of Madison, his effectual, though not his avowed ally, and he sought a road out of the difficulties in which he was involved, by proposing a negociation for peace under the mediation of Russia. It can hardly be supposed that he made this proposal with any serious expectation

that it would be accepted. England, fully possessed of naval rights and the means of enforcing them, had uniformly refused to permit them to be the subject of discussion under any mediation. It would, indeed, have been difficult to have found a power in Europe who would not have seen, or have thought that she saw, her own interest in favouring the pretensions of the Americans, and least of all was impartiality to be expected from Russia, a power now, indeed, in close relations of amity with Great Britain, but against whom we have had more than once, in the course of this generation, occasion to defend those very rights, of which, by the proposal of President Madison, she was now to be constituted umpire. The proposal of mediation, therefore, was distinctly and positively declined by the British government. But they readily consented that commissioners should be named by each nation to adjust terms of pacification, by a letter from Lord Castlereagh to the American government, expressing the "earnest desire of this country to bring the negociations to a favourable issue, upon principles of perfect reciprocity, not inconsistent with the established maxims of public law, and with the maritime rights of the British empire."

To this letter from Lord Castlereagh the American secretary of state transmitted a reply, expressing the same desire of terminating "the present contest with Great Britain on conditions of reciprocity, consistent with the rights of both parties, as sovereign and independent nations," and accepting Lord Castlereagh's proposal of a direct negociation between the two governments. Gottenberg first, and finally Ghent, was fixed upon as the place of meeting. The progress of this treaty we shall have occasion to detail when we have finished our account of the events of the war.

The actions at sea were few in number and unimportant, unless as displaying the skill and bravery of both countries, qualities in which the Americans showed themselves by no means inferior to the British. It is true, however, that the very best among the numerous seamen whom the war had thrown out of employment had been selected to man their vessels, and that each of their few frigates, being thus fully and ably manned, might be considered as superior in appointments to most of the British vessels about the same force which she was likely to meet. Their frigates, besides, were frigates in name only, and, generally speaking, were superior in metal and men by one-fourth to those of the same class in our navy. But when full allowance has been made for these advantages, there will remain still room for apprehension, that it is America with whom Britain may hereafter have to contend for the trident of the ocean.

The Reindeer sloop of war, Captain Manners, having 16 guns, (24-pounder carronades) and about 118 men, (of whom twenty were boys) was, after a short and desperate action, taken by the Wasp, Captain Blakely, mounting 22 guns, (32-pounder carronades) and two long twelve-pounders. Captain Manners fell in an unsuccessful attempt to board, after receiving fourteen wounds; twenty-seven of the Reindeer's crew were killed, and forty wounded, among whom were all the officers. The vessel itself was so much shattered that it was necessary to destroy her the next day. The honour of the British flag was, therefore, well supported in this unhappy affair. This same American vessel, the Wasp, fell afterwards in with the Avon off the coast of Ireland, and had, after a short and severe action, compelled her to strike her colours; but another king's ship coming in sight, the Wasp was

July 28.

obliged to bear away. A fond report was for some time kept up, that she had sunk during the action, which was fully disproved by her safe arrival some weeks afterwards in an American harbour. The encounter between the Essex, Captain Porter, and the British frigate Phœbe, Captain Hillyar, had a more consolatory issue. *March* 28. They met on the coast, near Valparaiso, the Phœbe having the Cherub in company. After an animated contest of near an hour, the Americans struck their flag. It is but candid to state, that the superiority of force was upon this occasion decidedly in favour of the British. These were the only naval actions of importance occurring in the course of the year.

The earlier military events of 1814 were upon the same limited scale, and partook of the same inveterate character of hostility as in the former campaigns. There appeared great reason to fear that the war on either side might degenerate into an exchange of frontier inroads, marked by mutual devastation. We noticed in the annals of the preceding year that Colonel Murray, at the head of a body of British and Indians, had carried by storm the fortress of Niagara. Having learned that the enemy were collecting a force at Black Rock and Buffaloe, Major-General Rial moved against them, defeated them *Dec.* 30. in a smart action, drove them through their batteries, and compelled them to abandon their guns, and betake themselves to the woods. The villages of Buffaloe and Black Rock were burnt to the ground, in revenge of the similar treatment of Newark by the Americans, during their invasion of Upper Canada in the preceding year. The rules of war may authorize such measures of retaliation, and the circumstances of the case may apologize for, but neither can fully justify them. They are evil in themselves, encourage those who carry them into execution in cruel and predatory habits, and, by exasperating all the angry passions on both sides, tend to increase those horrors of war which it is the pride of civilization to have diminished as far as possible. It is therefore with peculiar pleasure we find that the belligerent powers relented in the exercise of retaliation towards the prisoners on both sides, which had been commenced by the Americans in the preceding year, and that the officers and soldiers on both sides, who had been committed to close confinement, *July* 18. were by a military convention agreed to be exchanged.

Early in February, General Wilkinson, who, in *Feb.* 16. order to accomplish his part in the grand projected invasion of Canada, had occupied a station at the French Mills, on the Salmon river, abandoned his position, after destroying the barracks and works which he had erected to protect them, and retreated to Sackett's Harbour, annoyed in this retrograde movement by a party of British forces, who made considerable captures of stores and provisions. On the 30th March, General Wilkinson suddenly attempted to surprise the British outposts, but was repulsed in a smart skirmish, and here ended his offensive operations.

The British, on the other hand, undertook an expedition against the American Fort Oswego, situated on the Lake Ontario. A force under General Drummond embarked upon the lake in Sir James Yeo's squadron, and arrived before the fort, where the armed vessels en- *April* 15. gaged the batteries, while the troops were disembarked. The British threw themselves ashore in defiance of the strength of the enemy's position, and carried the fort in less

than ten minutes, the garrison escaping into the woods. The troops were then reimbarked, after destroying the fort, with its barracks and defences. Another attempt, under the command of Captain Popham of the navy, to destroy some naval stores which the enemy were transporting to Sackett's Harbour, for the equipment of their flotilla there, was repulsed with loss.

May 31.

A movement of more importance was the disembarkation of a large American force, under General Brown, which crossed the Niagara, and advancing into Canada, encountered an inferior body of British troops under General Rial; and after a smart action, in which both parties sustained loss, compelled them to retreat upon their lines at Chippawa, and from thence to a position near Niagara, abandoning the former to the Americans. In the end of this month, however, the English forces in Canada had been reinforced by the arrival of a part of Lord Wellington's veteran troops, which, being embarked at Bourdeaux after the pacification of the continent, were dispatched to America for this purpose. It is not generally known, but we state the fact with confidence in its truth, that the Duke of Wellington himself had volunteered his services in the western hemisphere. When his personal friends expostulated on the rashness with which, just escaped from the perils of so long and bloody a war, he hastened to expose himself to the fatigues, disease, and dangers of other campaigns in a distant country, his short and patriotic answer, "I will serve my country right and left," spoke volumes in its military and manly conciseness. Wisely, however, not for Britain alone, but for all Europe, ministers declined to accept of this self-devoted offer; and thus the life, upon which the destinies of the world were soon to depend, escaped the risks of a distant and comparatively obscure warfare, and the services of Wellington were reserved for that memorable field which was to crown his glory. The forces which recruited the British army in Canada fell under the command of the same generals who had hitherto, with comparatively feeble means, sustained and repulsed the invasions of the Americans.

July 3.

General Drummond, at the head of reinforcements, consisting partly of these troops, now advanced to the support of General Rial, who, now hard pressed by the superior forces of General Brown, was about to commence his retreat from Niagara, where he was stationed near the falls. General Drummond united himself on his march with a column under Colonel Morrison, which had been previously dispatched by a different route, and just as they arrived at the point where he expected to find General Rial, he found the position almost occupied by the enemy, whose columns were within six hundred yards of the top of the hill, and the surrounding wood filled with their light troops. To countermand the troops of General Rial, whose retreat on Fort George was already commenced, and to form all the corps under his own command into line, and to occupy the crest of the eminence, were directions which General Drummond had scarce time to issue, and his troops to obey, ere his whole front was warmly engaged. The enemy pressed upon his flank and centre, and that with such energy that they obtained a momentary possession of the road, during which space the gallant General Rial was made prisoner as he was passing to the rear, after receiving a severe wound. A close and desperate action then took

July 25.

place, the roar of the cannon and musquetry vying with that of the neighbouring cataract of Niagara, as if the thunders of the military art were endeavouring to drown those of the most stupendous phenomenon of nature. In a private letter from the brave Colonel Drummond, whose lamented death we shall soon have to record, he described the scene as equally sublime and terrible, and, with the enthusiasm of a mind as cultivated as it was gallant, wished for the presence of a bard of his country to record the scenery and the strife of the day. "The scene of action," says that letter, "being so near the falls, made it a particularly favourable subject for the poet and painter, more so for the latter. Conceive the stupendous cataract illumined by the fire from 8000 muskets, 24 pieces of ordnance, and innumerable rockets, from half-past six in the evening till near twelve,—the fury of the shot hurling the enemy who were next it into the deep,—savages running from the fight, (which all our Indians did, by the way,)—horses scampering without their riders, (I had two killed under me, and my double-barrelled gun knocked to pieces out of my hand,)—artillery whirling at full speed. The enemy in a most daring style brought up their guns into our position, drove us for a moment, and absolutely limbered one of our guns for their own. The confusion of columns rencontering in the dark, for we began the fight with less than 1200 men, and about ten o'clock were joined by as many more, who came by different routes already occupied by the enemy, and the ridiculous mistakes which could only occur fighting an army speaking the same language, were laughable though serious—Who comes there? —A friend.—To whom?—To King George. If the appellants, as you would call them, were of that persuasion, all was well, but when a friend to Madison, then there was a difference of opinion; but one regiment absolutely escaped my discovering who they were, by saying Glengary light infantry." The enemy, confident in great superiority of numbers, persisted in strenuous attacks, which were with equal gallantry sustained and repulsed. The Americans rushed on the field-pieces with the most undaunted courage, and bayonetted in some instances the British artillerymen while in the very act of loading. They even succeeded in possessing themselves of some of the guns. These were not only instantly recovered, but one or two of the American field-pieces fell into our hands; and such was the confusion, occasioned by the darkness, which now screened the combat to which it could not put a period, that the artillerymen on each side made the same mutual mistake, the British attaching an American gun to a limber of their own, and the enemy fastening a British gun to the American limber. About nine o'clock the action slackened for a short period, during which the enemy was concentrating his forces for a new and general attack, and pushing at the same time a strong column into the rear, which made prisoners many of the British wounded men, among others General Rial. The advanced party of General Rial's division, whose retreat had been countermanded, had now returned to the scene of action, and were placed in a second line, to sustain the troops who had been engaged all day. The enemy nevertheless continued till midnight the most desperate attempts to gain the hill, until, having sustained a loss in the action amounting to 1500 men, he retreated precipitately to Chippawa, and from thence on the following day to Fort Erie, after destroying his stores and abandoning his camp. The number of

Americans engaged in this remarkable action might be about 5000; that of the British did not exceed 2800 men. The loss of the victors in this desperate action nearly reached 900 men.

General Drummond now assumed the offensive, and our flotilla having captured some of the enemy's small vessels which were anchored off Fort Erie, was induced to hazard an attack upon the place itself. After the works had been considerably damaged by the fire of a battery, two divisions were directed to assault the fort upon different points. Both failed in the purpose intended. That upon the left, commanded by Colonel Fischer, advanced with great steadiness, until, as it emerged from a thick wood, it was suddenly stopped by a heavy fire of musketry and artillery from behind an abbattis and trenches, so strong as to form an insurmountable obstacle to their progress. The column of support being entangled between the rocks and water, was thrown into irremediable confusion, and sustained a great loss. The assault, made in two columns from the side of the lake, was in the beginning more prosperous, for the assailants succeeded, after a desperate resistance, in making a lodgment in the fort, after which they scaled through the embrasures. They had thus obtained possession of a demi-bastion, and turned the guns upon the interior stone building, still maintained by the enemy, when, either through means of a mine prepared by the Americans, or by one of those casualties which occur in war, a small magazine of ammunition under the platform blew up with a tremendous explosion, by which almost all the gallant men who had just so gallantly stormed the fortifications were buried among the ruins of the post which they had gained. A panic instantly spread among the troops, who could not be persuaded to advance to support those who had entered the place, and thus it became necessary to order a retreat. General Drummond's army sustained great loss in this unhappy affair. Colonel Scott and Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond, whose account of the battle of Niagara we have just quoted, were both killed; and indeed every officer belonging to the two columns which attacked the demi-bastion were either killed or wounded. The death of Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond was particularly lamented, as his life had been uniformly marked by brilliant services. Colonel Scott was also deeply regretted. The incident damped the spirit both of the troops and of the Indian allies, and the possession of Fort Erie, which the enemy now maintained with little difficulty, gave them the means of menacing the Canadian frontier when it suited them to make a show of invasion.

Aug. 13.

Aug. 15.

A more important display of British superiority, than had been exhibited in these partial actions, was signalized in an expedition against the capital city of the United States. Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane commanded the strong naval force employed in this exploit, and Major-General Robert Ross was at the head of the troops. They entered the Patuxent, and the army being landed, ascended the bank by land; while Admiral Cockburn, with a flotilla, consisting of launches, armed boats, and small craft, proceeded up the river on their flank. The flotilla of the American Commodore Barney had sought refuge in the Patuxent, and as the British boats opened the reach above Pig-point, they perceived that officer's flag

Aug. 19, 20.

Aug. 22.

displayed in the headmost vessel, a large sloop, and the remainder of the flotilla extending in a long line astern of her. On approaching the vessels they were discovered to be on fire, and having burnt with great vehemence, blew up in succession. Sixteen were totally destroyed, the seventeenth fell into the hands of the British, and about thirteen merchant schooners, which were either captured or destroyed. An idea prevailed among our troops and seamen that the vessels were left as a decoy, and that it had been hoped by the enemy that the British would approach them precipitately, and suffer by the conflagration. This supposition, which corresponded with the American plan of carrying on the naval war by fire-ships and torpedo-machines, greatly exasperated the minds of the British. The land forces had in the meanwhile advanced within sixteen miles of Washington, and on the 23d and 24th resumed their march and reached Bladensberg, a village situated within five miles of that capital. The preparations made by the enemy for its defence were not unworthy of the importance which every nation attaches to its metropolis.

Bladensberg is situated on the left bank of the eastern branch of the Potowmack. On the opposite side an army of 8 or 9000 Americans was formed in two lines, along a chain of commanding heights. Through the centre past the main road, leading to Washington, which was therefore completely protected by the guns disposed on the heights. A fortified house, defended by artillery, commanded the bridge over the Potowmack, by which the British troops were under the necessity of passing, and which the Americans, in ignorance or confidence, had ventured to leave unbroken. This post was at once carried by the British light brigade, who, rather flying to the attack than running, advanced with such impetuosity, that the Americans were totally unable to withstand them. A brigade, under the command of Colonel Brooke, advanced to the support of the light brigade, and deploying after the passage of the bridge, attacked the right and left of the enemy at once. The Americans, surprised at the vivacity of the assault, do not appear upon this occasion to have made such a defence as their national character and the importance of the occasion demanded. The first line soon gave way and fell back upon the second, which also yielding to the charge of bayonets and vollies of rockets, dispersed and fled in less than half an hour from the commencement of the contest. This route was broken and completed by one division only of the British, amounting to about fifteen hundred men. The American General Winter, who had the misfortune to command on this occasion, seems, in his official letter, much at a loss to account for the disaster which befel his army. It would be doing injustice to the vanquished, however, to suppress one circumstance on which he insists at length as a primary cause of defeat,—the misfortune, namely, of one Colonel Ragan, who *fell from his horse* as the action commenced, leaving the British completely masters of the field. To add to the disgrace of this defeat, the beginning of the action was witnessed by Mr Madison, president of the United States, although he did not find it convenient to await its conclusion. The position of the American army was completely gained by the British, but few of their soldiers waited to be either killed or made prisoners. This victory threw the rising capital of America into the possession of the conquerors.

The use which the British general

made of the temporary occupation of Washington, was to set fire to and consume the various public buildings which graced the American metropolis. The Capitol, including the Senate-house, and House of Representation, the Arsenal, the Dock-yard, the Treasury, the War-office, the President's Palace, the Rope-work, and a great bridge over the Potowmack, were all destroyed, as well as some private houses from which guns had been fired at the British troops. All private property was strictly respected, insomuch, that when it was represented that burning one of the houses last-mentioned might compromise the safety of others adjacent, the order for destroying it was immediately recalled. Yet the deliberate destruction of public buildings not designed for military purposes, is a mode of carrying on war which we are far from approving, and the effect of the burning those at Washington showed it to be as impolitic as it was certainly rigorous. Without doing any real injury to the United States, it subjected them to a disgrace still more painful and more difficult to be forgotten or forgiven. It procured for them the general sympathy of other nations, expressed perhaps the more loudly on account of the envy excited by the rank which Britain holds among the nations; and, what is of much more importance, it went far to unite, in a common feeling of wrongs to be resented and revenged, that large proportion of the Americans usually called Federalists, who had hitherto been averse to the war. The American people were therefore generally disposed to listen to the exhortations of their president, who, in a proclamation, called on them to unite in defensive measures. *Sept.* 8. "Whereas," said this document, "these proceedings and declared purposes, which exhibit a deliberate disregard of the principles of humanity, and the rules of civilized warfare, and which must give to the existing war a character of extended devastation and barbarism, at the very moment of negociations for peace, invited by the enemy himself, leave no prospect of safety to any thing within the reach of his predatory and incendiary operations, but in manful and universal determination to chastise and expel the invader," &c. Upon the whole, measures so unusual in civilized warfare, were perhaps justified by the mode in which the American armies had conducted themselves in Canada, and by the alleged necessity of doing something which might at once mark strongly our power of injuring the people with whom we were at war, and intimidate them into terms of peace. But we suspect that the real reason is to be found in the exasperation which had taken place between the countries, and which threatened in this, and other instances, to give the savage and ferocious features of civil war to a contest already partaking of that character, from the common origin of the two nations, and their resemblance in language and manners. In retreating from Washington, which was done as speedily as possible, General Ross found himself compelled to leave behind him Colonel Thornton, and other wounded officers and soldiers, who were treated with humanity by the Americans, although the late havoc made in their capital must have deeply incensed them against the nation by which it was committed.

The town of Alexandria, situated lower on the Potowmack than Washington, was attacked by the British about the same time. *Aug.* 27. Fort Washington, by which the river is there protected, was abandoned by its defenders after a short

Aug. 29. bombardment, and the common council of Alexandria agreed to surrender the town, protection being promised to private property. All naval and military stores and merchandize being delivered up to the captors, were stowed on board twenty-one vessels which were found in the harbour; and the British departed loaded with spoil, and with little loss or interruption from the batteries on the side of the river, by which the Americans attempted to annoy their retreat.

Sept. 12. Baltimore was the next object of attack, and on the morning of the 12th September, a disembarkation of the British troops was effected near North Point, about thirteen miles distant from that town. The approach lies through a small peninsula, in some places scarce half a mile in breadth, across which the enemy had drawn an entrenchment. This was carried without loss, but, as the troops advanced, they were harassed by the enemy's riflemen; and General Ross, who had at this fatal moment advanced to reconnoitre, received a mortal wound from a rifle-ball, and living only to recommend his young and unprovided family to the protection of his king and country, expired on the spot. "Thus fell," said Colonel Broke, who succeeded to the command, "at an early age, one of the brightest ornaments of his profession; one who, whether at the head of a regiment, a brigade or corps, had alike displayed the talents of command; who was not less loved in his private than enthusiastically admired in his public character, and whose only fault, if it may be deemed so, was an excess of gallantry, enterprize, and devotion to the service. If ever it were permitted to a soldier to lament those who fall in battle, we may indeed in this instance claim that melancholy privilege." In a smart action which ensued, the British maintained their military superiority, and in less than fifteen minutes utterly broke and dispersed an army of about 6,000 Americans, supported by artillery and cavalry, the enemy losing near 1,000 in killed, wounded, and missing. But it was the fate of the successes obtained during this incursive war, to be followed by no important results. Baltimore was defended to the land by a chain of fortified redoubts, connected by a breast-work, and occupied by about 15,000 men. Colonel Broke, nevertheless, resolved upon a night attack; but, as the lives of the brave men which must necessarily have been lost in storming such formidable defences, could hardly have been compensated by any mischief which we might have done to the town of Baltimore, we cannot but hold it fortunate, that, owing to difficulties which occurred in the naval co-operation, he was induced to relinquish his purpose, and to re-embark his forces, after destroying a large rope-work, and other public buildings.

To the names of Drummond, Ross, and other brave officers, who fell during this desultory and unhappy war, we must now add that of Captain Sir Peter Parker, a gallant young officer, commanding the Menelaus, who was killed in an attack upon a body of American militia, stationed near Bellair. He had landed with a body of 100 sailors, and having advanced into the woods, did not hesitate to attack with that inferior force, a formidable position held by the enemy. This brave young man fell by a mortal wound from a musquet-ball, leaving behind him the character of a gallant and spirited officer, whose only fault was that total disregard of his personal safety which deprived his country of his services at so early a period.

The enemy were compelled to retreat —a poor consolation for so heavy a loss.

July 5. In the same spirit of detached military adventure, an expedition, which had sailed from Halifax, under Colonel Pilkington, possessed themselves with little resistance of the islands in the bay of Pasquamoddy, and took measures which seemed to announce the purpose of annexing them to the British empire, as the inhabitants were summoned to take the oath of allegiance, or to leave the territory. In the month of September, the advantage was followed up by an expedition up the Penobscott, whose first exploit *Sept.* 1. was possessing themselves of the fort of Castine. The expedition then proceeded up the river as far as a cove, within three miles of the town of Hampden, where *Sept.* 3. the forces were disembarked. The enemy, although double the number of the assailants, were forced from a strong position, and compelled to burn the "John Adams," a fine frigate, which had run up to Hampden for protection, in order to prevent her falling into the hands of the British. The town of Bangor was next taken with little resistance, and the fortified post, called Machias, being reduced by Colonel Pilkington, the whole district from Pasquamoddy Bay to the Penobscott river, remained an undisturbed position of the British.

These advantages were counterbalanced by the disastrous issue of an expedition against the state of New-York, undertaken by the governor-general of Canada in person, with an army of 14,000 or 15,000 men, consisting in a great degree of the peninsular veterans. Sir George Prevost had acquired so much credit by his defence of Canada, with very inferior means, that no one doubted his talents, with the respectable force now at his disposal, to conduct offensive operations with the same success. His first attempt was on a fortified place called Plattsburg, on the Lake Champlain. While the army advanced by land, the lake was occupied by a British flotilla, consisting of a frigate, a brig, two sloops, and some gun-boats, under Captain Downie. Batteries having been erected on shore, an attack was determined on. The enemy's flotilla, consisting of a twenty-six-gun frigate, a twenty-gun brig, with a sloop, a schooner, and ten gun-boats, was anchored in the bay of Plattsburgh. The instant the British flotilla entered the bay, the batteries on shore began to fire on the fort, and the engagement commenced at once by water and land. The British troops, under cover of the batteries, had already forced the passage of the Saranac, and were ascending the height to storm the works of Plattsburg, when a shout of exultation was heard from the enemy's batteries. The cause was soon too evident. The British frigate and brig had struck their colours, and the remainder of their flotilla, dispersed and defeated, were flying for safety. The action in the bay had for some time been close and spirited, and the fire very destructive on both sides. But the advance of our squadron against the enemy, while anchored with their broadsides to, gave the Americans a considerable advantage, and the British crews, formed by draughts of men from different vessels, unknown to each other and to their officers, seem to have been in an indifferent state of organization. Captain Downie, the commodore, was unfortunately killed at the beginning of the action, and for some time the principal fire of the enemy was directed against the Confiance, thus deprived of her commander. Meanwhile Captain Pring, in the Linnet, sustained an animated contest with the American brig, until he had the mor-

tification to observe that the Confiance had struck her flag. The whole fire of the enemy was now directed against his single vessel, for the British gun-boats seem never to have got into close action, and at length the shattered and disabled state of the vessel compelled Captain Pring to give the melancholy signal of submission. The loss sustained in the action was considerable, but the consequences were yet more unfortunate. Sir George Prevost, perceiving the disaster of the flotilla, gave up thoughts of persevering in the land attack, and commenced his retreat upon the Canadian frontier, leaving behind him his sick and wounded, as well as quantities of stores and ammunition. The land forces did not lose many men by the sword, but the number of deserters is said to have amounted to 400. It is, indeed, one of the numerous evils attending an American war, that the similarity of language, and the ease of obtaining a settlement in the country, encourages the British soldier to desert his ranks, whenever misfortune or hardships render the military service disgusting to him. Sir George Prevost was much censured for his conduct in this disastrous expedition, particularly by the officers of the naval service. Sir James Yeo expressed in his public dispatches an opinion, that Captain Downie had been urged and hurried into action, before his ship was in a condition to meet the enemy, and that the batteries ought first to have been stormed from the land, in which case the enemy's flotilla, being expelled from their strong situation in the bay, must have been forced to meet that of the British on equal terms. The disappointment of the apparently well-grounded expectations of success which had attached to this expedition, occasioned much heart-burning both in Canada and at home, especially when it was considered that the veteran soldiers of Lord Wellington, the conquerors of so many fields of glory, formed a part of the troops who had now been ingloriously compelled to retreat from a petty fortress and a militia garrison. But in the sanguine expectations founded on the presence of these brave veterans, the public somewhat resembled the sultan, who expected the same marvels from the sabre of Scanderbeg, when in an inferior hand, which it had performed while in the grasp of the hero himself.

General Drummond, who still maintained his camp before Fort Erie, was, in the middle of September, suddenly assailed by a sortie of the enemy, with a great proportion of his force. *Sept.* 17. The Americans advanced, under cover of a heavy fire, from the fort, and were also favoured by the rain, which fell in torrents. Their march thus covered and concealed, they turned the British line of picquets without being perceived, and got possession of two of the batteries. As soon as the alarm was given, the first brigade got under arms, and rushed to support the picquets, driving the enemy from the trenches and batteries which they had occupied, without permitting them time to profit by their temporary success. The Americans, thus repulsed, retreated, leaving prisoners, and many wounded, in the hands of the British. The loss of the British was very severe, amounting to six hundred in killed, wounded, and missing. The Americans, soon afterwards, manifested an intention of resuming their often baffled project of entering Canada from this point. For this purpose, the army of General Izard was united with that of General Brown, who had occupied Fort Erie since his retreat from Queenstown. The superiority of the enemy was now predominating, and General Drummond was compelled to relinquish the blockade of Fort Erie and retreat up-

on Chippawa, where he expected to be joined by reinforcements. To the censures of those who regretted that these reinforcements had not been sent sooner, in order to have enabled the gallant and able general to continue those persevering efforts which had hitherto protected the Niagara frontier, there was objected the exhausted state of the country, the limited resources of the province, and the difficulty of transporting stores and provisions through a country so extremely difficult and impracticable. It seems probable that the defence was well founded; and perhaps the American invaders may have felt in their turn the effects of the scarcity which had prevented the British from opposing a greater force to their incursion. Their generals advanced, indeed, to Chippawa in pursuit of General Drummond, and the road seemed once more open before them into Canada. But upon the news, that the British, having launched a vessel of one hundred guns, had regained the command of the navigation of the Lake Ontario, and were advancing with their fleet to the support of General Drummond, they suddenly adopted the resolution of retreat, and without even halting to make good the possession of Fort Erie, blew up the fortifications, and retired to the other side of the river. Thus concluded the campaign on the frontiers of Canada.

Nov. 5.

Notwithstanding the general indignation excited by the destruction of the public buildings at Washington, and the feelings of national pride with which the Americans contemplated their success at Platsburg, their government began to find great difficulty in reconciling the nation to the continuation of a war which seemed now to have no object. The downfal of Buonaparte involved in it a subversion of all the hopes fondly entertained, that Britain, engaged in struggling for existence in Europe, would soon tire of defending so remote a possession as the province of Canada; and it seemed still more unlikely that America should, by means of a few frigates, wrench the trident of the ocean from a nation which possessed a thousand ships of battle. The real and ostensible purposes of the war were now alike out of prospect. President Madison had voluntarily retreated from the non-importation and non-intercourse acts, measures which had ruined the commerce of America without materially affecting that of Great Britain, and the only purpose of continued hostilities seemed now to be the vindictive infliction of mutual injury, the devastation of property, and the waste of human life. The eastern states of America, always averse to the war, had now become impatient of its intolerable pressure. Their commerce had been ruined, and their property taxed, to maintain a contest of undefined length, peculiarly unfavourable to their interests, and which now seemed to be carried on without any object or prospect of termination. The bitterest complaints were also made by the legislatures of these states, and particularly that of New England, that the executive government withdrew from them the troops which they had raised for their own local defence, and employed them on other purposes and objects. This was a point for which the union made no provision, and the disputes to which it gave rise seemed not unlikely to be the means of dissolving it. The state of Massachusetts took the decisive step of calling a convention from the other states of New England, to consider the defect in the constitution, which placed the defensive means of the several states at the disposal of the executive government, by which it was roundly asserted, that the union had failed to procure

to the eastern states the benefits which were its chief object. The ominous words, Separation and Independence, were already familiar in their mouths, and it seems not unlikely that the continuance of the war might have produced that dissolution of the American league which has been so often predicted.

The financial difficulties of the American treasury became every day more pressing. A loan was pronounced to be impossible, and the issuing of treasury bills was resorted to, combined with a formidable list of taxes, from which they were to be made good, and which nearly doubled the burthens of the people. Thus the evils of an exhausted treasury, and a war without motive, were added to the intestine division which threatened the federal union of the states of America. Britain, though in a slighter degree, was suffering from the interruption of her commerce by the American privateers, and by the expence necessary to support a distant and desultory war, where resources were so limited, and where the enemy began to model his troops as well as his seamen, upon such a plan, as, assisted by numerical superiority, must finally render them a match for the superior skill and discipline of our officers and soldiers, and that in a contest where defeat was a national disgrace, and success hardly regarded as a national triumph. The progress of the convention, which, originally designed to meet at Gottenburgh, was now transferred to Ghent, relieved both countries from this state of useless and pernicious hostility.

The commissioners, on the part of the Americans, were Messrs Adams, Baynard, Clay, Russel, and Gallatin; those who appeared for Britain, were Lord Gambier, Mr Goulbourn, and Dr Adams. It happened in this negociation, as in others, that each party enhanced their demands, or retreated from them, in proportion as they conceived themselves to be the stronger. The American commissioners now insisted but faintly upon the questions respecting the impressment of seamen and the blockade of their coasts, propositions which they now saw no prospect of rendering palatable to the British in the present state of Europe. The British statesmen, on the other hand, feeling that the peace in Europe had given their country great advantages in the discussion, demanded such a revision of the Canadian frontier as would render the limits of that province more secure from invasion. They also required that the Indian allies of Britain should have benefit from the treaty, and that the limits should be ascertained, and in future protected. These demands, being transmitted to America, excited a strong sensation, and appeared to be equally unacceptable to all parties in the United States. The consequence was, that in their measures of defence they displayed more unanimity than their government durst previously have expected. The congress adopted, with little opposition, the resolution of raising, by means somewhat similar to the conscription, an army of one hundred thousand men, and the resentment manifested by the public facilitated the passing some of the most obnoxious taxes. But the British government had too much wisdom and moderation to insist upon demands which were so violently resisted, and wisely concluded the blood and treasure of Britain too valuable to be poured forth for rocks, forests, and morasses on the Canadian frontier. Each party, therefore, retreated from those articles which the other declared inadmissible, and thus a treaty was concluded on terms which left the relative situation of the two countries pretty much as they stood before the commencement of the war. There was, however, some difference, and it was

unfavourable to America. No mention whatever was made of the maritime rights which had been the alleged cause of the war; and the question may be negatively said to be decided in favour of Britain, for America renounced her demand of satisfaction for the captures made under the orders in council. The British, restoring their other conquests, retained the islands in Pasquamoddy bay. The Americans were excluded from our fisheries on the coast of Newfoundland, and from trading to our settlements in the East-Indies. The Indians were to be restored to the rights and possessions which they held in 1812. After all, therefore, Britain must be considered as having come honourably, if not triumphantly, out of the contest. We wish we could dare to hope that the treaty we have detailed had eradicated the causes of future quarrel between nations which have a peculiar interest in remaining at peace. But as the seeds of ancient dissention, sown in the war of the American revolution, have borne bitter fruit in our own times, we can hardly permit ourselves to doubt that the mutual subjects of injury and insult, yet harder to be forgiven, which have occurred during this American war, will leave feelings of deep irritation behind them to ripen at some future period into another rupture. It is a consoling reflection, that the most valuable virtues are often taught to communities, as to individuals, by the severest task-masters, and, as necessity is the mother of invention, poverty is frequently that of moderation and peace. The distress of the American people is understood to be severe, and that of Britain is too generally obvious. And it may be well hoped, that, for some years at least, neither nation will be able, even if willing, to renew this unnatural and unavailing contest.

The West-Indies furnished nothing remarkable during the year 1814, excepting the singular attempt of a French officer, by mere force of eloquence, to induce Christophe, the black Emperor of Hayti, to descend from the throne he had established, and reduce himself to the character of a French subject, with the distant prospect of holding in the French service such rank as, with his African features, complexion, and hair, he could be admitted to hold. This hopeful summons, and its corresponding arguments, were addressed by General D'Auxion Lavayse, in a letter, prudently dated from Kingston in Jamaica. But Christophe, or rather the Emperor Henri, was not to be won by the voice of the charmer. He convoked an extraordinary council of his sable tribes, and returned to the General words of defiance. Petion had received an application somewhat similar, but more cautiously expressed, from General Lavayse, and had permitted him to land at Port au Prince, where he found the potentate of colour not a jot more accessible to persuasion than his darker-complexioned rival. The object of this farce was, perhaps, to pave the way for a second expedition to St Domingo, a political mode of disposing of refractory armies by which Buonaparte rid himself of that which had been commanded by Moreau, and by which the royal French government might have conveniently employed a large proportion of the troops still attached to the ex-emperor.

In the island of Dominica a war continued to be waged between the colonists and the Maroon negroes, in which the latter were finally reduced to subjection.

Contrary to long custom, India, for this year, makes nearly a blank article in the annals of Britain. The taking a country fort, called the Ghurra of Entoura, subdued the insurrection of a petty rajah, dependent on the Rao

Rajah. An expedition, sent from Batavia, under General Nightingale, against the Rajah of Beni at Macassar, was equally successful; and these, with the destruction of a nest of pirates who had settled in Borneo, accomplished by a detachment of British troops, under Captain Watson, summed up the remarkable events of the year 1814 in India and its dependencies.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Domestic Affairs of Britain.—Fraud on the Stock-Exchange.—Its Detection by the Committee.—Trial of Lord Cochrane and Others.—Their Sentence.—He is expelled the House of Commons, and again returned for Westminster.—Visit of the Allied Sovereigns to Britain.—Their enthusiastic Reception.—Interest excited by Blucher.—Their Visit to Oxford—And other Festivities.—Remarks on this Visit.—Arrival of the Duke of Wellington in the Capital.—He takes his Seat in the House of Lords.—Speech of the Chancellor.—Reply of the Duke.—National Provision for Support of his Dignity.—Grants in favour of other distinguished Officers.

WHEN we undertook the task of producing these annals, we little hoped to have witnessed with our own eyes, and recorded with our own hand, the fulfilment of the hope which we ventured to express, "that, as the Greeks, after the Persian invasion, decreed, that their household fires, polluted by the Barbarians, should be rekindled by a brand from the altar of Apollo, so, it might not be too proud a hope, that our island was destined to be the Delphos, where nations, whose colleges and shrines had been contaminated by a yet more cruel, because a more systematic tyranny, should repair to obtain a spark of re-illumination." The time, however, which the most sanguine politician placed in a very distant and flattering perspective, has arrived within the short space of six years; and in the course of our internal affairs of 1814, the brightest paragraph relates to the homage paid to Britain, by the visit of those distinguished personages, whose counsels, often divided from ours by the circumstances of an eventful time, were now united with them, and it is to be hoped for a long period, in league, amity, and parity of interests, having for their common object the independence and happiness of Europe. But ere we reach that pleasing part of our domestic annals, we have to allude to certain incidents which interested the community previous to the arrival of the allied princes. Among these, the most remarkable was the affair of Lord Cochrane.

The public mind was highly wrought up by the agitating and contradictory reports from France while the struggle between Buonaparte and his opponents continued, and the public funds, that thermometer of the hopes and

fears of England, varied with every rumour from the fields of action. Adventurers hastened to profit by the fluctuation of public credit during these moments of trembling apprehension and feverish hope; and as most of them, with that sanguine temper which characterizes gambling of every description, hoped from victory and peace such a rise in the funds, as no victory, however decisive, and no peace, however triumphant, ever could produce, their speculations were pushed to an extent ruinous in amount, and altogether extravagant as to probable success.

The account of the battle of Montmirail, in which Buonaparte defeated the greater part of the army of Silesia, was received in London on the 17th February, and had a severe effect on the funds. *Omnium*, a few days before at nearly 30, sunk to about 27, and presented a disastrous prospect to all who had speculated to a large extent. Something was necessary to give a temporary impulse to the market, in order that these adventurers might be enabled to transfer to dupes the ruin which would otherwise fall on themselves. Various devices had formerly been used for similar purposes. Fabricated reports, forged Moniteurs, even a supposititious letter from the prime minister to the lord mayor had been the means of imposture on former occasions; but the present fraud was of a nature more daring and complicated than any which had occurred in the history of stock-jobbing. A person, in dress and appearance an officer, appeared at the *Feb.* 20. Ship-Inn, Dover, as if just landed from France, and intimated himself to be the bearer of dispatches detailing a splendid victory and the death of Buonaparte, having left, as he strongly stated it, the Cossacks fighting for pieces of his mangled body. He then gravely wrote a letter to the port-admiral, announcing himself to be Colonel De Bourgh, aid-de-camp to Lord Cathcart, congratulating the admiral on the joyful intelligence which he had brought, and requesting the boat's-crew who had brought him from France might not be molested by our cruizers on their return. The admiral, no way mistrusting a fraud so audacious, would have communicated the news by telegraph, but the thickness of the weather prevented the machine from working, and thus a material branch of the plot was frustrated. The pretended aid-de-camp proceeded to London, spreading his good news as he went; then dismissed his post-chaise and four, threw himself into a hackney-coach, and disappeared. While the Stock-Exchange resounded with the reports thus artificially set afloat, two auxiliaries to the main plot, in the assumed character of French royalist officers, drove across Blackfriars-bridge in a carriage ornamented with laurels, and as they passed distributed white cockades and bulletins of the victory. This supported the market, which had begun to flag. Omnium rose to 31, 32, 33, and upwards, when the intelligence that government had received no dispatches, burst the bubble, to use the technical and appropriate language, and the funds fell to their former level.

A committee of the Stock-Exchange, appointed to investigate this extraordinary fraud, were not long of fixing its origin with those who had been immense sellers during the currency of a report calculated to induce all those who were not in the secret to be purchasers. The Hon. Mr Cochrane Johnstone, member for Grampound, and his nephew Lord Cochrane, together with a person called Butt, known to be connected with them, were found to have been possessed, on Saturday night, of stock to the amount of nearly a million, every

pound of which was sold on Monday morning during the currency of the *hoax*, as this impudent deception was popularly termed. Much surprise was not excited on account of this discovery so far as the uncle was concerned. Born of a family several of the members of which were remarkable for a degree of genius which borders on eccentricity, as well as for a peculiar turn for speculation, this gentleman had embarked in many schemes, and had alternately been wealthy and embarrassed repeatedly during the course of his life. The delicacy that should have prevented a man of birth, education, and high rank in society, from embarking in such a scheme, is virtually laid aside when such a person engages in the gambling adventures of Change-Alley; and for the rest, stock-jobbing, like horse-jockeyship, is supposed to give so much license beyond the usual bounds of morality, that the line of distinction between the first shade of deception and the participation in gross fraud relies very much on the feelings, perhaps on the interest, of the party. But the imputation on Lord Cochrane's character shocked the public greatly. He was just on the point of being restored to the active naval service in which he had been formerly so much distinguished; he had talents, he had rank, he had reputation, and stood high in a profession, which, of all others, is supposed to excite feelings most superior to sordid pecuniary speculations. Those who credited the report were inclined to think that he had acted under his uncle's influence, and had rushed into the fraudulent plan with that thoughtless inconsideration which we consider as an attribute of sailors in their worldly transactions, regarding it perhaps rather as a frolic, than a serious imposition; or at most, only supposing that, in adopting such a scheme to retrieve his speculations, he was playing more thoroughly and completely the game which was played by all around him.

In the meanwhile, the exertions of the committee of the stock-holders traced out minute evidence of the fraud. The pretended Colonel de Bourgh proved to be one Berenger, a foreigner, who, after trying various plans of life, was now in desperate circumstances. This man had fled as soon as his business was done, and was for some time supposed to have gone out of the kingdom. The very dress in which he acted the aid-de-camp of Lord Cathcart was fished up out of the Thames, into which it had been thrown. The minor agents in the plot were also detected, and it remained to find the chain of connection between them and the persons who profited by the fraud. At length the hackney coachman appeared, who had driven Berenger after he quitted his post-chaise and four. This man stated that he had set him down at the house of Lord Cochrane, in Green-street. Pressed by the suspicions arising from this and other circumstances, Lord Cochrane uttered a voluntary affidavit, in which he admitted that Berenger had called upon him on the morning in question, but, not finding him at home, had written an anonymous letter, requesting to see him; that he, Lord Cochrane, had hastened home, believing the letter to relate to his brother's health, and that he there had found Berenger, whom he had respect for as a man of talents involved in misfortune. The affidavit proceeded to state, that their whole intercourse related to Berenger's anxious wish to get on board Lord Cochrane's vessel for the sake of going to America, and that when his lordship explained to him that this could not immediately be, he requested to be accommodated with a change of dress, his own being a mili-

tary uniform, in which he said it was not proper for him to call upon Lord Yarmouth. With this uncommon request Lord Cochrane complied, and gave Mr Berenger a hat and black coat, instead of his uniform and fur cap. Mr Cochrane Johnstone and Mr Butt also published their vindications, and menaced with prosecution all who had connected their names with the late fraud. In the midst of these proceedings Berenger was arrested at Leith, as he endeavoured to leave the kingdom. Every person who had seen the pretended De Bourgh at once recognised him in the person of Berenger. This point was fully established in the course of the trial which took place soon afterwards, when Lord Cochrane, the Honourable A. Cochrane Johnstone, and Butt, along with Berenger and the subordinate agents in the plot, were indicted for a fraudulent conspiracy to raise the price of stocks. The most important point was to connect his agency, and that of the other puppets who had represented the French officers, with Lord Cochrane, his uncle, and Mr Butt. That these three persons availed themselves of the rise of stock to sell nearly a million,—that but for the sudden rise they would have been defaulters to the extent of 160,000l.,—that instead of being losers, they had been profited to a considerable extent, and if the telegraph could have wrought agreeable to the plan of the imposition, would have been profiters to a very great one;—all this was undeniable, but the presumptions arising from thence fell short of the decided and clear proof which might implicate them with the actual perpetrators of the fraud. It was therefore brought in evidence that a large sum of money, amounting to no less than 450l. in bank-notes, could be traced from Mr Cochrane Johnstone to Berenger, and was found in various places of concealment among his baggage. This, it was concluded, was his share of the booty. That this man, blazoned in the costume of his crime, should have chosen Lord Cochrane's house for his tiring-room, should have come thither in his masquerade attire, and there exchanged it for a dress of his lordship's, was insisted upon as a circumstance of peculiar weight. Other minute particulars went to connect the actors in the fraud with those who had profited by it, nor was it shewn that there were other persons concerned in stock transactions that morning who had availed themselves of the false report to any considerable extent. The jury therefore did not hesitate to find the whole defenders guilty of the conspiracy charged against them. Mr Cochrane Johnstone fled to the continent. Berenger, in a wild sentimental correspondence with Lord Cochrane, which afterwards became public, confessed his having acted the part of De Bourgh, and averred, that he did so in concert with Lord Cochrane and his uncle, sacrificing himself to the pure and disinterested feelings of friendship which he entertained towards the former.

June 8.

Lord Cochrane made several attempts to procure a new trial. The grounds on which he claimed this revision were, that his defence had been improperly confounded with that of the other persons accused; that (which seemed singular, considering the delicate nature of the question) he had not revised the brief of his counsel; that one or two material witnesses had not been examined in his defence; and that, finally, when Berenger appeared at his house, he had not, as was stated, a red uniform, faced with green, which was the dress of the pretended De Bourgh, but was in a green sharp-shooter's dress,

belonging to a corps of volunteers of which he was adjutant. Much criticism was bestowed on the evidence of Crane the hackney coachman, who was stated to be an infamous character. But, fortunately, we are not called upon to weigh the oath of this man against that of a Scottish nobleman, an English knight, a member of the British House of Commons, for there is little discrepancy between them. Berenger's dress alone was the subject of question, for his visit and his change of dress at Lord Cochrane's house were both admitted. That he wore a red uniform, with a green cape, when he entered the hackney-coach, is certain, for it was his dress when he left the chaise; and there only remained to be assumed the possibility that, while in the coach, he might have changed it for the green habit in which Lord Cochrane states him to have appeared before him. But it has not been suggested for what purpose he could be supposed to have made such a change, when his very next wish was to obtain a dress different from both. If he went to Lord Cochrane's as a person connected with him, merely through his lordship's wish to patronize merit,—if, just fresh from the perpetration of a fraud, he sought an asylum in the house of an unsuspicious friend, and felt the necessity of laying aside his borrowed trappings ere he appeared in his presence, which is the case assumed, would not this have been done by exchanging his red uniform for some dress which had no connection whatever with the character he had been acting? A black coat was as easily transported and as soon put on as a green one, nor would the change be more conspicuous in the one case than the other, and would have saved the necessity and suspicion attached to a second shifting in Lord Cochrane's house. Yet, though we cannot help suspecting that Lord Cochrane would have taken little advantage by a new trial, we cannot help heartily wishing it had been granted to him. The forms of the law of England, it seems, do not permit a new trial to be granted, unless all the parties concerned be present. The reason of this rule, with other legal mysteries, is, no doubt, satisfactory, though hid from vulgar eyes and understandings. But we cannot help regretting, that it could not be waived upon an occasion where the honour of Britain was so deeply concerned in affording to the accused every possible means of investigation and defence. And we were yet more shocked at the sentence, which, after condemning Lord Cochrane and Mr Butt to pay a fine of 500l. each, and to be imprisoned for a twelvemonth, (which last part of the sentence extended also to the inferior agents) condemned Lord Cochrane, Butt, and Berenger, to the barbarous and infamous punishment of standing on the pillory. In the selection of punishments, regard is usually had to the rank, situation, and previous character, of the person on whom they are to be inflicted. Even in cases of high treason, the ignominious mode of execution is changed in the case of a nobleman for one accounted more honourable. Not that the crime of the noble is less atrocious than that of the squire or yeoman, but that disgrace may not attach to the body to which he belongs, from one of its members being subjected to an infamous punishment. This claim was yet stronger in the case of Lord Cochrane, where a military character, highly supported, and important services rendered to the country, should have been admitted to balance in some degree the guilt of the crime of which he stood convicted. To such a character the entry of his name in the record of conviction was an ignominy, to which the

exposure of his person to public shame could add but little. There was a general revolt of men's feelings against this part of the sentence, and, as usually happens when there appears an excess, either in the degree or mode of punishment, it went the length of procuring for one of the condemned parties a degree of compassion with which, perhaps, he would not otherwise have been regarded. It was also soon evident, that the pillory, which is a post of infamy, or of triumph, according to the humour of the mob who witness that degrading spectacle, would assume for Lord Cochrane the honours of a triumphal chair. Sir Francis Burdett, his colleague for Westminster, did not hesitate to express his resolution of taking the opportunity of mounting the pillory himself to partake the punishment of his friend, and share, at the same time, such distinction as the shouts of the assembled electors could confer. The House of Commons, upon the motion of Lord Ebrington, were about to enter upon the discussion of this topic, when they were informed by Lord Castlereagh, that the Prince Regent had been pleased to remit, in favour of all the culprits, that part of the punishment which had been specially objected to in the case of Lord Cochrane. The discussions upon this, and other points of the affair, have been given in our parliamentary proceedings. As was naturally to have been expected, the House of Commons expelled the members of their house who had been convicted of such a crime, and the name of Lord Cochrane was erased from among the Knights of the Bath. And, as was no less to be expected, the staunch electors of Westminster, whose faith can remove mountains when political favourites are concerned, and who hold the terms innocent and guilty to be synonymous with those of oppositionist and placeman, again returned Lord Cochrane as their member to parliament, regarding the trial, conviction, and sentence, with all the circumstances out of which they originated, as an ingenious device of ministers to get rid of a popular adversary.

A more pleasing event, which at this time engaged the public attention, was the visit of the allied monarchs to Britain, which we have already alluded to. In the beginning of June, the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia entered London, attended by Field-Marshal Blucher, Platow, Tolli, Tolstoi, Metternich, and many other of those distinguished characters with whose fame Europe had resounded for the last two eventful years. *June* 7. They now witnessed with their own eyes the fountains of that wealth, which, apparently inexhaustible, had been so lavishly supplied to aid the independence of Europe, and which had given nerves and sinews to the war, to which they themselves had contributed the talents of their generals and the persons of their subjects. The glory of the land was now before them. It consisted not in palaces and public buildings,—not in collections of that which is most valuable in art and science,—in these Britain was far exceeded by her ancient rival and enemy, the country which they had just conquered;—it was in the general welfare and happiness of the community, displayed in fields cultivated to the uttermost, houses of every description, from the villa to the cottage, filled with all of use, and even of ornament, which suited the owners,—it was in those increasing villages, whose rising streets seemed yet too limited for the number of the inhabitants,—in those groups of healthy peasants and artizans, whose numbers, as well as their neat and orderly appearance, had an air of perpe-

tual holiday,—it was that throng of a metropolis, in which none seemed to want employment, and yet all to have the means of enjoyment and relaxation,—it was in the bustle of seaports, and the hum of marts,—it was, above all, in the conduct of the inhabitants, who could preserve real good order amid apparent license, that the sovereigns recognized the beneficial effects of those equal laws and liberal principles of government which have placed Britain so high among the nations. We are well assured that amid the immense concourse which assembled with shout and jubilee to witness their presence at Ascot races, the Emperor of Russia, as he looked round the thousands by which they were surrounded, and who, unawed by the presence of any guard excepting a few peace officers, appeared abandoned to the exercise of their own will, and quite sensible that they were so, exclaimed to those who stood by him, "In what other country dared the government to permit such an assemblage, without forces sufficient to overawe and controul them in case of uproar?" The full security and confidence reposed in the good sense and correct feeling of the people must have appeared the more surprising, as, to the eye of strangers, their blunt and tumultuous expressions of joy and of welcome approach in themselves to the very verge of license. In fact, the English common people on such occasions resemble the tides on many parts of their coast—fierce and tumultuous in appearance to the inexperienced spectator, but which, without some unusual and agitating cause, do not pass their natural limits, or encroach upon the land.

The allied sovereigns received from the British many marks of a consideration not the less sincere that it was expressed with the most unceremonious bluntness. But it was to Blucher that the public enthusiasm most warmly attached itself. The English, doing justice to all their guests, did not forget to whose continued and persevering exertions the successful termination of the war was principally owing, and who it was that first sheathed in Paris the sword, which, through many a turn of fortune, he had brought in his grasp from the banks of the Katzbach to those of the Seine. When the Field-Marshal went to pay his respects at Carleton-house, the enthusiasm of the people burst all bounds. They overpowered porters and guards, and forced their way into the court-yard. The Prince Regent, indulgent to their zeal, commanded the great doors of the hall to be opened, and it was in the presence of the shouting multitude that the Sovereign of England embraced the Prussian veteran, and hung around his neck a medallion of honour. The popular zeal in behalf of Blucher did not relax, but, on the contrary, assumed an obstinate pertinacity in its expression, which must frequently have incommoded its object. The veteran was not only followed by shouting crowds when he went abroad, but was obliged from time to time to appear at the windows of his apartment to show himself to the successive groups which surrounded his house, and called for him with unceasing acclamations. The other foreign officers were greeted with similar tokens of applause, in proportion as their names and exploits were familiar. Among these, the Scythian chief Platow was not forgotten. He and the sons of the desert that attended him were the object of much curiosity and clamorous approbation. The Hettman, who, though uneducated, is a man of great natural shrewdness and ability, readily entered into the humour of the people whom he came to visit; and the attendant Cossacks, indolent by nature unless when under the influence

of a strong stimulus, ate, drank, and slept, without troubling themselves about the wonder and shouts of their new hosts.

The honours of the land were done by the Prince Regent, as became so marked an occasion. Reviews of our naval and military forces were mingled with more peaceful pageants. A visit to Oxford, a city whose venerable and captivating exterior so well beseems its high renown as a seat of letters, afforded the most gratifying spectacle. The Prince Regent attended his royal visitors, and all was studiously conducted upon a scale of magnificence worthy of an occasion so solemn. A banquet, which accommodated about two hundred persons, was spread in the Ratcliffe Library, where the dress of the gownsmen attending, contrasted with the superb uniforms of most of the guests, over which many of them wore the academic robe newly conferred, presented a most singular scene. The more classical regale of verse and of prose, designed for the ears of the visitors, did honour to the talents of the university. The shouts of applause with which the Prince Regent was received in Oxford, by those youths who were to form the grace and support of his future reign, formed a strong contrast with the attempts which (founded upon the unfortunate schism in the royal family) had been made in the metropolis to testify disrespect to his person, even

June 18.

at the moment when to do so was to degrade the country in the eyes of the royal strangers.

A magnificent entertainment was made for the sovereigns by the subscription of a number of the principal nobility and gentry, for whose accommodation the Duke of Devonshire resigned for the time his classical habitation of Burlington-house. The corporation of the city of London gave also a superb feast to the Prince Regent and his royal guests in their Guildhall. A table, which extended the whole breadth of the hustings, was entirely served with gold and silver plate, piled in splendid profusion. A yet more interesting ornament was the display of the monuments to Chatham and to Pitt,—to the statesman who first humbled the power of France after she had forgotten the terrors of Marlborough, and to his greater though less fortunate son, whose memory demanded from that splendid assembly the honours due to one, whose counsels had laid the foundation of that brilliant success which he had not lived to witness. The nobles of England vied with their sovereign in maintaining the hospitality of the country, and the sovereigns left England with as high expressions of their sense of the honours paid to them as words could express.

On their own part they had left a favourable impression on the public mind. Both princes were active in observation, simple in their manners, despisers of outward parade, and of every thing approaching to effeminate luxury. Such habits are naturally acquired during two years active and doubtful campaigns. More close observers noticed that the Emperor of Russia, in his carriage and address, affected a popular and general complaisance, and mixed more familiarly with the circles which he honoured with his presence. It would be most unjust to censure a line of conduct, adopted from a wish to seem pleased and grateful for the attentions offered to him. Yet the King of Prussia's manners, plain, manly, and reserved, without being either harsh or gloomy, resembled more nearly the English character, and gained him a preference amongst those who approached near to their persons. His melancholy, also, flowing from a cherished remem-

brance of his beautiful and heart-broken consort, won for the King of Prussia an interest superior to that which was acquired by the more gay and light manners of the emperor. Both, however, departed from our coast amid the shouts and good wishes which accompanied their arrival; and it was not till the incessant jubilee which had accompanied their presence had in some degree subsided, that men began to reflect what was likely to be the political consequence of a meeting of potentates, as uncommon as one of those singular conjunctions of the heavenly bodies from which astrologers of old were wont to gather their predictions.

June 26.

The Greeks, in the degenerate ages of the empire, were justly censured as bad politicians, for exposing the wealth of their empire to the envious and avaricious gaze of the kings of more warlike nations; and most readers will remember how ingeniously the craftiest of the French monarchs, Louis XI. evaded receiving the visit which Edward IV. proposed making to him at Paris. But the English are a race widely differing from the unwarlike Greeks, and the same eyes which beheld our wealth, could witness the means, and even judge of the spirit, which we possessed for defending it. Nor were either of our allies possessed of such a sally-port, as Calais then supplied to Edward, for marching an army into a land which might seem worthy to be warred for. The evil which may possibly accrue from the meditations excited by this visit, is of a more remote and contingent character. The superiority of our manufactures, next to the improved state of our agriculture, is the most tangible and visible source of our national prosperity. It is also that which foreigners, at first view, think may be most easily transferred to their own dominions. We will acquit absolute monarchs of any intention of rivalling us, by adopting that equality of laws, and those maxims of political liberty, upon which the prosperity both of our agriculture and our manufactures is founded; but without troubling himself to lay so deep a foundation, we are mistaken if one of our distinguished guests has not formed the scheme of rivalling our manufactures, in so far, at least, as is necessary for the supply of his own dominions, and that to the visions of improvement excited by witnessing the extended commerce of this country, we owe those unfriendly restrictions under which our Russian trade at present suffers. But whatever may be the indirect and contingent consequences of this visit, its direct and immediate effect was to impress upon the royal guests such an idea of the strength and resources of Britain, as had no small share in determining their resolutions at the important emergency of the ensuing spring.

The arrival of the Duke of Wellington in the capital was an event no less exhilarating than the presence of the foreign sovereigns. To the popular acclamations (never more highly merited) was added the distinguished reception which he experienced on taking his seat for the first time in the House of Lords. It was a proud moment for every British spectator; what then must it have been to the wife and mother of the distinguished character to whom the gratitude and hopes of the country had so long turned, both of whom witnessed his reception! His various patents of honour, as Baron, Earl, Marquis, and Duke, were severally read over, each step which led to the eminence on which he stood being marked by glory, and

June 28.

won by services of the most important character. The voice of the herald, the ceremonious attendance of the marshal of England and the king at arms, all circumstances of mere show in common cases, had, on this solemn occasion, an appropriate and striking effect. The Lord Chancellor then addressed the Duke of Wellington in terms which we willingly preserve, in order to return to him the thanks of the House, which had been voted on the evening before. He said "that he had received the commands of that House to return their acknowledgements and thanks to his Grace for his eminent and important services, performed to his sovereign and his country. In the execution of that duty he could not refrain from calling his attention, and that of the noble lords present, to a circumstance singular in the history of that House, that upon his introduction he had gone through every dignity of the peerage in this country which it was in the power of the crown to bestow. Those dignities had been conferred upon him for eminent and distinguished services; and for the same services both houses of parliament had bestowed the highest honours it was in their power to grant—their unanimous thanks and approbation He would not have the presumption to attempt to state the nature of those merits, nor to recapitulate those glorious achievements, those brilliant acts, which had given immortality to the name of Wellington, and had placed this empire on a height of military renown, of which there was no example in its history. He felt that he could not better discharge the duty which had devolved upon him, than by recurring to the terms in which that House had so often expressed their sense of the energy, the unremitting exertions, the ardour, and the ability, with which the noble Duke had conducted the arduous campaigns of the peninsula; exertions and ability which finally enabled him to place the allied armies in the heart of France, fighting their way there through the blaze of victory. The glorious result of all his toils and victories had been to achieve the peace, the security, and the greatness of his country, while by his example he had animated the rest of Europe, and enabled her governments to restore their ancient order. The House, he knew, would excuse him if he indulged for a moment, in the opportunity afforded him, of expressing his own satisfaction in having been the instrument to convey, on all those occasions, the thanks and acknowledgments they had voted to his Grace, and more especially the infinite gratification he now felt in fulfilling their commands, by informing the noble Duke, that they had unanimously voted their thanks for his eminent and unremitted services, and their congratulations upon his return to this country."

The Duke of Wellington rose and said, "Unable as I should feel myself at any time to address your lordships, yet I have, on the present occasion, to return you my acknowledgments for the approbation you have been pleased to express of my conduct But I feel myself so overcome by the honour I have received, by the favours which his royal highness the Prince Regent has shewn me, by the approbation bestowed by your lordships and the House of Commons, that I am utterly unable to express my sentiments. In truth, my lords, the entire confidence which government was pleased to repose in me, the ample means entrusted to my disposal, and the cordial assistance I received from the gallant officers who shared my campaigns, contributed powerfully to those successes which your lordships have no-

ticed in a manner so gratifying. Encouraged and excited as I was by the greatest favour and protection of the Prince Regent, and by the approbation and applause of parliament, I cannot consider the difficulties I had to overcome as at all equal to the motives that thus animated me, and I am apprehensive I shall be found not so deserving of the honours bestowed upon me as your kindness may believe. I can only add, that I shall ever be found ready to serve his majesty, to the utmost of my abilities, in any capacity in which he may think proper to employ me."

Due attention was next paid to provide for the suitable maintenance of the high honours so justly merited. The sum of three hundred thousand pounds was voted by parliament, for the purchase of a palace and domain suitable to the dignity of the Duke of Wellington; and while those politicians, who discorded on almost every other point, only contended with each other on this occasion to enhance the provisions which were proposed, such an additional grant of income was voted as made up the whole amount of his parliamentary allowances to 17,000l. yearly. Honours and rewards thus accumulated could still be termed only a limited and partial payment, to account of the debt which his country owed the Duke of Wellington, and which fate reserved another opportunity of increasing to an incalculable amount. Similar tokens of national gratitude were dispensed among the gallant generals who had shared the dangers and glory of the peninsular campaign. Sir Thomas Graham, Sir Rowland Hill, and Sir William Carr, were raised to the peerage, and received each a suitable parliamentary provision. Lords Combermere and Exmouth were also most deservedly gratified by public allowances, made in acknowledgment of their eminent services. The stream of effectual gratitude, to the surprise of those who had attentively watched the eventful progress of the war in the peninsula, stopped short at one distinguished name which had often arrested their attention. The shower of honours and emoluments fell above, below, and around, but it reached not Sir Thomas Picton, whose name and fortunes, like the fleece of Gideon, remained unmoistened by the dew that distilled on all others. Excepting being nominally distinguished in the barren vote of thanks, (which virtually extended to every grenadier and drummer in the army,) no token of public approbation was conferred on an officer who has sometimes been termed the right-arm of Wellington. This omission was the more galling to the friends of the brave general, as it was supposed to arise from deference to a popular prejudice without doors. The heroic death of this distinguished soldier, in the greatest battle that ever decided the fate of the world, has since made them who entertained such a prejudice, and those who were biassed by its existence in the minds of others, alike grieved for having in this instance neglected to pay a dear-won debt, until the creditor was no more.

The reception of Lord Castlereagh on his triumphant return from the continent, partook of the same enthusiasm which marked that which was given to the Duke of Wellington. It was remembered, and on all sides of the House, that the firmness of this statesman, during the temporary difficulties attending the French campaign, had no slight share in keeping the minds of the allied sovereigns bent up to the purpose which they had formed, and that it was his liberal spirit, moderation, and contempt of all petty and selfish policy, which had fixed the terms of pacification upon a footing

that promised permanent repose to Europe. Lord Castlereagh, *June 6.* therefore, upon entering the House of Commons for the first time after his return from France, was greeted with long, animated, and repeated cheers, which interrupted business for some time, and took his seat amid the acclamations of the members, while those to whom his general politics seemed most exceptionable, were among the first to tender their approbation of the manner in which he had, during these arduous circumstances, maintained the honour and secured the safety of the country.

The treaty of peace which he presented to the House, fell only in one instance short of what the warmest enthusiast could have desired. The French had positively refused to concur in the immediate abolition of the slave trade, and the utmost which Britain had been able to obtain, was a stipulation, that the abominable traffic should be prohibited in the course of five years. The concession which the British minister found himself obliged to make upon this important subject, was a sacrifice to the deep and jealous apprehensions which the French entertained of our commercial rivalry. That people could not be convinced that the interests of human nature alone prompted the English to demand this sacrifice at their hands. They imagined they saw, under the mask of humanity, a treacherous disposition to secure our own colonial commerce at the expence of theirs, and to render the cession of the West Indian possessions, which we restored to them, a barren and unfruitful grant. It appeared of so much consequence to eradicate suspicions, which might go far to frustrate the restoration of general confidence to Europe, that the British ministers did not insist on the abolition of the traffic, as a *sine qua non* in the treaty of Paris. The address, congratulating the Prince Regent upon the definitive treaty of peace with France, was thus qualified by an amendment, intimating the hope of the House, that the abolition of this wicked traffic should be speedily accomplished. In other respects the address passed unanimously, *June 29.* as might be expected, since the terms of the peace to which it referred, exceeded by far the most sanguine hope of the most sanguine anticipators.

The festivities attending this happy pacification, were extended to those shows and entertainments which the common people best understand and relish. Fireworks, on an uncommon scale of expence, were exhibited in the Parks, and the Serpentine River was dignified by becoming the scene of a mimic sea-fight. The expence of these testimonies of rejoicing was noticed with censure in the House of Commons. The rulers of the multitude, however, must act like the tutors of childhood, who, while in general they endeavour to turn their pupils' attention to amusements which enlarge the intellect and do credit to the judgment, do not cynically debar them, on fitting occasions, from such sports or playthings as are suitable to their youth or their ignorance. A more dignified and heart-felt display of rejoicing, was the appointment of a day of public thanksgiving, on which the Prince Regent went in solemn procession to St Paul's, attended by his whole court and the two Houses of Parliament, to return thanks to the Almighty for the unexpected mercy which had brought light out of darkness, and the unspeakable blessings of peace and good order out of an apparently endless labyrinth of bloodshed and confusion.

Thus honoured and successful abroad, and full of hope and expectation at home, Britain, at the period of the peace, seemed to be placed upon the very pinnacle of national glory and felicity, had not the events of the American war been to her like the exhortations of the slave in the triumphal chariot, an intimation of the uncertainty of human affairs. We shall presently see that new subjects of embarrassment arose to her statesmen out of that very restoration of peace, which had so long been the theme of our wishes and prayers.

CHAPTER XIX.

Domestic Affairs continued.—Embarrassed State of Commerce and Credit.—Causes of this Distress.—Low Price of Corn, and Decline in the Value of Land.—Origin of this Depreciation.—Proceedings on the Corn-Laws.—Disorders in Ireland.—Justice Fletcher's Charge at Wexford.—Division among the Catholics of Ireland.—The Marriage Treaty broken off between the Hereditary Prince of Orange and the Princess Charlotte of Wales.

As the best blessings which this imperfect world affords are balanced or alloyed by corresponding evils, the public were not long in discovering, that hopes had been formed of a revival of our national resources through the influence of peace, far too sanguine to be speedily realized. In common sense, indeed, such an immediate restoration of prosperity was no more to be expected, than that the cessation of a combat should at once restore the wounded and exhausted victor to the strength which he possessed at its commencement. Like the same victor, the country hardly felt her wounds in the moment of triumph, and it was not till the first animating glow was over, that men began to see and feel the difficulties in which they were still involved.

The revival of commerce was naturally the subject on which the highest expectations had been formed, and the merchants of Britain, long excluded from the continent, expected now to pour forth upon Europe the stock of colonial produce and manufactured goods, which had lain so long on their hands, and that they would be called upon to supply demands rapid and extended, in proportion to the privations which the continent had sustained. But this species of intercourse among nations, when once deranged, resembles a dislocated bone, which cannot be reduced to its natural and proper state without much pain and trouble. The hand of military extortion had exhausted the resources of the continent, and deprived almost every individual of a large proportion of the funds which, in better times, he could afford to dedicate to the purchase of comforts and luxuries. Habits of indulgence thus broken off are not instantly resumed, especially when checked by economical considerations. Coffee and sugar, once almost generally used by all ranks on the continent, are, for the present, comparatively disused, and the females have resorted to manufactures of their own, to supply the want of the English cottons and muslins. These difficulties were still farther enhanced by the improvident eagerness of commercial speculators, who, forcing forward cargoes of English goods and colonial produce in large quantities, glutted the market, and annihilated the slow sale as it began to commence, as a dy-

ing flame is drowned by too rapid a supply of fuel. These disappointments produced unpleasant effects on the commercial world at home. The credit of many respectable houses had been chiefly supported by the knowledge that they had extensive quantities of stock upon their hands, which, it was supposed, would be readily convertible into money at a peace. Meanwhile, the goods circulated from name to name, and from warehouse to warehouse, the price affording upon each change of proprietors the subject of new commercial bills, which sustained the credit of the holders. But this system of accommodation ended at once, so soon as it became too probable that the stock, which was represented by these bills in the money market, was itself, for the present, of little or no value. Much distress was the consequence of these unfounded expectations, many sunk under the weight of their disadvantageous speculations, and, as in such cases, the fear always spreads farther than the actual danger, even the best and most established houses found unusual difficulties in discounting their bills of exchange and liquidating their funds, so as to meet the demands upon them. When the shock was once given to credit, it was felt through every part of that complicated machine which is put in motion by it. The distresses of the general merchants communicated themselves not only to the wholesale dealer at home, and to the retail dealers his correspondents, but, occasioning general doubt and distrust among bankers and monied men, embarrassed and clogged the operations of those whose business was totally unconnected with the department in which the distress originated. The speculations of monied men in the funds went far to increase the evil. Many had bought stock at extravagant prices, and were unwilling to sell at a discount—others continued to hold what they had purchased at a moderate rate, in expectation that the public credit would improve, and the funds rise in proportion. In both cases very large sums of money, which formerly had circulated for sustaining the credit of the country, were now locked up in the public funds. The causes of this general commercial distress had begun to operate since the opening of the continent to British trade, and probably would have been much more severely felt, had that important event taken place suddenly, and in consequence of the peace. Still, however, commerce, which had suffered so much during the war, was as yet little revived by its triumphant conclusion, and it now seemed as if agriculture, which, on the contrary, had flourished in the most uncommon degree while hostilities lasted, was now to suffer a severe check by their conclusion.

Many causes had tended to raise the price of grain, and, of course, the value of land, since the breaking out of the war. Britain, excluded in some measure from foreign supplies of imported grain, was obliged to rely chiefly upon the produce of her own agriculture, and the supplies which she drew from it being limited, their value rose in proportion. Two successive bad crops in the beginning of the century, gave to the market the impulse of a still more pressing scarcity, and although the prices declined from the excessive height to which they had then risen, yet they did not for several years subside to the level from which they had mounted. The hope of gain which these large prices held out to the farmer, stimulated him to extraordinary exertions. Every patch of ground capable of bearing a crop was torn up, at whatever expence, and often that which nature had intended for pasture, was permanently injured by such acts of agricultural violence

perpetrated upon the soil. The fortunes acquired by some agriculturists stimulated the avidity of others. The value of land increased in proportion to the confidence with which sanguine speculators contended with each other in offering an advanced rent. The landed proprietors, in general, according to the nature of that class of men, increased their style of living in proportion to their increased revenues, and, what was worse, the tenants themselves forsook, in most instances, the parsimonious and humble mode of life pursued by their fathers, and launched forth in expences proportioned to the fortunes they expected to acquire. Houses of a superior style and expensive accommodations were provided for them by the landlord; to inhabit these mansions required another stretch of expence, and the rent of them in one shape or other was a charge upon the farmer's industry, and a diminution of his means of improving the soil. Thus a large part of the funds which ought to have gone to the cultivation of the farm, was diverted into a channel of expence, not only altogether unproductive, but leading in its necessary consequences to farther waste both of time and of money. The high price of grain to which these evils are to be traced, was sustained not only by the circumstances which excluded the importation of foreign grain, but by the large contracts of government, which consumed great quantities of agricultural produce. This double influence of the war terminated with its existence. "Who is your security?" said a Scottish landlord to his tenant, when the latter announced to him that he was unable to pay his rent. "Buonaparte," answered the poor man, "was my only security, and now his head is under water, I must sink also." In fact, the importation of immense quantities of foreign grain, joined to the unusual circumstance of two consecutive harvests having proved uncommonly productive, lowered at once the price of grain to a standard which would neither repay the increased expence of cultivation, nor support the new mode of life adopted by the cultivators of the ground, nor pay the advanced rents of land. The stagnation of credit was speedily felt in this department also, and added to the general agricultural distress. The farmer, who could no longer obtain money for a speculating corn-factor's bill of exchange, was obliged to carry his grain to market, and sell it for what ready money it would fetch upon the instant. This pressing cause, operating in every quarter at the same time, forced a very large quantity of corn into the market, which was thereby glutted, while money increased in power as it became scarcer and scarcer, and as the value of the commodity to be purchased sunk in proportion to its augmented quantity.

It was more easy to trace the cause of these evils, than to foresee their duration or attempt their cure. Parliament, however, took into their consideration such a revision of the corn laws as might be calculated to alleviate the mischief. Here the jarring interests of the consumers and of the growers of corn were placed in direct collision with each other. It is the apparent interest of the landlord and farmer to keep the price of grain as high as possible; while, on the other hand, it is the apparent interest of the other classes of the community to obtain the bread which they are to consume at as low a rate as possible. But though this be the case in a general and abstract point of view, yet in the frame of society the various interests of both classes are so completely blended and warped with each other, that it would be easy to prove that either must be ultimately more affected by the sufferings of the other than they can be

by casual or temporary gains. The farmer must have such a price as will enable him to pay his rent and raise his corn, or corn will cease to be raised, and the manufacturer must ultimately starve; and, on the other hand, the consumer must have his bread at a price within the compass of his wages, or he will leave the land. But a legislative attempt to attain that happy medium of price which may best suit the interest of both parties, is one of the most delicate offices which parliament can take upon them, more especially considering the feverish state of apprehension with which their labours on this interesting subject are regarded by the people at large. Accordingly, the British legislature entered upon it with great and laudable caution, investigating, as far as human foresight could extend, the bearings of a subject so vast and complicated, without precipitating any resolution on the subject. While therefore they adopted the measure of permitting a free exportation of British corn, and in so far encouraging the farmer, they adjourned consideration of regulating the duties on imported grain until the subsequent winter. A former chapter contains an abstract of the debates on this occasion.*

While these concurring circumstances of public pressure agitated the minds of the public in Great Britain, and damped the expectations which had been excited by the glorious termination of the war, the old and festering wounds of Ireland continued to bleed and to rankle. This delightful island, inhabited by a nation, whom, from the warmth of their feelings and frankness of their disposition, nature appears to have intended to share in a peculiar degree the happiness of social life, seemed, by a concurrence of unhappy circumstances, on the point of being converted into a general scene of blood and disorder. The law was found too weak to repress the various bands of ruffians, who, from any cause or no cause, were associated in plans of nocturnal murder and depredation. In some counties the pretext for these violences were the exactions used in levying tithes; in others, the raising of rents; in many cases, no specific grievance seems to be alleged, the pleasure of resisting the law, collecting arms, and using them to the annoyance of the peaceful subject, being in itself motive sufficient to organize one of these bands of ruffians. While hordes of banditti, under the names of Carders, Threshers, &c. traversed the country by night, inflicting the most savage cruelties on all who dared to resist them, or who had incurred the suspicion of having been active in the detection of their accomplices, the day was disturbed by the more open violences which took place between Shanavests and Caravats, and Orange-men and Ribbon-men.

The detection and conviction of these men was attended with the utmost difficulty, owing to the ingenious and systematic bulwark of perjury which was opposed to the operation of the law. One instance will illustrate the nature and the extent of these confederations, and their means of securing impunity. A building had been taken to serve as a barrack in a village, (in West Meath, we believe,) where the government proposed to quarter some troops. The having let his property for such a purpose was a sufficient crime in the devoted owner. His house was beset by night, he was murdered, and the intended barrack burnt to the ground. It chanced that a stranger (the domestic servant of a lady in Dublin, who had come to the place to see his sister who

* See page 80.

was ill,) lodged in a house opposite to the scene of the crime. This man, being awakened by the noise, got up, and through the window of his room witnessed the whole proceedings of the perpetrators. He was a protestant, and unconnected with the country; he therefore lodged an information against the landlord of the house where he slept, and several other persons whom he had seen actively engaged in the crime. Two of them were brought to trial, and this man appeared as evidence for the crown. On the part of the prisoners, a great number of persons were examined to prove, that the witness for the prosecution had slept on the night when the murder was committed, not in the village where it happened, but in another hamlet about a mile short of it. These witnesses agreed in the most minute particulars of his dress and deportment, which they, very ingeniously represented as that of a person rather deranged in his mind from fear of the papists; as if thereby to insinuate, that the evidence he had given was entirely an hallucination of his own disordered intellect. All this evidence, however ingeniously put together, and sworn to by the country people, weighed little with the jury, (such was the general discredit attached to them,) against the oath of the approver. But they were staggered when a man of genteel appearance, and by his manners and accent apparently an Englishman, was called up on the part of the prisoners, and stated himself to be a deputy commissary in the army, who, travelling to the place where his duty called him, had slept in the village where the murder was perpetrated, on the very night, in the very inn, and in the very bed where the witness for the crown had stated himself to have been. He even mentioned that he had occasion to rise from his bed about the hour fixed by the footman for that of the assault on the house; that the streets were then quiet; and that having occasion to call up his landlord (the prisoner at the bar,) the man had risen from his bed in his shirt to answer his commands. Yet such is the force of truth, that the jury, moved by the simplicity of the story told by the king's evidence, and perhaps influenced by the complicated and arranged appearance of that which had been opposed to it, found the prisoner guilty. The government were undetermined—they enquired after the deputy commissary—he was no where to be found, and on applying to the department to which he had stated himself to belong, no such man was in existence. Other circumstances occurred to throw light on the guilt of the criminal, and he was executed. The other persons accused threw themselves on the mercy of the counsel for the crown, and, having previously stipulated that their punishment should be exchanged for transportation, confessed that the story of the approver was true in all its parts, and that they were all concerned in the crime for which the ringleader had suffered! This trial affords the same melancholy reflections upon the perverted ingenuity of the parties concerned, as might arise from contemplating the contrivances of an artist of genius, who had dedicated his time and talents to the improvement of racks, wheels, and other engines of cruelty and torture.

The source of this universal disposition to turbulence among the lower orders has been variously accounted for by the leaders of the two political parties in Ireland and their friends in Britain; and, in as far as strangers can pretend to judge, we conceive both to err in laying such exclusive weight upon the circumstances which it best suits them to allege as the cause of these disorders. The sudden rise of land, which had led to extravagant rents,—the commercial distress of the

country, by the failure of many private banks,—the severe county assessments, which deprive the peasants even of the small pittance which high rents have left them,—the number of absentees, who go to spend in another country the wealth of which they drain their own,—the corresponding and equally miserable system of middle-men, as they are called, which goes to interpose an avaricious and speculative land-jobber, having no interest in the property more than to wring from it all that he can, between the labourer of the land and the proprietor,—the alarming increase of the crime of forgery,—the system of illicit distillation, which had abolished among the people all regard for the law, and all veneration for the oaths it imposes,—such were the causes ascribed for the disorders of Ireland in a charge delivered by Mr Justice Fletcher at the assizes of the county of Wexford. "Such abuses," said the learned judge, "shake the very foundation of the law—they ought to be checked. Superadded to these mischiefs, are the permanent and occasional absentee landlords, residing in another country, not known to their tenantry but by their agents, who exact the uttermost penny of the value of the lands. If a lease happens to fall in, they let the farm by public auction to the highest bidder. No gratitude for past services—no preference of the fair offer—no predilection for the ancient tenantry, be they ever so deserving; but, if the highest price be not acceded to, the depopulation of an entire tract of country ensues. What then is the wretched peasant to do? Chased from the spot where he had first drawn his breath, where he had first seen the light of Heaven, incapable of procuring any other means of existence, vexed with those exactions I have enumerated, and harassed by the payment of tithes, can we be surprised that a peasant, of unenlightened mind, of uneducated habits, should rush upon the perpetration of crimes, followed by the punishment of the rope and the gibbet? Nothing (as the peasantry imagine) remains for them, thus harassed and thus destitute, but with strong hand to deter the stranger from intruding upon the farms; and to extort from the weakness and terrors of their landlords (from whose gratitude or good feelings they have failed to win it) a kind of preference for their ancient tenantry."

It is impossible to deny that such grievances as the learned judge states to exist, must have the worst possible effect upon the Irish common people. But, on the other hand, we are by no means prepared to admit that they are the exclusive causes of the disordered state of that country. The fermentation of general discontent has, in many instances, assumed a decided political character; and the separation of the island of Ireland from the British empire is the mark aimed at by an active and desperate party in that country, the successors of the Emmetts and O'Connors, who look for freedom, like those misguided men, through the accumulated distresses of Britain and increasing power of France. These persons avail themselves of the popular discontent, caring as little from what peculiar cause it derives its source, as the miller cares from what spring or bog a rivulet arises, providing he can direct it to put in motion his own machinery. The agents of such men tore down the placards which announced that the allies were in possession of Paris, and it is their press that sends forth those inflammatory pamphlets, in which all is presented to the imagination of the Irish reader that can exasperate him against his fellow subjects of Britain. Still, however, the success of these instigators depends upon the state of mind of the lower order, to whom they address themselves; and

while government adopts strong measures to repress the seditious, the legislature ought to proceed like good physicians, who think they do little in subduing the immediate attacks of an acute disease, if they cannot restore the general health of the patient, and correct that evil habit of body in which the disorder had its origin. The severe measures adopted under Mr Peele's act (p. 85,) may have the result of smothering the flame of rebellion, but the radical remedy must be to remove the fuel, which lies so extremely ready to catch every spark. For this purpose, we heartily wish the stumbling-block and offence of catholic emancipation were at once removed, by conceding to the Irish of that persuasion the rights that are yet withheld from them; being fully convinced, that enough has been conceded to destroy every salutary effect which could be expected to protestantism from the existence of the catholic disqualifications, while that which is withheld, like the poet's

> —— "Cruel something unpossess'd,
> Corrodes and leavens all the rest."

The catholics of Ireland are at present divided into two parties. The better class, including most of the men of property and education who profess that religion, are willing to accept of the terms which have been approved by Monsigneur Quarantotti, the president of the College of Missions, and which vests in the crown a *veto* upon the election of the Roman catholic bishops, as a pledge and security that the pastoral trust shall not be lodged in hands inimical to government. But as there are partizans in France who pique themselves on being better royalists than the king, so there are papists in Ireland who think it necessary to be more catholic than the pope, concerning whom it may be fairly conjectured, that their views go farther than to such a free and universal exercise of their religion as would put them in every respect on a level with the members of the established church. Now it would undoubtedly be politic to place these factionaries and their plans in a proper light, and separate from their ranks all the well-intentioned of their sect, by such measures of conciliation as would give satisfaction to the more moderate among the Irish catholics.

An affair of great importance to the British empire also occurred during this year, the issue of which went to disappoint, for the time, the hopes which had been fondly entertained of seeing the apparent heiress of these realms suitably provided in marriage during her father's lifetime. The Hereditary Prince of Orange had been for some time understood to be the intended son-in-law of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent. He had received his education chiefly in England, might be considered almost as a native of this country, and had served with distinction under the British banners in the peninsula. But, with all these advantages, the Hereditary Prince had failed in rendering his addresses acceptable to the personage to whom they were tendered; and although the King of the Netherlands had announced the alliance to his new subjects, as one of the advantages which were to attend his accession to his new dominions, there speedily appeared symptoms, on the part of the Princess Charlotte of Wales, very unfavourable to the progress of the match.

In consequence of her repugnance, a serious difference threatened to take place between the Prince Regent and his daughter, which was the more embarrassing, as the previous discord in the royal family rendered the Princess Charlotte secure of having the countenance of the one parent in resisting the wishes of the other. The treaty

with the Prince of Orange was broken off; but this had not the immediate effect of appeasing the feelings to which difference of opinion on this interesting point had naturally given rise. The progress of these dissensions could not be concealed from the public, and in the course of the irritation which they had produced, an incident occurred calculated to give them very unpleasant notoriety. It appears, in so far as the public has been informed, that, in consequence of the Princess having shewn less compliance on this occasion than had been expected by her father, his Royal Highness had resolved upon a change among the ladies attendant on her person. When this intended arrangement was intimated to her, the Princess, in a moment of hasty impatience, threw herself into a hackney coach, and, without any attendants, drove to Connaught-House, then the residence of the Princess of Wales. Much speculation was, of course, excited by the hasty step of a very young lady, who probably acted only on the impulse of the moment. They were fortunately silenced by the almost immediate return of the Princess Charlotte to Carlton-House, under the protection of her uncle the Duke of York. No man could think hardly of a personage in whom so much hope and so many wishes are centered, for having acted without a very rigid regard to etiquette, at a time when her feelings were deeply interested; and all were rejoiced to find that the temporary misunderstanding between the Prince Regent and his daughter was soon done away. Motions were made, and questions were asked, in the House of Lords by the Duke of Sussex, in the House of Commons by Mr Whitbread, respecting the manner in which the Princess Charlotte was hereafter to be treated, and the degree of restraint to which she was to be subjected. But enquiries of a nature, calculated rather to inflame than allay the discord in the Prince's family (although we are far from imputing to the parties who were active in promoting an investigation so delicate, any intentional purpose of adding to disagreements which undoubtedly they must have deplored,) were quashed, by finding that the Princess Charlotte was entirely reconciled to her best protector, and not being apprehensive of sustaining either restraint or compulsion, had no more occasion for the interference of the Peers or Commons, than if she had been the daughter of an affectionate father in private life. Her father's deference to her inclinations had, indeed, been already announced in the strongest manner, by the breaking off a match to which we have heard no objection stated, excepting that the bridegroom's proposal did not suit the wishes of the bride. The freedom of choice, which has been too often denied to persons of her rank, was liberally and prudently, as well as kindly, indulged to her Royal Highness; and let us add with pleasure, that, as far as mortal foresight can penetrate, the liberty which was affectionately conceded by the father, who had perhaps himself suffered from the necessity of sacrificing domestic happiness for state policy, was used with prudence and discretion by the illustrious personage to whom the indulgence was extended.

June 11.

The wisdom of many a politician was baffled by the simple explanation which time has afforded, of the real cause for breaking off the intended treaty of marriage with the Prince of Orange. The reason assigned by one class of politicians was, the Princess Charlotte's attachment to her mother, who was understood to disapprove of the match. Another set of talkers discovered, in the supposed influence

of the Duchess of Oldenburgh, sister of the Emperor of Russia, who had been for some time resident in London, something sinister to the proposed union; and, to say truth, the marriage which has been lately meditated between a princess of Russia and the discarded suitor, might give some colour to such speculations. The most general reason alleged for the breach of the match was, the disinclination which her Royal Highness felt to leave her native country, and reside occasionally in that of her proposed husband. But the tell-tale Time has since induced us to entertain a belief, that a previous attachment to another and most worthy object, was the principal cause of the Princess Charlotte's repugnance to the proposed match. It is very unusual, (unless in works of fiction,) for love to interfere in fixing the alliance of princesses; but, happy that such has been the case with ours, we sum the subject by acceding to the quaint sentiment of the tragedian, and anticipating, at the same time, the probable destinies of her Royal Highness,

> "Who rules o'er freemen should herself be free."

It is but justice to the Prince of Orange to state, that, under circumstances of painful doubt, and after a disappointment so mortifying in every respect, his behaviour was manly, sensible, and interesting. During the dependence of the negociation he resided in London in the most private manner, and declined every invitation to assume state belonging to his rank. "If I prove unsuccessful in my suit," he said, "it shall not be said that I have put to expence the generous English nation, which has so long afforded my family an asylum; and still less am I entitled in that event to throw any additional burthen upon the impoverished country, to the government of which my family has been so unexpectedly restored." His conduct on this, and on other occasions, was marked by a delicacy which seemed to render him not unworthy of the valuable prize for which he contended. There was a temporary feeling of disappointment in the public mind by the breaking off a treaty of marriage, which seemed well fitted to the circumstances of the kingdom. Yet it cannot be denied, that a union of so close a nature with a continental power, might have been the means of involving Britain in disputes from which she may now escape, and that our royal family, having acquired no new interests abroad, may remain, agreeably to the motto of our last female sovereign, *Entirely English*, and disengaged from all other motives connected with the continent, excepting such as influence the general welfare of Europe.

With these remarks we conclude the annals of the year 1814, which will be long distinguished in the history of Europe, for the complete overthrow of the usurpation of France, her reduction within her natural bounds, as a member, not the tyrant, of the European commonwealth, and for the restoration of her ancient dynasty. Neither will the sensations which we have felt during this remarkable era be ever erazed from the minds on which they were so vividly impressed. Other events succeeded in the subsequent year, even more striking in themselves, not of less deep influence upon the course of human affairs, and certainly more flattering to our feelings as Britons. But these succeeded to an unexpected convulsion, the recollection of whose unexpected fury will long make us feel like men who tread on the surface of a volcano. The victory of Waterloo, and the second capture of Paris, agitating, affecting, and interesting, as far as it is possible for human events to be so, had not power again to lull us into the pleasing delu-

sion, that war was vanished from the earth, and that contending nations might in future hang the trumpet in the hall, and vie only in the arts of commerce and of peace. The eyes which wept for joy at the first restoration of the Bourbons, cannot look upon their second re-establishment without painful and anxious apprehensions, concerning the stability of their throne. The disappointment of our well-grounded hopes, and the various causes which contributed again to disturb the peace of Europe, will be found in our annals for the next year.

CHRONICLE.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

State of the British Navy.—The total amount of ships is now 1032 (including those in ordinary, repairing, &c.), of which there are in commission 116 sail of the line, 20 from 50 to 44 guns, 157 frigates, 110 sloops of war, 7 fire-ships, 199 brigs, 40 cutters, 50 schooners—making the total in commission 768.

" *Windsor Castle, Jan.* 1.

" His Majesty's bodily health continues good, but his disorder is undiminished." (Signed as usual.)

2d.—His Royal Highness the Prince Regent arrived at Belvoir Castle to witness the baptism of the infant son of the Duke of Rutland.—The prince was received by his grace amidst a royal salute from cannon on the battlements of the castle. A shout of joy made by the spectators increased the sound of the ordnance; at the same time the royal standard was proudly displayed on the Staunton tower. The Duke of Rutland received the Prince Regent at the door of the castle; but the key of Staunton tower, made of gold, and of exquisite workmanship, was delivered to the illustrious guest in the drawing-room, soon after his arrival, on a cushion of crimson velvet, by the Rev. Dr Staunton, by etiquette of the following order:—The chief strong-hold of the castle is an out-work defence called Staunton tower; the command of which is held by the family of that name, in the manor of Staunton, by tenure of castle-guard, by which they were anciently required to appear with soldiers for the defence of this strong post, in case of danger; or, if required, to be called upon by the lord of the castle. It has been the custom, when any of the royal family honoured Belvoir Castle with their presence, for the chief of the Staunton family personally to appear and present the key of the strong-hold to such distinguished personage. This ceremony was performed by the rev. doctor, by virtue of his tenure, with an appropriate speech, to which the Prince Regent returned a most gracious reply.

The day of festivity on occasion of the baptism of the infant marquis was also the birth-day of the duke, and was ushered in and marked accordingly. His royal highness previously rode round the domains, and the Duke of York took the diversion of shooting. The infant was baptized at six o'clock in the evening, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the great gallery, in the presence of the whole of the nobility and gentry at the castle: The sponsors were the Prince Regent, and the Duke of York, and the Duchess

Dowager of Rutland, as proxy for the queen. The noble party soon after sat down to dinner. The health of the infant heir to the house of Rutland was drunk at the proposal of the prince. The Duke of Rutland returned appropriate thanks to his distinguished visitor. The duke's butler entertained the tenantry with an oval cistern of punch containing 50 gallons.

3d.—SCOTLAND.—On the 28th ultimo, the officers of the second battalion 42d royal highlanders gave a ball and supper, in the Northern Meeting Rooms, Inverness, in honour of the nuptials of their gallant colonel the Marquis of Huntly. The ball was attended by all the fashionables of the town and neighbourhood. After supper, "Health and happiness to the noble Marquis and Marchioness of Huntly" was drank, amidst the continued cheers of the company. The health of the Duke of Gordon, &c. followed. Dancing then recommenced, and was kept up with great spirit till a very late hour in the morning.

The new Lanark cotton mills were sold on Friday, at Glasgow, by public roup, for 114,100l. The upset price was 80,000l.

4th.—A shocking murder occurred at Camborne, Cornwall. James Rule, a lunatic, who had been confined in Camborne poor-house for several years, found means to destroy a female pauper who attended him, and lived in the same apartment where he was chained. It is supposed that he strangled the poor woman, as there was no blood found about the room, nor any noise heard during the night that created alarm. A smoke was observed in the house on Sunday morning, and a bad smell, which at length led to a discovery. At four in the afternoon his room was broken into, and the lunatic was found at large and alone. Upon being questioned about the woman, he said she was gone into Devonshire; but on examining the fire-place, no doubt remained of his having burnt the body, from the smell and half-consumed particles of human bones that remained. When pressed on the subject, he confessed that "she was gone to ashes." He was committed for trial.

5th.—EDINBURGH.—A grand dinner was given on Monday last by the Lord Provost, to the Earl of Dalhousie and Walter Scott, Esq. on presenting them with the freedom of the city. Upwards of ninety noblemen, gentlemen, and members of the town council of Edinburgh were present. After dinner, his lordship presented the freedom of the city, in a gold box, to the Earl of Dalhousie, and the same, accompanied by a piece of plate, to Walter Scott of Abbotsford, Esq. as voted in council on the 22d ultimo. On presenting the box, the Lord Provost addressed the noble Earl as follows:

"MY LORD DALHOUSIE,

"The Lord Provost, Magistrates, and the other constituent members of the town council of Edinburgh, have the honour of presenting your lordship with the freedom of the city, in a gold box, as a grateful acknowledgment of your meritorious services in various quarters of the globe, and more immediately in the decisive battles of Vittoria and of the Pyrenees.

"It is impossible for me to find expressions suitable to the joy that was diffused throughout this city at the well-earned tribute paid to your lordship's services in these ever-memorable and splendid victories by Field-Marshal Wellington. Most of this company witnessed the sensation, and I am sure they will give me credit for not attempting to delineate what they felt so much more sensibly than I can possibly express. But we all most earnestly pray, that the Almighty, whose all-wise measures never err, may, in due time, by the instrument of such illustrious warriors as your lordship, restore a safe and honourable peace to the British empire, and a lasting one to all the nations of Europe."

His lordship, in his reply to the

Lord Provost and council, delivered himself with his characteristic simplicity and manly eloquence. He particularly noticed, "that it had been his good fortune to succeed to the command of the third and seventh divisions of the army, in the highest state of discipline, the latter of which was left in that state by his friend Major-General John Hope, when he was compelled to leave the army, on account of health; and, indeed, that any merit of his own was, above all other considerations, to be imputed to serving under Field-Marshal Wellington, to whom he felt indebted for giving him higher commendations than his services deserved."

Lord Dalhousie has served several campaigns in the West Indies, where he was severely wounded—was on the expedition to the Helder—the campaign in Egypt—the expedition to Walcheren—and, latterly, in the peninsula. His lordship has been distinguished in every one of those separate services, and more immediately at Vittoria and the Pyrenees.

The Lord Provost then addressed Mr Scott as follows:

"The Lord Provost, Magistrates, and the other members of the town council of Edinburgh, have this moment testified their gratitude to the noble Earl, and we have now the pleasure to express our admiration of a genius which has so largely contributed to inspire the virtues of patriotic war, and to embellish and exalt the blessings of peace. Nature has gifted you, sir, with powers, the exercise of which has, in your own day, done so great honour to your native country. In it you are highly esteemed and admired, but I have not words to convey the pleasure which I felt in witnessing the celebrity of a countryman's fame in the metropolis of England, on the late occasion of your writing a most inimitable address for your native city.

"In presenting you with the freedom of the city, to be accompanied with a piece of plate, as soon as it can be finished, I cannot resist drawing a feature, strongly resembling each other, in your career and that of the noble Earl's; his lordship has contrived to carry off laurels from the precipices of the Pyrenees, till then inaccessible, and you have found out the means to reach both the summits of Parnassus."

Mr Scott, in a few words, endeavoured to state the sense which he entertained of the honour conferred upon him, and requested the Lord Provost and council to judge of his feelings, rather from the circumstances of the occasion than from the words he might find to express them. "It was a distinction," he observed, "bestowed upon an individual by the representatives of the city in which he was born; to which he was indebted for his education, where he had spent his life hitherto, and where, according to all human prospects, he was likely to close it. It did not," he said, "become him to reply to the compliments which his lordship had paid to his literary attempts, further than by observing, that if the city of Edinburgh should be thought too partial to a fellow-citizen, he hoped the gratitude of the man might be admitted to compensate for the defects of the author's deserts. Only two circumstances could have added to the sentiments with which he received this honour—that it had been conferred by his lordship and the present council, and that his name would be recorded as a burgess of Edinburgh, on the same day, and on the same page, with that of the distinguished person who so highly deserved that honour."

Between ten and eleven o'clock at night, the watchman going his rounds in Troy Town, Rochester, was alarmed by the cries of a female, which proceeded from the house of Mr G. Peeke. The man obtained the assistance of some of the neighbours, and forced the door: on entering the room from whence the cries proceeded, a most shocking spectacle presented itself;

they discovered Mrs Peeke lying on the floor, her clothes all consumed to tinder, and her flesh burnt to a state of blackness. She expired in a few minutes. She had been sitting up for her husband, and, it is conjectured, had fallen asleep by the fire, when a spark caught her clothes, and produced the fatal accident.

6th.—About half past two o'clock in the afternoon, a fire broke out at the paper-mills of Mr Thomas Horn, at Buckland, near Dover, which burnt with such fury that by six the whole of the mills were consumed, the dwelling-house in flames, and the roof fallen in: the furniture had previously been removed, and no lives were lost. Every possible assistance was given by the military and town's-people, but without much effect.

7th.—On the evening of the 5th, the wife of Mr Mann, who keeps the Marquis of Granby public-house in Gray's-Inn-lane, left her home, telling her husband that she had got an order to admit two to the Sans Pareil theatre, and was going to take a female friend with her. She went off accordingly, and between ten and eleven o'clock a journeyman-baker, whom the husband knew, called upon him, and told him that his wife had been taken extremely ill, and was at an apothecary's in Fleet-street. He acknowledged that Mrs Mann did not take a female friend with her to the theatre, as she told him, but had taken him, agreeably to a promise, that the first order she got for a theatre she would take him thither. The husband hastened to the apothecary's, and found his wife in a senseless state. It was the opinion of the medical gentlemen attending her, that she had either voluntarily taken something improper, or that it had been administered to her by some other person. The account given to Mr Mann of the way in which his wife came there, was very different from that stated by the journeyman baker; and was, that she had been brought to the shop from a house of ill fame by three men, but that she refused to tell where the house was, or who the men were. There being no appearance of her recovery, her husband took her home in a hackney-coach. Yesterday morning the journeyman baker called in Gray's-Inn-lane, and enquired of Mr Mann how his wife did. He replied, she was happy, having died at three o'clock. The body was afterwards examined, and some very severe bruises appeared on various parts of it.

Mr Mann attended at Bow-street, and stated these mysterious circumstances to Mr Birnie, the magistrate, who sent for the journeyman baker from Newcastle-street. The man attended, and persisted in the statement he had originally made. He was not detained, but was desired to attend before the coroner's inquest, and tell every thing he knew relative to the death of Mrs Mann.

Upon a full investigation, it appeared that this woman, going to the theatre with her paramour, was seized there with a violent complaint in her head, which became of the apoplectic kind, and occasioned her death. How she came by the bruises was not ascertained. The coroner's verdict was, "Died by the visitation of God," and the man was discharged.

10th.—Among the prisoners which arrived at Plymouth from Pampeluna, there were forty women, in so wretched a state that they were wholly destitute of the appropriate dress of their sex, and were altogether in the most extreme wretchedness. Two ladies, the wives of gallant officers attached to the navy, with the most humane and ready consideration, immediately set on foot a subscription, and the result has answered so well to the benevolent intentions of the amiable movers, that the unhappy sufferers have been amply

secured from the inclemency of the season, and put in a condition of comparative comfort.

IRELAND.—On the morning of the 4th, fifty boats, manned with six men each, proceeded from Kilkeel to sea to fish; the sea being calm, the wind light and variable, a little snow on the ground, and slight snow showers. About eleven o'clock the day brightened, and shortly after the sun had a muddy appearance through a heavy cloud; at the same time an unusual swell, accompanied with wind, set in from the south, so strong, that the inhabitants on shore were struck with horror for the approaching fate of the men at sea. About twelve o'clock the boats made every exertion to gain the shore at Analong. When about half way, a dreadful storm, accompanied with a heavy snow shower, overtook them. On their arrival off the harbour, signals were made to prevent them coming in there. Two only succeeded in landing out of six who made the attempt; the rest met a watery grave.

The remainder of the boats proceeded along the shore, and were driven at sundry places; some filled at sea, some were upset, and others dashed to pieces on the shore. Mourne has suffered a loss of twenty-seven of its inhabitants, many of whom have left large and helpless families.

A melancholy accident occurred at the house of the Rev. Mr Godschall, near Guildford, Surrey. In the evening, William Humphries, the steward, and Mary Woods, one of the maid-servants, were missing; when, after some search for them, they were discovered about ten o'clock, both dead, in the dairy. Dr Stedman, of Guildford, was sent for, and after an examination of the bodies, he gave it as his opinion that they must have been dead at least two hours. It was about seven o'clock when they were missed, and it is hence inferred that they died in about an hour after they entered the dairy. The cause was manifest: they died of suffocation, produced by the fumes of charcoal which was kept burning there.

14th.—The transport Queen, No. 332, —— Carr, master, had brought home 325 sick and invalided soldiers, 63 women, and 58 children, from the British army on the continent; besides which she had on board six French officers, prisoners of war, and a crew of 21 men, making a total of 473 persons. The ship was lying in Carrick road, Falmouth, and, we understand, was well moored. At the commencement of the gale which has been attended with such fatal effects, she was observed to ride hard, and at about five o'clock this morning (Friday) she parted her cables, and drove ashore on Trefusis Point, where, in a short time, she was beat to pieces. One hundred men and four women with great difficulty succeeded in getting ashore; all the rest perished with the ship. Thus 369 souls were, in a few moments, hurried into eternity under the most awful circumstances! The bodies of five men, ten women, and nine children, have been washed on shore near Penryn, and a great number at Flushing. The above soldiers were all artillery-men, except about 32, who belonged to the 30th regiment of foot.

THE FROST.

We have collected, and classed together, all the particulars of the severe Frost of the present year.

15th.—EXETER.—The fall of snow in this neighbourhood, since Monday evening, is greater than has been remembered for forty years. The inconvenience and stagnation of business it has occasioned are distressing, as no persons venture out but those whom necessity compels. The roads in all directions are many feet deep with snow, so that travelling is partially suspended: the mail and other coaches

have been generally impeded, and for two days the London mail was brought from Dorchester in a chaise with four horses, and did not arrive till thirteen hours after the usual time. The roads west of this city have been totally impassable for carriages, and the bags containing the mails have been conveyed on horses. Several accidents have occurred, some of which were fatal. On Wednesday a soldier was found dead on Haldon, with twenty-one pounds in his pocket; and yesterday three of the Renfrew militia were dug out near the same spot, and their bodies conveyed to Chudleigh.

SHREWSBURY.—Last week, several of the West Middlesex militia, who had volunteered for foreign service, were frozen to death on their march from Nottingham. The unfortunate men had been drinking till they were intoxicated, and, lying by the road side, slept—never to wake again!

PLYMOUTH.——On Monday night last, our streets and all the roads in the neighbourhood, were inundated by a fall of snow, the equal of which is not within the recollection of our oldest inhabitants. The fall averaged full twenty inches, which unusual depth was formed in little more than six hours. Since this event the roads have been completely impassable for the mail coach and other carriages; and there has been no other mode of keeping up a communication with the metropolis, Exeter, Bath, &c. than by horses.

The masses of ice and snow had accumulated in such quantities at London-bridge, on the upper side yesterday, that it was nearly impossible for barges or boats to pass up.

EDINBURGH.—The frost continues intense, and the fall of snow has been so deep in the southern parts of the country, that the different mails have arrived with difficulty, and much behind their usual time.

16th.—At twelve o'clock on Thursday night, Fahrenheit's thermometer, in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, stood at 7 degrees, or 25 degrees below freezing; and yesterday morning at nine, it was at 14 degrees.

17th.—GLOUCESTER.—The severity of the frost for the last fortnight has not been exceeded by any that has preceded it for many years. The river Severn is frozen over, and the ice is in many places sufficiently strong to maintain persons on its surface; indeed, several people going to Tewkesbury market, on Wednesday last, rode across the ice on horseback, at the Lode, near that place.

On Monday the cold was so intense that the thermometer, exposed in a north-eastern aspect, stood at 13 degrees, which is 19 below the freezing point. On the eastern coast, it stood as low as 9 and 10; a degree of cold very unusual in this country.

Upwards of a hundred bags of letters had not arrived at the General Post-office on Saturday evening, owing to the obstructions occasioned on all the roads by the snow. The mail coaches from Glasgow, Portpatrick, and Edinburgh, had not reached Carlisle when the letters from thence were dispatched on Thursday, nor had the mail from Edinburgh to Newcastle arrived at the same period. All the mails were due from below Exeter. The Holyhead mail arrived in the course of Saturday, by dint of the most vigorous and uncommon exertions on the part of the guards and superintendants, but most of the cross-post bags in that direction are still due. The drifted snow between Bridport and Dorchester presented such a formidable barrier, that notwithstanding every possible endeavour was made by the guard and the assistants, no passage could be gained through it, and after four hours labour, the coach was obliged to return to Bridport. The inconvenience arising

from these delays in the receipt of letters, begins to be very seriously felt by merchants and traders, who have remittances in transitu, to take up bills and execute orders.

LIVERPOOL.—We have now had three weeks of the most rigorous frost which has been remembered in this country for a great number of years. On Friday, Fahrenheit's thermometer stood at 15 degrees (17 below the freezing point,) at the Athenæum; in the country it was no doubt much lower. Such a quantity of ice has been accumulated in the Mersey, that boats could not pass over. Almost every kind of labour performed without doors is nearly at a stand.

18th.—BRISTOL.—The frost continues in this city and neighbourhood with unusual severity. Our Floating Harbour now exhibits quite a novel scene: from Cumberland Basin to the Feeder, at the bottom of Avon-street, it is one continued sheet of ice; and for the first time in the memory of man, the skaiter made his appearance under Bristol bridge. The river Severn is also frozen over at various points, so as to bear the weight of passengers.

20th.—The brig Venus, of Yarmouth, was driven on shore in a tremendous gale, half a mile to the southward of that pier; her large draught of water prevented her approaching nearer the land than two hundred yards. Every effort to rescue the crew, by the ordinary methods, was attempted without success. At last the naval officer of the signal station brought the apparatus invented by Captain Manby down to the beach. At the second fire, the shot with the line attached to it was thrown from the mortar over the vessel. The facility with which the crew were then disengaged from their danger was admirable. The storm was of such extreme severity, that if the crew had not been thus saved, the poor wretches, supposing them to have escaped drowning, must have been frozen to death.

21st.—LONDON.—The great accumulation of snow already heaped on the ground, and condensed by three or four weeks of continued frost, was on Wednesday increased by a fresh fall, to a height hardly known in the memory of the oldest inhabitants. The cold has been intensely severe, the snow during the last fall being accompanied with a sharp wind and a little moisture. In many places where the houses are old, it became necessary to relieve the roofs by throwing off the load collected upon them; and by these means the carriage-ways in the middle of the streets are made of a depth hardly passable for pedestrians, while carriages with difficulty plough their way through the mass. The water-pipes being generally frozen, it has become necessary for several days to afford supplies by opening the plugs in the streets; and the streams thus constantly flowing, add to the general mass of ice. An enormous increase has taken place in the price of coals, in consequence of the river navigation and other means of conveyance being so greatly impeded.

22d.—LEEDS.—The inclemency of the weather during the last few days has been almost unparalleled. All communication with the metropolis has been suspended for two days, neither the mail nor any other coach having arrived since Thursday.

All the coaches which left town this morning were obliged to return, after proceeding two or three miles, though they were furnished with an unusual number of horses, being unable to penetrate through the masses of drifted snow. The White Cloth hall this morning presented an unusual appearance, there being only about seven manufacturers, and the same number of merchants, in the hall; a circumstance

which has not before occurred since the hall was erected.

24th.—The Solway Frith and channel towards the Isle of Man, for the whole of last week, presented a phenomenon never before witnessed by the oldest inhabitant. While the tide was making, all to the northward of Workington seemed like a large plain covered with hillocks of snow, and on the ebbing of the tide, this scene was exhibited till the eye met the horizon. On Monday last, the revenue boat stationed at Whitehaven, made an attempt to visit Maryport, to which place it got within about a mile, when it was enveloped among innumerable lumps of ice, some of which were from seven to ten feet in thickness. The boat was obliged to return to Whitehaven. The oldest seamen say they never saw such a field of ice (as they term it,) but in high northern latitudes, or on the banks of Newfoundland.

In consequence of the continued severity of the weather, the following circular letter has been sent to every Postmaster in the kingdom :—

"TO ALL POSTMASTERS.

"*General Post-office, Jan.* 21, 1814.

"It being matter of great importance to the country to get the roads cleared for his majesty's mails, you will apply to the overseers of parishes, and to the surveyors of highways, as well as to any other persons concerned, and urge them to employ all the means in their power to make the roads passable for carriages with as little delay as possible.

"FRANCIS FREELING, Sec."

DUBLIN.—Extract of a Letter :—"I do not know when this will reach you, as the Holyhead road is closed. There were five mails due at the Head when the packet sailed yesterday. The roads here are still impassable, at least for coaches ; 1700 bags of letters were at one time due from the different inland towns, but they are now reduced to 700. The distress to the mercantile world was inconceivable. One notary public protested 400 bills in one night, some of them on most respectable houses. Most of the mails have come in on men's shoulders, they now come on horseback. The mails for Belfast and Enniskillen left the post-office this morning in coaches for the first time since the snow. Six coaches came in from Naas on Saturday, four of them were upset. The streets are impassable, most of them completely blocked up, the snow being seven or eight feet. The oldest person has no recollection of half the quantity of snow falling in the time. Some medical men venture out in carriages, but they are soon overturned, as there has been no attempt to clear away the snow."

27th.—Yesterday the wind having veered round to the south-west, the effects of thaw were speedily discernible.

The fall of the river at London bridge has for some days past presented a scene both novel and interesting. At the ebbing of the tide, huge fragments of ice were precipitated down the stream, with great violence, accompanied by a noise equal to the report of a small piece of artillery. On the return of the tide they were forced back again ; but the obstacles opposed to their passage through the arches was so great, as apparently to threaten a total stoppage to the navigation of the river at this essential point, and which probably would have soon taken place had the frost continued with unabated severity.

16th.—A meeting was held at Dumfries on Thursday, for the purpose of taking measures to erect a mausoleum over the remains of Burns. General Dunlop, M. P. for the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, the son of the venerable patroness of the bard, was in the

chair, and the meeting was honoured with the sanction of the first names in the south of Scotland. Considerable sums of money have been already raised for this national object.

17th.—KELSO.—The following deplorable event took place, early on Sunday morning, at Mr Oliphant's farm of Eckford:—About 3 o'clock a fire broke out in the dwelling-house, in which were Mrs Oliphant, her son, Mr Henry Oliphant, and Mr Adam Archibald of Sharplaw. Before an alarm was given, and the inmates were awakened, the house was so completely on fire, that escape was rendered nearly impossible, and Mrs Oliphant perished in the flames! Mr Archibald, her nephew, who had got out with much difficulty, eager to save his aunt, rushed again into the building, and almost instantly perished; and her son, who, wounded and scorched, had made his escape by a window, was prevented only by the forcible interposition of those round him from rushing after, and sharing the fate of his mother and friend. The house was entirely consumed, together with all its contents. The bodies, in a state scarcely recognisable, were with much difficulty got out in the course of the day.

19th.—About two o'clock this morning an alarming fire was discovered in Denmark-street, St Giles's, which threatened destruction to the adjacent neighbourhood, in consequence of the difficulty of procuring water, the plugs being so completely frozen that the firemen were scarcely able to produce any impression upon the obdurate ice. One unfortunate female, through extreme anxiety for some property which she had left in her apartments, imprudently lost her life in attempting to recover it, the roof falling in at the moment of the attempt. Five houses were completely destroyed.

This morning an alarming fire broke out at Messrs Corbyn and Co.'s, chemists, in Holborn. It began in the laboratory, and the whole of that part of the extensive property was entirely destroyed; but fortunately, by the arrival of a number of fire-engines, it was prevented extending to the front of the building.

24th.—It being reported that a house in Half-moon-street, Piccadilly, had been robbed of cash to the amount of 5 or 600l. wearing apparel, &c. and at the same time wilfully set on fire, the following circumstances transpired on investigation. The family consisted of Mr Sturman, the occupier of the house, his wife, their child, and one female servant. On Tuesday week, between one and two o'clock, Mr and Mrs S. and child left the house for the day, and told the servant she might go out for an hour or two during their absence. She left the house about four in the afternoon, when every thing was safe. She returned at eight o'clock in the evening, and on opening the street-door, she discovered that the house was on fire. She gave the alarm, when an engine with several firemen arrived, and the flames were extinguished. The house was ascertained to be on fire in several different parts. The wainscot in the back parlour on the ground floor, the dining-room, and the stairs carpeting from the dining-room to the drawing-room on the ground-floor, were all burnt, or on fire at the same time; faggots were found in the kitchen; pieces of wood, quantities of matches, and various combustibles, were found in different parts, evidently, from the way in which they were placed, to assist and increase the fire. In March last, Mr S. made an insurance at the Globe Insurance office, for 3000l. on household furniture, &c. From the suspicious circumstances attending the breaking out of the fire, the conductors of that office thought it right that a full investigation should take place. For this purpose they had Mr and Mrs S.

with their books and papers brought to Bow-street, where they underwent a very deliberate examination. They were examined separately. Mr S. on his examination, said that he and his wife had been married about three years; they had taken the house in Half moon-street, and let it ready furnished. The cash and bank-notes he had by him for the last two years. He could not tell the time he had last examined it, nor of what description of bank of England notes it was composed, but believed there was one or two 100l. notes, and the remainder made up of 50l. 20l. and 10l. notes. These he kept in a secretary in his book-case. There was also from ten to twenty pounds in silver, and three half-guineas. The cash he kept in his writing-desk. He was asked, how it was that he kept such a large sum of money in the house without frequently examining it to see that it was safe; or that he did not lodge it in a banker's hands, or purchase into the funds, where it would be producing interest? The reason he assigned for keeping the money by him for two years was, that he had been out of employment during that time, and had not put it out to interest, because he was afraid he should not be able to get it as soon as he might want it, as it was his intention to go into business. He and his wife were in the practice of going out without leaving any person in the house. They had no particular motive for leaving the house empty on Tuesday: he went out for the purpose of meeting with a relation whom he expected to arrive from Cambridge. His wife and child accompanied him, and he parted with them at her sister's in Broad-court, Long-acre, and he went on to Clarence row, Hackney, to enquire after his aunt Drage; but his relation had not come from Cambridge. On his return he dined at the Telegraph chop-house in Bishopsgate-street, and called for his wife in Broad-court, and they got home about nine o'clock, when they found their house on fire.—Mrs Sturman was then brought in. She confirmed her husband's statement in most particulars; and stated, that she had lived housekeeper and her husband steward in a gentleman's family. At that time she had about 370l. in 3 per cents which she gave her husband permission to sell out. She was asked as to the money they had in the house, and, after some questioning, agreed in the sum stated by her husband, but did not know it of her own knowledge, but that he told her so. She stated that they let their house for ten guineas a week, it having very handsome furniture, which had cost 1400l. or 1500l. all which she believed her husband had paid. They were both questioned as to taking a favourite canary bird out of the house on Tuesday, which they both denied.

Mr Denham, the secretary to the Globe Insurance-office, stated, that he had ascertained that a lady, who had formerly lodged with them, wished to go to their house again, and to enter on Tuesday; but they had declined taking her, and she was gone to lodge in Piccadilly. Mr D. making a charge against them on oath, that he suspected them to have been concerned in setting fire to their house, they were ordered to be detained in custody, and to be kept separate.

On Monday the business underwent a further investigation, when Mary Wright, their servant, stated, that she had been in the prisoner's service on the day of the fire nine days. On the Tuesday morning, when her mistress came down to breakfast, she told her that she and her master were going out for the day, and she might go out for a few hours, but to return home at half-past eight o'clock in the evening, desiring her to take care and secure the house properly before she left it.

10

When she was going, her master asked her if she knew how to lock and unlock the street-door, it having one of Bramah's patent locks: she tried, but could not accomplish it; he taught her to do it; he told her when she left the house to leave a lamp burning in the passage, that evil-disposed persons might not suppose the house was empty; her master went out at one o'clock. She did not stay out so late as her mistress told her; if she had, there is no doubt but the whole house would have been burnt to the ground. She returned nearly an hour sooner than she was told, which she stated to be twenty minutes before eight o'clock. On her opening the street-door, she discovered that the lamp was not burning as she left it, but that the house was on fire. Captain Kempster's servant, who resides at the next door, assisted her with some pails of water, by which, together with the exertions of some gentlemen, the fire was got out. During her absence, the clothes-horses and a pair of wooden steps had been brought out of the kitchen, and placed against the wainscot of the parlour, near the stairs, with a quantity of matches on them. The door-posts and other parts of the back-parlour were in flames; a hat-box filled with wood and paper was near the flames. Some dusters, pin-cloths, frocks, and other clothes, of the child, and also some rags, all of which had been dipped in turpentine, were strewed in different parts of the parlour, passage, and stairs. The fire of the staircase was distinct from that of the back-parlour, and both were burning separately. The front parlour was strewed with wood, such as is used for lighting fires, in bundles; but the strings were cut, and the wood distributed about so as to make a train for the fire, mixed with different articles that had been dipped in turpentine, and matches in different parts. Under all these circumstances, the magistrates committed Sturman for trial, and admitted his wife to bail. He was afterwards tried, convicted, and executed.

26th.—On Wednesday, Benjamin Ratty was indicted for stealing a quantity of linen from a poor woman named Hudson, at Merton. The prisoner, who is only twenty-three years of age, has already served one seven years on board the hulks, wanting only six months, which part of his sentence had been remitted by the crown, and which six months expired this day, when he was again convicted, and sentenced to another year's servitude on board the hulks. After the chairman had pronounced the sentence of the court, the prisoner addressed him as follows:—"My lord, if I escape from the hulks, and that I can do once within a month, I will be the death of that d—d old rascal Tibbalds, [the constable of Tooting, who apprehended him,] who deserves hanging more than I do." The chairman thanked him for his candid declaration, but assured him at the same time that most particular attention should be paid to him, and every possible precaution used to prevent his carrying his meditated escape into effect.

30th.—The following observations on the most remarkable frosts upon record, ever felt in Great Britain, since the commencement of the tenth century, may be a matter of curiosity and amusement to many of our readers:—In the year 908 most of the rivers in England were frozen over. In 923 the Thames frozen over at Lime-house 13 weeks. In 998 the Thames frozen five weeks. A frost on Midsummer-day 1095, so intense, that all the corn and fruits in the kingdom were destroyed. In 1063 the Thames frozen 14 weeks. A frost in England (with a very few days thaw) from November 1075, to April 1076. From November 14th, 1433, to February 10th, 1434, the river Thames was frozen below bridge

to Gravesend. A 13 weeks frost in 1683; and another in 1715.

An inquest sat on the body of Mr James Clement, of Mere, Wilts, who was killed by a most melancholy accident. It appeared that the deceased went shooting the day before with Mr James Glover, of Mere, and that while pursuing their sport, Glover fell into some deep water, and called to his friend Clement to assist him, who immediately took hold of the muzzle of Glover's gun, in order to pull him out of the water; but while in the act of this assistance, the gun went off, and its contents entered Clement's left breast, who instantly fell, exclaiming "Lord, have mercy upon me!" and died in about five minutes. He has left a widow and two children. The jury brought in a verdict—*Accidentally shot.*

FEBRUARY.

1st.—The Thames, between Blackfriars and London bridges, continued to present the novel scene of persons moving on the ice in all directions, and in greatly increased numbers. The ice, however, from its roughness and inequalities, is totally unfit for amusement, though we observed several booths erected upon it for the sale of small wares; but the publicans and spirit-dealers were most in the receipt of custom. The whole of the river opposite Queenhithe was completely frozen over; and in some parts the ice was several feet thick, while in others it was dangerous to venture upon; notwithstanding which, crowds of foot passengers crossed backwards and forwards throughout the whole of the day. We did not hear of any lives being lost; but many who ventured too far towards Blackfriars bridge were partially immersed in the water by the ice giving way. Two coopers were with difficulty saved.

2d.—EDINBURGH.—An action was tried in the Court of Session, brought by John Cooper, schoolmaster of the parish of Dalmeny, against the Rev. J. Greig, minister of the same. The libel stated, that "the defendant having conceived causeless ill-will against the prosecutor, did, on Sunday, March 17, 1811, read from the pulpit of the parish church of Dalmeny, in the hearing of the congregation, a written paper, containing many false and scandalous charges against the prosecutor, concluding with a declaration that he was no longer the schoolmaster of the parish, and that the office was vacant." The court having declared the libel proved, the prosecutor said he had brought the action to clear his character, and had no desire to make it a source of personal emolument, and therefore, out of motives of compassion to the defendant and his family, did not wish for pecuniary reparation. The court, in pronouncing judgment, declared the libel to be malicious and unprovoked; the censure therein contained unjust and unfounded; out of the due course of ecclesiastical discipline, and therefore highly illegal; that they would have awarded damages to a large amount; but, in consideration of the request of the prosecutor himself, they modified the damages to twenty-two guineas, with full costs. The expences were afterwards taxed at 407 pounds, for which a decree was pronounced against the defendant.

6th.—The ice in the river Tyne, which had been so long frozen over, both above and below Newcastle-bridge, gave way to the genial thaw, which commenced on the 4th, and no damage was sustained by the shipping in the river, notwithstanding the immense thickness of the ice. It will be a memorable circumstance in the local history of the country, that so large

and rapid a river should have been frozen to the thickness of twenty inches; and the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle have recorded the event on vellum, as a document to be referred to.

7th.—A melancholy accident happened on Friday evening, near Windsor. A large Henley barge was on its way full of coals, and dragged by twelve remarkably fine horses, the property of Mr Winch of Shepperton. There were two men on the horses, one on the second, and the other on the last but one. The water being remarkably high in certain parts, a little before they came into Datchett-reach, the fore horse stepped too much to the right, fell into the river, and dragged the first man and eight horses after him, who were all unfortunately drowned. The other man saved himself and three of the horses by having the presence of mind to jump off and unchain them from the other.

Died at Tweedmouth, on the 8th of January, James Robinson, commonly called *Jemmy* and *Cuddy Dumps*, aged 94, an eccentric character, and well known in Berwick.—He was a drum-major at the battle of Prestonpans, in 1746, and was highly offended when told that he ran away on that day. He gained his livelihood by driving coals and sand—he slept in the same apartment with his asses, and had not lain on a bed for the last 32 years.

9th.——The celebrated Mrs Mary Anne Clarke was brought up to receive sentence in the court of King's Bench, for an infamous libel on Mr Fitzgerald, Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland. She had suffered judgment to go by default. The libel was contained in a letter addressed to that gentleman, and published as a pamphlet. The Attorney-General, in support of the prosecution, characterized the libel as a most flagrant attempt to extort money; the writer declaring that she would not permit ingratitude, or neglect of promises given to dupe or cajole her, to go unpunished, and announcing, by way of hint, the publication of some volumes of letters, to be followed by others as "circumstances required." Mr Brougham addressed the court in mitigation of punishment.—Mr Justice Le Blanc then passed the judgment of the court,—That Mrs Clarke be confined nine months in the Marshalsea, and give securities in 400l. to keep the peace for three years; and that William Mitchell, aged 70, who had, at the request of his friend's son, put his name to the libel, as printer, without receiving any emolument therefrom, but who had refused to give up the name of those who had made a tool of him, be imprisoned in the same gaol four months.

11th.—The passengers in the Prince Regent coach, from Edinburgh to Glasgow, observed a woman lying in the road, at the foot of Airdrie Hill, about a mile west from Airdrie, apparently lifeless. On lighting from the carriage, they were informed by two labourers, who came running across the fields, and arrived just as the coach stopped, that they saw a man, who had proceeded east the road, striking the woman, but were prevented from securing him by the Monkland canal intervening between them and him. The woman at first appeared to be dead, and was much cut on the right cheek, bleeding very profusely, but signs of animation returned, and she was left in the hands of the two labourers, who humanely began to take her to a house, when the coach proceeded on its journey. It was supposed that the wretch, after having beat the woman in this shocking manner, had robbed her, as he had been observed, a few minutes before the coach stopped, walking towards Airdrie, with a bundle under his arm.

12th.—London.—The thaw which commenced on Wednesday the 26th January, did not continue longer than the Saturday following, when its progress was arrested by a sharp frost which set in on that night. The thaw had sent such a quantity of ice down the river as completely to choak up the Thames between Blackfriars and London bridges; and the renewed frost so united the vast masses as to render it immoveable by the tide. On Monday, January 31, several adventurous persons of light weight crossed the river, and their example was followed by a multitude of boys, many of whom, from the rottenness of the connecting ice, particularly near Blackfriars bridge, did not escape without an unwelcome immersion. After that period, the ice between the two bridges presented the novel scene of thousands of persons moving on the ice in all directions. Midway between the two bridges, and nearly opposite Queenhithe, above thirty booths were erected, for the sale of porter, spirits, gingerbread, &c. Skittles were played by several parties, and the drinking tents filled by females and their companions, dancing reels, while others sat round large fires, drinking rum, grog, and other spirits. Several tradesmen also attended, selling books, toys, and trinkets of every description. Several printers, having brought their presses, pulled off various impressions, which they sold for a trifle. Among the paths for the convenience of perambulation, the principal was dignified with the appellation of the City Road. The booths extended down to London bridge, under the centre arches of which numerous spectators were to be seen. The watermen and coal-heavers did not fail to benefit by this curiosity; as the progress of the visitors was much facilitated by their simple inventions at the different stairs and elsewhere, and they were at much trouble to beat footways in different directions. On Thursday, February 3, a sheep was roasted, or rather burnt, over a charcoal fire, in a large iron pan. The admission to the booth where this culinary skill was displayed, was 6d. per head. The ice from its roughness and inequalities, having been in many places covered several feet with snow, was totally unfit for skaiting or sliding.—The tide, from the obstruction at London bridge, did not ebb for some days more than half the usual marks. On Thurday the 3d, a plumber, named Davies, attempting to cross near Blackfriars bridge, with some lead in his hand, sunk between two masses of ice, and rose no more. On the 5th instant, a thaw again took place; and Kingston bridge, which had been built upwards of 300 years, gave way by the consequent pressure of the ice. Between high and low pier it sunk near three feet, which rendered it impassable for carriages. The frost again set in on the 11th, and continued very sharp; but the snow having been removed, the inconvenience is by no means so great as it was in the last month.

Dublin.—About five p. m. a meeting took place on the beach, at Sandymount, near Dublin, between Counsellor Hatchell, seconded by Mr F——, and Mr Morley, of Molesworth-street, an attorney, seconded by Mr C——. Mr Morley fired first without effect, when his fire was returned by Mr Hatchell, and the ball hit Mr Morley on the hip, took a direction through the kidneys, and killed him instantly. The circumstances which led to this unhappy event are as follows:—In the hall of the Four Courts, Mr Morley addressed himself to Mr Hatchell, requiring him to acknowledge that part of the report of a trial which took place in August last, which appeared in a public print of that month, and in which both parties were profession-

ally concerned, "was a falsehood." Mr Hatchell would not comply with the requisition; upon which Mr Morley called Mr Hatchell by a very opprobrious name, which drew from Mr Hatchell a retort that Mr Morley was a liar. Mr Morley immediately struck the barrister, and a challenge ensued.

13th.—LONDON.—This morning, about six o'clock, a dreadful fire broke out in the custom-house, in Lower Thames-street, which burnt with great fury, and, in a few hours, destroyed that old but useful pile of building. Upon the first alarm, the brother of Miss Kelly, the housekeeper, (Colonel Kelly, late of the Guards,) who occasionally slept there, hurried to his sister, and found her in such a senseless state from the fright, that it was with extreme difficulty he could drag her out almost naked. The engines arrived soon after seven o'clock. About eight the flames had obtained so great an ascendancy, that all attempts to save the custom-house were abandoned. The exertions of the firemen and others employed were then directed to the warehouses and other buildings on both sides of the street, when a report was circulated that many barrels of gunpowder were deposited in the vaults, and that consequently an explosion might soon be expected. This report had nearly a magical effect. All withdrew to a distance, both firemen and spectators. At half past nine the report which had been circulated was confirmed not to have been an idle one. The explosion of about two barrels and a half of gunpowder was tremendous. The shock was distinctly felt on the Royal Exchange, and by persons who came to London by the Whitechapel-road; it was felt four miles in that direction. Many of the buckets were carried as far as Billingsgate; and one man was hurt or killed by two bricks falling on his head. The concussion spread devastation around the neighbourhood, breaking many windows in Cannon-street, Eastcheap, and the adjoining streets, and exciting in the breasts of the inhabitants apprehensions of the complete destruction of that quarter of the city.

By one o'clock the whole of the custom-house and the adjoining warehouses were completely reduced to ashes; and the food of the flames having been at that side exhausted, the attention of the firemen and their assistants was directed to other quarters, where they were enabled to render the most effectual assistance, and before three, all fear of the further extension of the flames had subsided.

Ten houses opposite the custom-house were burnt down by two o'clock. Among them were Holland's Coffee-house, the Rose and Crown, and Yorkshire Grey public-houses, and the King's Arms public-house much damaged.

A female servant of Miss Kelly jumped out of a two-pair of stairs window; she was much hurt, and carried to St Thomas's Hospital in a lifeless state.

The books and papers of the Searchers' office, on the quay, were saved; they were conveyed out of the windows, and put on board a lighter lying alongside. In the surveyor's office some books were preserved; but in the secretary's office, from being so close to the storekeeper's apartments, few, if any, documents were saved, and consequently the bonds in the coast-bond office were lost. In the long room, the objects so important in a national point of view, the books and some of the documents of the collector outwards, were saved; but it is feared that those belonging to the collector inwards are lost. These documents were many of them of great age.

The actual loss to government by the sudden destruction of the custom-house cannot be calculated; books, bonds, debentures, pearls, coral, valuable property of every description, and securities of all kinds, have been consumed. Business is and must remain quite at a stand for some time; numerous vessels ready to sail cannot clear out, and consequently the injury to the mercantile world will be most severe and distressing. The private property lost within the buildings is very considerable; several gentlemen had left large sums of money in their desks, ready to make payments on the following day. One individual has lost upwards of six thousand pounds in bank-notes, which will be irrecoverable, as the memorandum of the numbers was in the desk with the notes, and met the same fate.

A very fine collection of pictures was also lost, which the commissioners had permitted a gentleman to leave in deposit till it would be convenient for him to pay the duties, amounting to 1500l.

The first custom-house built in London was in 1559, 225 years ago; it was burnt down in 1718, and rebuilt the same year; and it was on Saturday, the 12th of February, again totally consumed by fire. The first custom-house, therefore, stood 159 years; the second, which was burnt on Saturday, stood 96 years.

14th.—Dumfries.—Mr Bagshaw, a respectable dealer in china, glass, and earthen ware, escaped from his lodgings, about eight o'clock, in a state of delirium, and wandering to the dock, before his friends could trace him, fell into the Nith; an accidental passenger heard the fatal plunge, and hastened to the spot from whence the sound proceeded, when he discovered the shoes of the unhappy man upon the bank. Diligent search was immediately made for him, but owing to the darkness of the night, the body was not found till day-light next morning.

16th.—The remains of Mrs Wright, late prioress of the nunnery at Lanherne, were interred in Maugan church; on which occasion a procession of the nuns of that institution took place, in the following order:—

Eight females, dressed in white, with long white veils.

The coffin, carried by eight nuns, in the full dress of their order, and wearing long black veils.

Twelve nuns, with lighted tapers, chaunting a funeral dirge.

The nuns accompanied the remains of their late superior no further than the church-yard; when the corpse was borne to the grave by the ladies who had preceded it, the nuns returning immediately to the nunnery. A considerable number of spectators assembled to witness the novel exhibition.

21st.—On Friday night, the Royal Exchange Coffee-house, Edinburgh, was alarmed with the appearance of fire from the floors below the one possessed by Messrs Bell and Bradfute, booksellers, and the other lately occupied by Mr Thomson, gunmaker. Upon making search for the cause of alarm, a private still was discovered, which to appearance had not been at work for half an hour. Mr Macewen and servants, on entering the house (being the ground floor of the exchange) were told by a person, who rushed past them, and who has not been discovered, that the fire was put out. Information was lodged, and the apparatus seized by the officers of excise the following morning.

22d.—London.—The Berenger Hoax.—Never, perhaps, was greater agitation produced in the metropolis by any foreign news, than was yesterday occasioned by a fraud of the most impudent and nefarious description. An express arrived from Dover, com-

municating information, that an officer, apparently of the French staff, had landed early in the morning at that port from France, who announced in the most positive terms, the death of Buonaparte, whether in battle, or by assassination, or otherwise, the persons at Dover could not learn; but they stated, that the French officer had proceeded on his way to London, with dispatches for government on the subject. This statement, probable in itself, and attended with so many circumstances of plausibility as to the mode of its conveyance, easily obtained belief. The stock-exchange was instantly in a bustle. Omnium, which opened at 27½, rapidly rose to 33. Vast sums were sold in the course of the day,—not less, it is supposed, in all, than half a million; but at length the non-arrival of the pretended French officer began to throw discredit on the tale. Omnium gradually declined, and finally closed at 28½. The evening passed away without any communication whatever to government; and it became therefore evident, that the whole was a most infamous piece of swindling.

The persons at Dover, who were first concerned in transmitting the false intelligence to London, and who, of course, feel it incumbent on them to exonerate themselves from the charge of participating in so infamous a transaction, have issued the following statement:—That in the middle of Sunday night, a person, dressed as an officer, walked from the beach of Dover towards the town, and meeting with a watchman, enquired of him the way to the Ship inn, to procure a post-chaise and horses for town. The pretended officer was a tall dark man, dressed in scarlet and gold, with a large star on his breast, the coat turned up with green, and he wore a large sword by his side. He feigned to be much fatigued, and his beard was very long. The collector of the customs was much displeased that he was not called from his bed to examine the officer. Before the impostor proceeded on his journey he addressed a letter to Admiral Foley, to the purport, that he had ordered his boat's crew to France, and requested the politeness of the admiral, in case they should be intercepted by any of the British cruisers, that the men might be properly treated, and sent to France without loss of time. To this epistle he subscribed the name of Colonel De Burgh. No boat, however, was seen; and it is presumed he was not landed from any, but that his clothes had been purposely made wet, to induce a belief that it was from the spray of the sea. For every thing he had, and even at the turnpikes, he offered Napoleons for change. How near he approached town in an officer's garb does not appear. This pretended Colonel was supposed to have entered Dover on Sunday morning, by the road leading from town. Such a person, with a companion, was met in a post-chaise and four. A landlord of one of the inns at Rochester, was seen in the company of the suspected person; and he will of course be required to give some account of his companion. Besides the principal plot acted at Dover, there was a sort of under one, connected with it; the scene of which lay at Northfleet. This was deemed expedient, it would seem, in case the Dover scheme should miscarry. About five o'clock on the Monday morning a party arrived at Northfleet in a six-oared cutter. They called up a Mr Sandon, to request that he would accompany two of them to town, who represented themselves to be messengers from France, to communicate the death of Buonaparte, and the hoisting of the Bourbon standard in France. They were decorated with white cockades, and horses with laurels. They

told Sandon that they would first proceed to the Lord Mayor, and, as if with that intention, they took their route through the city. Their progress was greatly impeded by the mob, who stopped them at every short distance. Pretending to recollect themselves on a sudden, they said it might be deemed disrespectful by the government, if they did not first communicate with the ministers; and then, as if for that purpose, they ordered the post-boys to Downing-street. Before they reached this destination, however, they discharged the chaise, and got rid of their companion, supposing, no doubt, that their purpose had been already answered.*

24th.—The Chancellorship of the University of St Andrew's having become vacant by the departure of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge from Britain, and his residence in Hanover, the Senatus Academicus have elected Lord Viscount Melville their Chancellor, and Conservator of their privileges.

25th.—Dundee.—Two faithful lovers were united in the hymeneal bands on Monday, after a courtship and separation of more than ordinary length. The happy husband had just returned with honourable scars and spoils from the sea, where, in his country's service, he had spent the last 25 years of his life, without having once seen or written to, or received a letter from, his love. The disconsolate lady, now the blithesome bride, in the meantime supported herself with the wages of honest industry. About the middle of last week, she was astonished and delighted at the re-appearance of her long-lost sailor, whose first care on returning to this, his native place, was to discover the mistress of his youthful affections. We need not say with what raptures she listened to the renewal of his suit. The banns of marriage were proclaimed on Sunday, the nuptials were celebrated on the day following, and the parties are now solacing themselves with a matrimonial pleasure-jaunt.—Their ages are alike, and, united, amount to 106.

AGRICULTURAL REPORT.

The past month commenced with the heaviest mist and thickest fog ever remembered in this country, and which lasted a longer time than fogs or mists are accustomed to hover over the British islands. To this weather succeeded the most severe and intense frost, and prodigious falls of snow ever recollected, which have impeded the pursuits of agriculture through nearly the whole of last month. The farmer has never been more completely excluded from field-employ by the extremes of weather, the snow lying too deep to admit of the accustomed winter improvements of the soil. It has also locked up from consumption the green products of the earth, and caused large draughts to be made upon the dry food in the farm-yard. These urgent demands have directed the farmer's attention more to his barn-employ than in any preceding season.

The covering of snow will, however, be very beneficial to the wheat crops, which generally stood in need of a check to their luxuriance; and the fallows will receive an ample share of benefit from the same cause, producing fine and friable moulds for the approaching seed season.

Cattle crops, turnips, cabbage, &c. are in an uncertain state, dependent upon the thaw, for the degree of damage they may sustain; and, as usual, very few growers have had the precau-

* The further particulars of this fraud will be found under the dates at which the successive facts of its developement took place.

tion to draw and stack any part of their roots.

The wool markets in general looking upwards, but coarse long wool much in request, and dearer than at any former period. Cattle and pig markets, both fat and store, scantily supplied, and extremely dear. Cows dearer, horses somewhat cheaper, particularly of the cart kind, in some degree to be attributed to the rational return of many farmers to the ox labour, and the consequent expectation that it is about to become general, one of the greatest objects of national and individual economy.

MARCH.

1st.—This day, the government of the Royal Bank of Scotland was vested in the following noblemen and gentlemen :—

His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, Governor.

Gilbert Innes, Esq. of Stow, Deputy-Governor.

Ordinary Directors—Robt. Scott Moncreiff, John Campbell, R. G., William Macdonald, William Ramsay, James Dundas, Charles Selkrig, Hugh Warrender, Alexander Bonar, and Alexander Duncan.

Extraordinary Directors—Lord Advocate, James Ferrier, Robert Allan, Henry Erskine, Peter Free, William Creech, Baron Hepburn, James Bruce, and Henry Glassford.

A proclamation, issued by General Prevost, announces, after long forbearance, a severe retaliation on the Americans for their inhuman mode of warfare in their different invasions of Canada; especially for their having, in the midst of a severe Canadian winter, wantonly burnt the beautiful village of Newark, and turned out four hundred helpless women and children to all the severity of the season, without shelter, and without a remnant of property. The case is made out with the utmost distinctness against the Americans, not only in this, but in a number of other instances, at Sandwich, at the settlements on the Thames, at York, and at Fort George. Sir George earnestly deprecates this mode of warfare; but he justly observes, that since it has been so long persevered in by the enemy, retaliation becomes an imperious duty. He has, therefore, ordered the villages of Lewiston, Black Rock, and Buffalo, to be burned; at the same time declaring, that he will no longer pursue a system of warfare so revolting to his own feelings, and so uncongenial to the British character, unless forced to it by the future measures of the enemy.

The Endymion, Statira, and Loup-cervier, British ships, lately challenged the United States, Macedonian, and Hornet, American, to single combat —this the Americans accepted; but Admiral Cockburn has disapproved of the challenge, as erroneous in principle, by allowing private feelings to originate a contest which ought to be undertaken wholly upon public grounds.

There is now living in Glencalvie, parish of Kincardine, Ross-shire, a man named Alexander Campbell, alias Iverach, aged, according to accounts which may be regarded as correct, although no record existed then in the parish, 115 years, being born in the year 1699. He was a stout lad at the time of the death of Baron David Ross of Balnagown, which was in 1711, and was one of a militia raised by William Lord Ross, who succeeded. He is vigorous still, in full possession of his faculties, and is highly entertaining with anecdotes of the exploits of his former years. He comes down occasionally to visit the minister of the parish, and Mr Ross of Aldie, whose lady is remarkably attentive to this hardy veteran, and can accomplish the

journey (about 11 miles) with ease, in a day. Last year he went from his own house to Tain in one day (26 miles.) His breast and neck are for the most part exposed to the blast, however cold, and he walks in his kilt, hose, and plaid, and his staff across his breast, with as firm a step as many who are only half his age. He is on the poor list, but the funds of the parish are not able to afford an adequate support to this cheerful and hardy Highlander.

3d.—A salmon, weighing 60lb. 11oz. avoirdupois, was taken at one of the fishing waters in the Tweed, belonging to the Old Shipping Company. It measured four feet four inches long, and two feet five inches girth, and was sold for five guineas and a half.

GLASGOW.—This evening, about half past four o'clock, the north wall of the south wing of a large house in Saltmarket-street suddenly gave way, and fell down with a tremendous crash. By this catastrophe, the principal part of five stories, occupied by nine families, and the garrets above, occupied as a printing-house, were instantaneously converted into a heap of rubbish, and a number of the unfortunate inhabitants buried in the ruins! The scene was distressing beyond description, and the cries of the unhappy sufferers were distinctly heard from among the wreck. The most prompt assistance, however, was given by the crowd of people whom the fatal occurrence had drawn together, and many of whom, at the risk of their own lives, lent their aid towards the preservation of those who were more immediately within reach. Several persons were thus humanely saved from the fate which every moment threatened them by the overhanging ruins. Ladders were now procured, and several of the unfortunate inhabitants were taken down from windows, &c. to which they had clung at the moment of the fall. The fall of the house is attributed to some alterations that were making in the ground-floor; and several families had removed that day, from an apprehension of immediate danger, which fortunately rendered the actual casualties fewer.

THE KING'S HEALTH.

"*Windsor Castle, March 5.*

"His Majesty continues under the full influence of his disorder, but his bodily health is good, and his Majesty has passed the last month in an uniform state of tranquillity.

"HENRY HALFORD.
"M. BAILLIE.
"W. HEBERDEN.
"J. WILLIS.
"R. WILLIS."

Proclamation of Monsieur, on entering France, March 6, 1814.

"We, Charles Philip of France, son of France, Monsieur, Count d'Artois, brother to the king, and Lieutenant-General of the kingdom.

"To all Frenchmen, greeting.

"Frenchmen! The day of your redemption is arrived; the brother of your king is in the midst of you;—he comes to rear again the ancient banner of the lilies in the heart of France, and to announce to you the return of happiness and peace, and the restoration of law and public liberty under a protecting government. No conqueror, no war, no conscription, no consolidated taxes, any longer! At the voice of your sovereign, your father, may your misfortunes be wiped off by hope, your errors by forgiveness, and your dissentions by the union to be effected, for which he is your security. He burns with desire to fulfil the promises he has made to you, which he this day solemnly renews, and by his love and benevolence to render happy the moment which, bringing him back to his subjects, restores him to his children.—*Vive le Roi.*"

7th.—We regret to state the melancholy loss of the smack Lord Dun-

das Packet, Leisk, of Aberdeen, with all on board, on Rattra-head. The Lord Dundas sailed from Aberdeen, for Fraserburgh, on Monday afternoon last, with nearly a full cargo of valuable goods, as also the rigging and materials for a new vessel; and after having, as is supposed, kept to windward during the hard gale from the southward the same night, had, in the calm which succeeded on Tuesday with a heavy sea on the coast, been driven on the fatal rocks of Rattra-head, where the vessel was no doubt immediately a total wreck. The crew consisted of four persons, two of whom have left helpless young families, for whose relief, we understand, subscriptions have been opened; and there were also on board, the wife of a shipmaster and her child, passengers, the body of the latter of which has been cast ashore. One pipe and two hogsheads of wine, some casks of porter, and several sacks of flour, have been saved; and hopes are entertained, that more of the cargo, and part of the materials of the vessel, may be recovered.

A patent has been recently granted for a machine to facilitate the operations of printing. The objects of the machine are, precision, speed, and the saving of skill, labour, and expence. It abrogates almost all the former apparatus of the press, and the preparations of the types; performs by its own action the several parts of furnishing, distributing, and communicating the ink, and giving the pressure. At its ordinary rate, 16 sheets a minute are discharged by it; and indeed its velocity is only limited by the power of placing and removing the sheets, which are all the manual assistances required. The machine has been exhibited to the syndics of the press at Cambridge, and was examined during three days this week by most of the principal members of the University; and on receiving the report of their deputation (Dean Milner, master of the Queen's college; Mr Wood, president of St John's; and Mr Kaye, tutor of Christ's), the syndicate agreed with Messrs Bacon and Donkin, of Norwich, the patentees, for its introduction at the office of the University.

8th.—Edinburgh Institute.—*New Printing Press.*—At a meeting of the members of this institution, Mr John Ruthven, printer, Edinburgh, laid before them a working model of his newly-invented printing press.

This press is constructed on principles entirely different from those of the presses now in use—to all of which, in the judgment of several professional gentlemen who examined it, it is decidedly superior. As its mechanism, however, cannot be easily understood without actual inspection, it would be to little purpose to attempt to describe it; but it may be observed in general, that, by substituting compound levers for the screw, Mr Ruthven has effected a considerable saving of power, and, by a more commodious arrangement of the different parts of the machine, he has been enabled to remove all the material defects of the printing press hitherto in use. In Mr Ruthven's press, the coffin, or table for the types, remains fixed, and the impression on one side of a sheet is completed by *one* application of the moving power, and of course by one exertion of the arm. He has a contrivance for making register (printing the pages exactly on the back of each other) in an improved manner, and a regulator for producing the different degrees of pressure that may be required. Instead of pulling with the right hand as in the other presses, a practice both inconvenient and dangerous, the workman produces the impression by turning with the left hand a winch or handle, which makes about one-third of a revolution. It is proper to add, that all the parts are contrived

and disposed with a due regard to economy of time and labour, and with a nice attention to every circumstance which a practical knowledge of the art could suggest.

Mr Ruthven's construction has the advantage of being equally applicable on a great or a small scale. With the model he exhibited, which did not occupy more space than a cubic foot, and although made of iron, was easily carried under the arm, he printed off, in presence of the meeting, eight small pages (contained in the size of a demy octavo), affording ocular evidence of the accuracy with which the impression was taken, and the facility with which the operation was performed. Such small presses would certainly be very useful in remote country places: they might even furnish a very pleasant amusement to amateurs; and those of the large size, when their advantages become known, will no doubt be brought into general use by the trade. We understand that Mr Ruthven, having obtained patents, is preparing a number for sale.

Mr Ruthven concluded the account of his model, by observing, that as no circumstance connected with the progress of an art that had rendered such signal service to mankind was devoid of interest, he thought it but justice to state, that the Edinburgh Institute had the merit of bringing this invention into notice, as the attention excited by the portable press, formerly exhibited at a meeting of the Institute, had induced him to attempt one on a more extensive scale, which he had now the satisfaction to lay before the society.

9th.—MONMOUTH.—About twenty-seven years ago, the body of a young woman, named Mary Prichard, was found in a mill-pond in the neighbourhood of Longtown, in the county of Hereford, with many marks of violence thereon, and a coroner's jury being summoned, after a patient investigation delivered a verdict of *Wilful Murder*. The deceased had for some time lived servant with Mr Gilbert, of Cluddock, and two young men, John Davis and John Jones, being her intimate acquaintance, suspicion fell upon them, and they were in consequence apprehended. Jones had formerly lived at Mr Gilbert's with her as a fellow servant; but his then mistress (Mrs Hopkins, of Irelandon,) swearing that he was in her house all the evening that he went to bed before her, and that he did not rise till after she was up; and this being corroborated by a boy, who swore that he slept with him, and that to the best of his knowledge he was not out of bed till he arose with him to go to their usual employment, he was discharged. Davis also proved his innocence. Some time after this Jones left that neighbourhood, and took up his residence in Monmouthshire, where he married, and had five children, but his wife has been dead some years, and he is now in the decline of life. Being at length severely afflicted with illness, and fearing the approach of death, he sent a few days since for the Rev. Mr Sayce, of Trellick, to whom he made a full confession of the murder. He acknowledges that he retired to rest with the boy before his mistress went to bed, that when he thought all the family were asleep, (having previously appointed to meet the unhappy girl, who was pregnant by him,) he stole out of the house, committed the horrid deed, and returned to his bed without disturbing any one, having been but a few minutes absent. He still lives, though in a very weak state, and appears much easier in his mind since the confession.

10th.—LIMERICK.—Amongst the many fatal accidents which occur from the incautious handling of fire-arms, one of a most melancholy nature happened lately at Riversdale, in this coun-

ty, the seat of the late Hugh Massy, Esq. This unfortunate gentleman was sitting with his brother-in-law, George Buchanan, Esq. and making some arrangements towards the detection of persons concerned in disturbing the public peace, when a loaded feather-spring pistol, which one of the gentlemen was in the act of moving to the other side of the table where they were sitting, went off, and the ball lodged in Mr Massy's head, who almost instantly expired.

At the Northampton assizes, held this week, Richard Lock was indicted for stealing a silver watch in the dwelling-house of E. Green, of Middleton. The fact being proved, and the prisoner having been called upon for his defence, he addressed the judge nearly as follows:—"It is usual for persons placed in similar circumstances with myself to endeavour to extenuate their offences; to that I shall not presume. I have forfeited my life, which has been a continuation of captivity and misery. The only thing of which I have had any thought or consideration for the last six months has been death. I am weary of life, and hope for a better in another world: and I request that your lordship will pass sentence on me, and that it may be executed as speedily as possible." He was found guilty, and sentence of death having been passed upon him, he exclaimed—"This is the happiest day I have seen for twenty years!"

12th.—A series of the Sydney gazettes to the 1st of July have been received. Their contents afford a view of the state of the different settlements, which, notwithstanding the scarcity of specie, and some other local inconveniences, that were likely to be remedied by the prudent regulations of Governor Macquarrie, were advancing fast to prosperity and comparative opulence. The great object of the merchants and inhabitants was to establish an export trade with this country; and for this purpose to obtain leave to ship their surplus grain (which was rotting in the barns), salt pork and beef for his majesty's navy, and wool, said to be little inferior to that of Spain, in return for the customary importations, instead of making remittances in money, which drained the settlement of specie, and impoverished the colonists. Another object was, to obtain permission to distil spirits in the colony, which would greatly benefit the cultivator, and retain the money generally paid for spirits obtained from America, the East Indies, and other places. Memorials on these topics had been presented to Governor Macquarrie, signed by the principal inhabitants of the different settlements, and transmitted by his excellency for the consideration of his majesty's ministers.

14th.—About 11 o'clock in the evening of Monday last, a quarrel took place on the streets of Irvine between some of the inhabitants of that town, principally sailors, and some of the soldiers belonging to a detachment of the 27th regiment of foot, quartered there, which unfortunately ending in blows, and the latter finding themselves very roughly handled, it is understood one of them ran to his quarters for a loaded gun, and on his return shot Allan Hutton through the heart with a musket ball, who instantly expired. Hutton, by trade a weaver, was a strong robust man, and, it would appear, had been very active in the scuffle, which led to the fatal weapon being pointed at him. He has left a wife and family to lament his loss. John M'Manus, the soldier suspected, was immediately apprehended, and, after a full investigation into the whole of the affair, by the sheriff-substitute and procurator-fiscal of the county, has been committed to prison to stand trial, charged with the perpetration of the murder.

15th.—BERENGER FRAUD.—This

day the sub-committee appointed to enquire into the late nefarious business relating to the death of Buonaparte, made their report to the stock exchange at large. A table was placed in the centre of the house, and four of the committee placed themselves on it. Mr Lawrence read the report, which, after a concise exordium of the motives which induced the committee to take up the business, proceeded to state, that they were happy to say that not the least suspicion attached to any member of that body, as being concerned in so scandalous a transaction, and which would, if proved on any individual, have produced his certain expulsion from the society. It then stated the evidence of the post-boy, named Shelling, who drove the pretended Colonel du Burgh, mentioning all the particulars relative to the imposition, stating that Buonaparte was dead, &c.; also of Crane, the hackney-coachman, who drove the colonel to No. 18, Green-street, Grosvenor-square, after he was set down at the Marsh gate, Lambeth.—The evidence of Sayer, the Bow-street officer, who was employed to find out who the house in Green-street was occupied by, stated that a Mr Durrand quitted it on the 12th of February, and let it furnished to Lord Cochrane, the Hon. Cochrane Johnstone, and Mr Butt, who came in on the 13th February, and occasionally met there several times previous to the Colonel du Burgh arriving; that on the colonel's arriving, he enquired for a particular name, and was told he was gone to breakfast in Cumberland-street, &c. to which he instantly repaired. Mr Fearn's evidence was next read over. He stated that he latterly had been in the habit of doing business in the funds for Lord Cochrane, Cochrane Johnstone, and Mr Butt; that he always understood that what business he did for Mr Butt was to be placed to Lord Cochrane's account; that on the 21st of February, which was the day the fraud was put in practice, he sold for

Lord Cochrane, . .	£139,000 omnium.
Cochrane Johnstone, .	120,000 omnium.
For ditto, ...	100,000 consols.
Mr Butt, ...	124,000 omnium.
For ditto, ...	168,000 consols.

That he was desired to sell them for the first account day in cash, but not to sell them for money; that he was surprised to find Lord Cochrane and Mr Butt had taken an office for him (Fearn) in Shorter's-court, Throgmorton-street, without his knowledge, where they used to meet him and give their orders. Mr Pitches, another broker's evidence, was next read. It stated that he was too ill to attend; but to a Mr Wakefield, one of the committee, who waited on him, he declared that he had sold for Lord Cochrane, Mr Johnstone, and Mr Butt, about 565,000l. omnium. A Mr Smallbones, another broker, had sold 40,000l. omnium for Lord C. and 40,000l. for Mr Butt. A Mr Richardson, a bookseller, had been applied to, to sell for the above parties a very large sum, but refused on account of his not being responsible for such a sum. Mr Christian, clerk to Mr Fearn, the stock-broker, unwillingly at first, but afterwards confessed, that he had changed a 50l. note, obtained by a check of 75l. of Mr Fearn's on Messrs Bond, the bankers, for one-pound notes, on Saturday the 19th of February, four of which one-pound notes were paid away by Colonel du Burgh. When further interrogated, he said the notes obtained for the 75l. check of Fearn's was on account of Mr Butt.

Mr David Ricardo, in a very animated speech, stated, that the stock exchange generally laboured under all the opprobrium of any foul transaction, when in fact they were the chief persons injured by such nefarious practices. He thought the investigation

could not be made too public, as it might operate so as to deter any other desperate characters from trying similar attempts. He therefore moved that the whole of the report might be printed, which motion was carried unanimously.

The impostor who had personated Colonel du Burgh has not been found, notwithstanding the diligence used for that purpose. There are still hopes, however, that he will not long elude the vigilance of those in quest of him. Lord Melville has had an interview with four of the committee of the stock exchange, upon the subject of the imposition.

Deposition of Lord Cochrane relative to this Business.

"Having obtained leave of absence to come to town in consequence of scandalous paragraphs in the public papers; and in consequence of having learnt that hand-bills had been affixed in the streets, in which I have since seen, that it is asserted that a person came to my house, at No. 13, Green-street, on the 21st day of February, in open day, and in the dress in which he had committed a fraud, I feel it due to myself to make the following deposition, that the public may know the truth relative to the only person seen by me in military uniform at my house on that day. COCHRANE."

13, *Green-street, March* 11, 1814.

"*No.* 13, *Green-street, Grosvenor-street, March* 11.

"I, Sir Thomas Cochrane, commonly called Lord Cochrane, having been appointed by the lords commissioners of the Admiralty to active service (at the request, I believe, of Sir Alexander Cochrane), when I had no expectation of being called on, I obtained leave of absence to settle my private affairs previous to quitting this country, and chiefly with a view to lodge a specification to a patent relative to a discovery for increasing the intensity of light.

"That in pursuance of my daily practice of superintending work that was executing for me, and knowing that my uncle, Mr Cochrane Johnstone, went to the city every morning in a coach, I do swear, on the morning of the 21st of February, which day was impressed on my mind by circumstances which afterwards occurred, I breakfasted with him at his residence in Cumberland-street, about half past eight o'clock, and I was put down by him (and Mr Butt was in the coach) on Snow-hill, about ten o'clock.

"That I had been about three quarters of an hour at Mr King's manufactory, at No. 1, Cock-lane, when I received a few lines on a small bit of paper, requesting me to come immediately to my house; the name affixed, from being written close to the bottom, I could not read; the servant told me it was from an army officer; and, concluding that he might be an officer from Spain, and that some accident had befallen to my brother, I hastened back, and I found Captain Berenger, who, in great seeming uneasiness, made many apologies for the freedom he had used, which nothing but the distressed state of the mind, arising from difficulties, could have induced him to do. All his prospects, he said, had failed, and his last hope had vanished of obtaining an appointment in America. He was unpleasantly circumstanced on account of a sum which he could not pay, and if he could, that others would fall upon him for full 8000l. He had no hope of benefiting his creditors in his present situation, or of assisting himself. That if I would take him with me, he would immediately go on board and exercise the sharp-shooters (which plan Sir

Alexander Cochrane I knew had approved of.) That he had left his lodgings, and prepared himself in the best way his means allowed. He had brought the sword with him which had been his father's, and to that and to Sir Alexander he would trust for an honourable appointment.

"I felt very uneasy at the distress he was in, and knowing him to be a man of great talent and science, I told him I would do every thing in my power to relieve him; but as to his going immediately to the Tonnant with any comfort to himself, it was quite impossible. My cabin was without furniture; I had not even a servant on board. He said he would willingly mess any where. I told him that the ward-room was already crowded, and, besides, I could not with propriety take him, he being a foreigner, without leave from the Admiralty. He seemed greatly hurt at this, and recalled to my recollection certificates which he had formerly shewn me from persons in official situations; Lord Yarmouth, General Jenkinson, and Mr Reeves, I think, were amongst the number. I recommended him to use his endeavour to get them or any other friends to exert their influence, for I had none; adding, that when the Tonnant went to Portsmouth, I should be happy to receive him; and I knew from Sir Alexander Cochrane, that he would be pleased if he accomplished that object. Captain Berenger said, that not anticipating any objection on my part from the conversation he had formerly had with me, he had come away with intention to go on board, and make himself useful in his military capacity; he could not go to Lord Yarmouth, or to any other of his friends in this dress (alluding to that which he had on,) or return to his lodgings, where it would excite suspicion (as he was at that time in the rules of the King's Bench,) but that if I refused to let him join the ship now, he would do so at Portsmouth. Under present circumstances, however, he must use a great liberty, and request the favour of me to lend him a hat to wear instead of his military cap; I gave him one which was in a back room with some things that had not been packed up, and having tried it on, his uniform appeared under his great coat; I therefore offered him a black coat that was lying on a chair, and which I did not intend to take with me: he put up his uniform in a towel, and shortly afterwards went away in great apparent uneasiness of mind; and having asked my leave, he took the coach I came in, and which I had forgotten to discharge in the haste I was in.

"I do further depose, that the above conversation is the substance of all that passed with Captain Berenger, which, from the circumstances attending it, was strongly inpressed upon my mind: that no other person in uniform was seen by me at my house, on Monday the 21st of February, though possibly other officers may have called (as many have done since my appointment;) of this, however, I cannot speak of my own knowledge, having been almost constantly from home, arranging my private affairs. I have understood, that many persons have called under the above circumstances, and have written notes in the parlour, and others have waited there in expectation of seeing me, and then gone away; but I most positively swear, that I never saw any person at my house resembling the description, and in the dress stated in the printed advertisement of the members of the stock exchange; I further aver, that I had no concern, directly or indirectly, in the the late imposition, and that the above is all that I know relative to any per-

son who came to my house in uniform on the 21st day of February before alluded to. Captain Berenger wore a grey great coat, a green uniform, and a military cap.

"From the manner in which my character has been attempted to be defamed, it is indispensably necessary to state that my connection in any way with the funds arose from an impression, that in the present favourable aspect of affairs, it was only necessary to hold stock in order to become a gainer, without prejudice to any body: that I did so openly, considering it in no degree improper, far less dishonourable: that I had no secret information of any kind; and that had my expectation of the success of affairs been disappointed, I should have been the only sufferer.

"Further I do most solemnly swear, that the whole of the omnium on account, which I possessed on the 21st day of February, one thousand eight hundred and fourteen, amounted to one hundred and thirty-nine thousand pounds, which I bought by Mr Fearn, I think, on the 12th ultimo, at a premium of twenty-eight and a quarter; that I did not hold on that day any other sum on account, in any other stock, directly or indirectly; and that I had given orders when it was bought to dispose of it on a rise of one per cent., and it was actually sold on an average at twenty-nine and a half premium, though on the day of the fraud it might have been disposed of at thirty-three and a half. I further swear, that the above is the only stock which I sold of any kind on the 21st day of February, except two thousand pounds in money which I had occasion for; the profit on which was about ten pounds.

"Further I do solemnly depose, that I had no connection or dealing with any one, save the above-mentioned, and that I did not at any time, directly or indirectly, by myself, or by any other, take or procure any office or apartment for any broker or other person for the transaction of stock affairs. "COCHRANE."

Sworn at my house in Great Queen-street, Lincoln's Inn-fields, in the county of Middlesex, the 11th day of March, 1814, before me,

A. GRAHAM.

15th.—A dreadful accident occurred at Leominster, by the falling in of a floor in the house of Mr J. Wynde, a respectable maltster. The floor, it appears, was loaded with a large quantity of wheat, but not being properly secured, some of the timbers gave way, and the whole was instantaneously precipitated through a second floor into the kitchen, where Mrs Wynde, her aunt, four children, and two female servants, were sitting. An alarm being immediately given by a man servant, who happened fortunately to escape, though buried nearly breast high, the most prompt assistance was afforded, and in less than half an hour the whole were dug out. The three younger children were dead from suffocation, and the two servants from violent contusions on their heads. Mrs Wynde, her aunt, and the eldest daughter, miraculously escaped death, the aunt and daughter being found in an upright situation, covered about breast high with fallen timbers, bricks, and grain. Mrs Wynde was the last that was discovered upon the floor, under the whole of the rubbish, and, by proper exertions, was soon recovered; but her immediate enquiries about the children, and her lamentations when informed of the fate of her family, were heart-rending beyond description. Mr Wynde, who had been subpœnaed to Worcester assizes, arrived next morning by express; and those who are husbands and parents may feel, but cannot describe, his situation.

16th.—In opening a vault in St Maryport church, Bristol, for the reception of the remains of Mrs Webb, of Queen's parade, the workmen discovered, very deeply concealed, a coffin of much antiquity. It is generally supposed that the corpse it contained was the body of —— Yeoman, Esq. sheriff of Bristol in 1643, when the city was surrendered to the parliamentary army by Prince Rupert. Mr Yeoman was hanged in Wine-street, by order of Fairfax, for his attachment to the royal cause, opposite his own house, that now occupied by Messrs Boord and Co., and in which there was some time since, if not at present, a very fine portrait of the sheriff. The corpse was, we understand, in the highest state of preservation: handsomely accoutred in the costume of the day, with gloves similar to those which the sheriffs at present wear; and there were considerable tumors visible in the neck, which inclined several medical gentlemen who inspected the body, to be of opinion that they were occasioned by strangulation.

21st.—The frost has been so excessively severe in the Baltic this winter, that the Sound, between Copenhagen and Sweden, was frozen over, and the communications over the ice, by means of sledges, open and uninterrupted.

26th.—Ramsgate.—Late on Thursday afternoon last, a route arrived here, for the detachment of the 2d dragoon guards, or queen's bays, to march to the head-quarters, Deal, the next morning. Accordingly, between nine and ten yesterday morning, the detachment was on parade under arms, and left the barracks, at which time an unfortunate circumstance took place. A private dragoon, named George Gregory, being intoxicated, was reported so by an officer to Major Gordon, who commanded the detachment, with the addition that the said Gregory was very refractory. On this Major Gordon said to the officer, "it is of no use talking to a drunken man, you will only get abusive language, perhaps: order him into the custody of the rear-guard." Immediately after the detachment marched, and the rear-guard not following so soon as it ought, Major Gordon, on enquiry, found that Gregory refused to go on. He went to him, and Gregory said to the Major, that he would not march until he was told why he was a prisoner. Major Gordon then said, "Gregory, you are drunk." The man said, "I am not drunk," and made use of mutinous language to the major, and still kept his horse back, refusing to go on. Major G. then seeing the corporal of the rear-guard without a sword, asked him the reason, and he was answered, that his sword was at the head-quarters to be sharpened. The major then observing that the refractory soldier had a sword, he drew it out of the scabbard, and struck the prisoner's horse several times with the flat part to make him go forward, Gregory still keeping a tight rein to prevent it. The horse turning sharp round, and the major holding the sword out, or repeating his stroke, the point entered Gregory's left side, just under the ribs, which caused such effusion of blood that he died in a few minutes. Major Gordon ran and assisted in disengaging him from the horse, saying, "for God's sake will any person run for medical assistance, and for a magistrate," as he wished to deliver himself up. He then delivered himself up to the deputy of Ramsgate, saying he was fearful he had killed the man: he knew not what he should do, and had no idea how it could possibly have been done, for it was unintentional. The coroner was instantly sent for, and a jury summoned, who, after hearing a great mass of evidence, returned a verdict of man-

slaughter against Major Gordon, who was accordingly committed and sent to Sandwich.

The major was afterwards tried for the murder of this man, of which he was acquitted; but was brought in guilty of manslaughter, the jury being of opinion, that he had used the sword incautiously.

28th.—A gang of swindlers have been detected, whose deep-laid and organised schemes of depredation have seldom been exceeded. It appears, that chambers in Clement's-inn were hired, which one of the gang occupied as an attorney, and another as his clerk, where there were papers and books, with writing going forward, like any other office for regular business; but since the discovery of the gang the papers have been seized, and proven to be for the purposes of fraud and deception only; such as plausible advertisements in the public papers, to deceive the unguarded, and a variety of schemes on paper for the purposes of plunder,—the respectability of a supposed attorney's office, in an inn of court, enabling them to carry on their depredations without suspicion. One of their advertisements was headed, "Misery unparalleled!" it went on to state the case of a widow confined in child-bed, surrounded by a numerous offspring, and afflicted with complicated misfortunes. It then proceeds, in very pathetic language, to solicit a further bounty in addition to what she had already received; and directs the subscriptions to be paid at a house, very respectable in appearance, in Maddox-street, Hanover-square, which belonged to the gang at the office in Clement's inn. To give the whole additional plausibility, they had the case handsomely printed on the best wove paper, and sent in great numbers to humane persons in the form of a letter, with a certificate by a student in midwifery of one of the principal hospitals; assigning as a reason for adopting that mode of address, its being cheaper than advertising. This imposing address appears to have had the desired effect on a great number of those whose hearts and pockets are always open to the afflicted. The gang had got possession of a number of houses, carrying on their schemes of depredations, some of them in the most respectable neighbourhoods in London. They contrived to live rent-free in most of the houses which they occupied, by means of one of them getting possession of a house by a false character, and giving it up to another of the gang whom the landlord had no claim upon. The discovery of the gang was made by a youth of the name of Shepherd, who answered one of their plausible advertisements for a place for a young man.

On Saturday week, about eight o'clock, an aged man, many years a porter in the king's printing-office, and well known in all the public offices by the name of Old John, received a visit from a fellow of genteel appearance, at his obscure lodging in Daw-court, under pretence that he came from a meeting of noblemen and gentlemen, at the Crown and Anchor, on charitable purposes, who all knew him, to desire his attendance upon them with all the silver he had got, and that for ten pounds he should receive fifteen in bank notes in return. Poor John could not resist temptations so powerful—the vanity of being introduced to great men, to whom, from habits, John is extremely partial, added to the little stimulus of the reward proposed, quite overset the weak intellects of the poor creature, who, after counting his treasure to the amount of ten pounds, which he put into a bag, set out for the Crown and Anchor, in his best attire. His guide, instead of going to the tavern, stopped at the entrance of the Rainbow public-house

near Temple-bar. Into this passage he entered, leading in the old man, desiring him to proceed to the bar of the house, and there wait till the meeting sent a deputation to receive him. In the meantime the miscreant withdrew, taking away the bag and its contents, the saving, perhaps, of sixty years industry.

30th.—An unfortunate action lately took place through mistake near Lisbon, between the Duke of Montrose packet and the Primrose sloop of war. By an extract from the Duke of Montrose's log, it appears that the action commenced at half past seven P. M. and lasted, broadside to broadside, within half-pistol shot, till a quarter before nine, when the Primrose attempted to carry the packet by boarding, but was gallantly resisted, and so much damaged as to oblige her to haul off at nine o'clock. The Primrose again came down, and recommenced the action, which was continued with the same unabated spirit on both sides until ten minutes before ten, when the Primrose hailed, and asked what ship it was? The mistake was soon discovered. The loss on board the packet is Lieutenant and Adjutant Andrews of the 60th regiment, (a passenger), and the master killed, and 10 men wounded. The loss on board the Primrose is her master and four men killed, and eighteen wounded.

31st.—According to an account laid before parliament, the number of three shilling tokens issued by the Bank of England from the 10th of December, 1812, to March, 1814, was 3,008,933, and their amount in value 451,347*l.* 9*s.* each token weighing 9dwts. 11grs., the silver of dollar standard. The number of eighteen-penny pieces issued in the same period was 1,510,440, the value 113,283*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* each weighing 4dwts. 17½grs. of dollar standard. No dollars were issued in the same period.

The Duchess of Oldenburg and the Duke of Clarence having landed from the Jason frigate at Sheerness, on Tuesday afternoon, one of the Prince Regent's carriages was dispatched yesterday morning for the purpose of conveying her Imperial Highness to town. General Turner and Colonel Bloomfield also departed yesterday in order to receive the Duchess on the part of the Prince Regent.

Her Imperial Highness was received on her landing at Sheerness, with all the honours due to her rank; and on coming ashore she was waited upon by General Turner and Col. Bloomfield, as representatives of the Prince Regent, and by the Russian ambassador and his lady. This morning after breakfast, her Imperial Highness left Sheerness, where every mark of respect was shewn her by the inhabitants. On her arrival at Rochester, her Imperial Highness went into an inn to partake of some refreshment; and on her being informed that the inhabitants of that city would be extremely gratified by seeing her, she very condescendingly presented herself at a bow-window of the inn. The populace appeared to feel the condescension, which they acknowledged by every mark of respect. The Duchess is a very elegant woman, of the most affable and pleasing manners, and speaks English extremely well.

On her arrival at the inn on Shooter's-hill, four of the Prince Regent's fine bays were in readiness to put to her carriage, with postillions and outriders of the Prince's establishment, and the escort of a party of light horse. The whole entered London by Parliament-street, at a quarter before four o'clock, in the following order:—

Two Light Horsemen.

The Duke of Clarence's Travelling Chariot and Four, in which were his Royal Highness and Colonel Bloomfield.

Two Light Horsemen.
Two Footmen and an Outrider in the Royal Liveries.
The Prince Regent's Carriage, drawn by Four Bays, in which was her Imperial Highness, accompanied by the Princess Volhowsky.
Madame Aladensky, and the Countess Lieven. The Carriage was followed by a party of Light Horse.
The third Carriage was another of the Prince Regent's, in which was the Prince Gagarin and General Turner.
The Russian Ambassador's Carriage, with his Excellency in it.

The procession proceeded through the Horse-Guards, through the Park, and up St James's-street, to the Pulteney hotel, where her Royal Highness proposes to reside.

AGRICULTURAL REPORT.

ENGLAND.—During the intervals of thaw, tillage has proceeded upon the light lands. Probably half of it may be finished upon such in most parts of the south. Farmers are anxiously waiting for the breaking up of the frost, when, with favourable weather, the lands may be expected to work in a more perfect state, and the seeding business to go on with rapidity. The thrashing-machine has, during a long time, been frequently recurred to, chiefly with the view of employing the labourers. Forward pease look well, and in general all the crops upon the ground. The wheats are a full plant, and although they appear sickly in colour, from the effects of the cold upon undrained and chilled soils, and in greatly exposed situations, there is little doubt of their perfect recovery in a genial spring, which may be reasonably expected to succeed the present severe season, and with the blessing of a good blooming time, another large wheat crop may be looked for. The straw-yard is in a good state, and the cattle healthy, but turnips short, and mostly decayed, from the severity of the weather, even in many instances where the roots were drawn and stored, but with insufficient care. Swedish turnips have generally resisted the frost, with some exceptions. The sheep have lambed very successfully, excepting where exposure to the severity of the frost has destroyed the lambs, and this misfortune has taken place to some extent, though by no means to that of former days. The incessant importunity of writers on husbandry, through so many years, has at length prevailed on a number of the farmers of all the well-managed districts, both of North and South Britain, to protect their sheep from the rigours of the winter, and their example, it is hoped, will become general with respect to other animals as well as sheep. Cattle markets exorbitantly high. Store pigs, said never to have been so scarce and dear, are reported to be worth 16s. per stone, of eight pounds. Wools still rising.

SCOTLAND.—The month began with favourable weather, but it continued so only for two or three days, as the wind turned round to the east, from which point it continued to blow for about two weeks, with almost constant snow or sleet, of course, during that period little could be done with advantage in the fields; and although the ploughing of clover lee was in general got over by the 23d, yet it was only a few particularly dry fields that could be sown previous to that day, when heavy rains again suspended the operations of the farmer. As the weather, however, has been dry for several days past, almost every farmer is now busily engaged in drilling pease and beans, or in sowing oats; and as the season is now so far advanced, it

will be of the utmost consequence that these important operations are brought to a speedy conclusion. Very little wheat has been sown this spring, which may probably cause a greater extent of barley to be sown this season than is usual in this district. Vegetation is still very languid; the gooseberry bushes are only beginning to get into leaf, and even the "leafless crocus" has but lately shewn its flower. Nevertheless, the young wheats have revived wonderfully of late, and, notwithstanding the severity of the season, almost every field appears well stocked with healthy plants. The grasses, as might be expected, are very backward; those, therefore, who have a stock of sheep without supply of turnip, will experience a part of the evils resulting from such cold weather. The corn markets have been well supplied during the month, perhaps more so than if the weather had been more favourable, as the cattle in the straw yards required a greater quantity of fodder to keep them comfortable during the rains, and the farmer could often find little other employment than thrashing for his men and horses; still, however, the stack-yards are in general well filled for this time of the year, of course there are no appearances to encourage the expectation of any material alteration in the prices of grain. Fat cattle and sheep have been very scarce for some time past, particularly the latter, which frequently were not to be had; the prices of butcher meat have therefore been unusually high, beef being from 9d. to 9½d. and mutton 9d. to 11d. per lb.; of lamb, there has been little or none as yet used in the district.

APRIL.

1st.—The following are the acts of the provisional government on the deposition of Buonaparte :—

Address to the French armies, Paris, April 2, 1814.

Soldiers!—France has just broken the yoke under which she has groaned with you for so many years. You never have fought but for the country; you can no longer fight, unless against it, under the colours of the man who leads you. Behold all that you have suffered from his tyranny; you were lately a million of men; nearly all have perished; they were delivered up to the sword of the enemy, without food, without hospitals; they were condemned to perish of misery and hunger. Soldiers! it is full time to end the calamities of the country; peace is in your hands. Will you refuse it to desolated France? Your enemies themselves demand it of you; they regret to ravage these fine countries, and wish only to take arms against your oppressor and ours. Shall you be deaf to the voice of the country which summons and entreats you? It addresses you by its senate, by its capital, and, above all, by its misfortunes; you are its noblest children, and cannot belong to him who has ravaged it, who has delivered it up without arms, without defence; who wished to render your name odious to all nations, and who would have compromised your glory;—if a man, who is not even a Frenchman, could have weakened the glory of our arms, and the generosity of our soldiers. You are no longer the soldiers of Napoleon; the senate and all France absolve you from your oaths. (Signed Prince of Benevento, François de Montesquieu, Dalberg, Beurnonville, Jaucourt.)

The provisional government declares, that the Moniteur is the only official journal.

Boux Laborie, secretary-general, April 3.

Reasons of the senate for deposing Buonaparte.

Extracts from the registers of the conservative senate.—Sitting of April 3, under the presidency of Count Barthelemy. The sitting, which has been adjourned, was resumed at four o'clock, when the senator, Count Lambrecht, read the revised and adopted plan of the decree which passed in the sitting of yesterday. It is as follows:—"The conservative senate, considering that in a constitutional monarchy, the monarch exists only in virtue of the constitution or social compact; that Napoleon Buonaparte, during a certain period of firm and prudent government; afforded to the nation reasons to calculate for the future on acts of wisdom and justice; but that afterwards he violated the compact which united him to the French people, particularly in levying imposts and establishing taxes otherwise than in virtue of the law, against the express tenor of the oath which he had taken on ascending the throne, conformable to article 55 of the act of the constitution of the 28th Floreal, year 12; that he committed this attack on the rights of the people, even in adjourning, without necessity, the legislative body, and causing to be suppressed as criminal, a report of that body, the title of which, and its share in the national representation he disputed; that he undertook a series of wars in violation of article 50 of the act of the constitution of the 22d Frimaire, year 8, which purports, that declarations of war should be proposed, debated, decreed, and promulgated in the same manner as laws; that he issued, unconstitutionally, several decrees inflicting the punishment of death, particularly the two decrees of the 5th of March last, tending to cause to be considered as national, a war which would not have taken place but for the interests of his boundless ambition; that he violated the constitutional laws by his decrees respecting the prisoners of state; that he annulled the responsibility of the minister, confounded all authorities, and destroyed the independence of judicial bodies. Considering that the liberty of the press, established and consecrated as one of the rights of the nation, has been constantly subjected to the arbitrary controul of his police; and that, at the same time, he has always made use of the press to fill France and Europe with misrepresentations, false maxims, doctrines favourable to despotism, and insults on foreign governments; that acts and reports heard by the senate have undergone alterations in the publication. Considering that, instead of reigning according to the terms of his oath, with a sole view to the interest, the happiness, and the glory of the French people, Napoleon completed the misfortunes of his country, by his refusal to treat on conditions which the national interests required him to accept, and which did not compromise the French honour; by the abuse which he made of all the means entrusted to him in men and money; by the abandonment of the wounded without dressings, without assistance, and without subsistence; by various measures, the consequences of which were the ruin of the towns, the depopulation of the country, famine, and contagious diseases. Considering that for all these causes, the imperial government established by the senatus consultum of the 28th Floreal, year 12, has ceased to exist, and the wish manifested by all Frenchmen calls for an order of things, the first results of which should be the restoration of general peace, and which should also be the æra of a solemn reconciliation of all the states of the great European family:—The senate declares and decrees as follows:—Art. 1. Napoleon Buonaparte has forfeited the throne, and the hereditary

right established in his family abolished. 2. The French people and the army are released from their oath of fidelity towards Napoleon Buonaparte. 3. The present decree shall be transmitted by a message to the provisional government of France, conveyed forthwith to all the departments and the armies, and immediately proclaimed in the capital."

Constitutional Charter of France under Louis XVIII.

Extract from the register of the legislative senate of the 6th of April, 1814.

"The conservative senate, deliberating upon the plan of constitution presented to it by the provisional government, in execution of the act of the senate of the 1st instant, after having heard the report of a special commission of seven members, decrees as follows:—

"The French government is monarchical, and hereditary from male to male, in order of primogeniture. The French people call freely to the throne of France Louis Stanislaus Xavier de France, brother of the last king, and after him the other members of the house of Bourbon, in the ancient order. The ancient nobility resume their titles. The new preserve theirs hereditarily. The legion of honour is maintained with its prerogatives. The king shall fix the decoration. The executive power belongs to the king. The king, the senate, and the legislative body, concur in the making of laws. Plans of laws may be equally proposed in the senate and in the legislative body. Those relating to contributions can only be proposed in the legislative body. The king can invite equally the two bodies to occupy themselves upon objects which he deems proper. The sanction of the king is necessary for the completion of a law. There are 150 senators at least, and 200 at most. Their dignity is immoveable, and hereditary from male to male, in order of primogeniture. They are named by the king. The present senators, with the exception of those who should renounce the quality of French citizen, are maintained, and form part of this number. The actual endowment of the senate and the senatorships belonging to them. The revenues are divided equally between them, and pass to their successors. In case of the death of a senator without direct male posterity, his portion returns to the public treasure. The senators who shall be named in future cannot partake of this endowment. The princes of the royal family and the princes of the blood, are by right members of the senate. The functions of a senator cannot be exercised until the person has attained the age of twenty-one years. The senate decides the cases in which the discussion of objects before them shall be public or secret. Each department shall send to the legislative body the same number of deputies it sent thither. The deputies who sat in the legislative body at the period of the last adjournment shall continue to sit till they are replaced. All preserve their pay. In future they shall be chosen immediately by the electoral bodies, which are preserved, with the exception of the changes that may be made by a law in their organization. The duration of the functions of the deputies to the legislative body is fixed at five years. The new election shall take place for the session of 1816. The legislative body shall assemble of right each year on the 1st of October. The king may convoke it extraordinarily; he may adjourn it; he may also dissolve it; but in the latter case another legislative body must be formed in three months at the latest, by the electoral colleges. The legislative body has the right of discussion. The sittings are public, un-

less in cases where it chooses to form itself into a general committee. The senate, legislative body, electoral colleges, and assemblies of cantons, elect their president from among themselves. No member of the senate or legislative body can be arrested without a previous authority from the body to which he belongs. The trial of a member of the senate or legislative body belongs exclusively to the senate. The ministers may be members either of the senate or legislative body. Equality of proportion in the taxes is of right: no tax can be imposed or received unless it has been freely consented to by the legislative body and the senate. The land-tax can only be established for a year. The budget of the following year, and the accounts of the preceding year, are presented annually to the legislative body and the senate, at the opening of the sitting of the legislative body. The law shall fix the mode and amount of the recruiting of the army. The independence of the judicial power is guaranteed. No one can be removed from his natural judges. The institution of juries is preserved, as well as the publicity of trial in criminal matters. The penalty of confiscation of goods is abolished. The king has the right of pardoning. The courts and ordinary tribunals existing at present are preserved; their number cannot be diminished or increased, but in virtue of a law. The judges are for life and irremoveable, except the justices of the peace and the judges of commerce. The commissioners and extraordinary tribunals are suppressed, and cannot be re-established. The court of cessation, the courts of appeal, and the tribunals of the first instance, propose to the king three candidates for each place of judge vacant in their body. The king chooses one of the three. The king names the first presidents and the public ministry of the courts and the tribunals. The military on service, the officers and soldiers on half-pay, the widows and pensioned officers, preserve their ranks, honours, and pensions. The person of the king is sacred and inviolable. All the acts of government are signed by a minister. The ministers are responsible for all which those acts contain violatory of the laws, public and private liberty, and the rights of citizens. The freedom of worship and conscience is guaranteed. The ministers of worship are treated and protected alike. The liberty of the press is entire, with the exception of the legal repression of offences which may result from the abuse of that liberty. The senatorial commissions of the liberty of the press and individual liberty are preserved. The public debt is guaranteed. The sales of the national domains are irrevocably maintained. No Frenchman can be prosecuted for opinions or votes which he has given. Every person has the right to address individual petitions to every constituted authority. All Frenchmen are equally admissible to all civil and military employments. All the laws existing at present remain in vigour, until they be legally repealed. The code of civil laws shall be entitled "Civil Code of the French." The present constitution shall be submitted to the acceptance of the French people, in the form which shall be regulated. Louis Stanislaus Xavier shall be proclaimed king of the French, as soon as he shall have signed and sworn, by an act stating—"I accept the constitution; I swear to observe it, and cause it to be observed." This oath shall be repeated in the solemnity, when he shall receive the oath of fidelity of the French.

Prince of Benevento,
President, &c."

2d.—A cause of some interest to

travellers was tried at the Lancaster assizes, in which Mr G. H. Drummond, M. P. for the county of Kincardine, was plaintiff, and Michael Whitehead, landlord of the Bull inn, Preston, defendant. It appeared from the statement of Mr Parke, that the plaintiff, his lady, and family, accompanied by two gentlemen, stopped at defendant's house, in Preston, on their way to Scotland, in July last. Defendant had then no other horses at home but those which had brought plaintiff's two carriages from Chorley, and which were so much knocked up as to render it impossible for them to proceed. Plaintiff was, in consequence, obliged to order horses from another inn, which defendant thought proper to resist, saying, that he should not leave his house unless with his horses; and on being remonstrated with, proceeded by force to carry his threat into effect, and, by his outrageous conduct and abusive language, collected a mob, and thus for several hours, with force and violence, prevented the horses being put to; and it was not till after repeated applications to the mayor, nor till he had personally interposed his authority, that plaintiff was enabled to proceed. The case was satisfactorily proved by the gentlemen who were of the party, and the plaintiff's servant. The defendant called no witnesses, but the jury were addressed by Mr Topping in mitigation of damages, on the ground of his being intoxicated at the time, and the heavy costs he would have to pay. The jury deliberated a few minutes, and returned a verdict for the plaintiff—Damages 50l.

9th.—Edinburgh.—Colonel De Burgh.—Yesterday, Berenger, who is charged with having performed so conspicuous a part under the character of Colonel De Burgh, in the late Stock Exchange fraud, was apprehended in the Britannia tavern, Leith. He was traced from London to Sunderland, and thence to Edinburgh, by Woods of the Alien Office, and Watkins from Sunderland. At Edinburgh, he took out a ticket in one of the Glasgow coaches, to elude pursuit, and it was not till the return from that city of those who followed him, that the captain was discovered at Leith, where he had all this time remained, and was about to embark for Holland. He was found in bed by Mr Trotter, acting chief magistrate in absence of the Lord Provost, and brought to the Council Chamber, where he was kept in custody till five o'clock, and sent off for London in a chaise and four, accompanied by the above-mentioned persons, and Archibald Campbell, one of the city officers, who had contributed materially to his detection.

Berenger is a middle-sized man, and was dressed in a black coat and vest, with grey overalls. His face is a little pitted with the small-pox, and has the appearance of having been much exposed to the weather. An immense crowd assembled in the Exchange to see him set off.

13th.—Two sheriff's officers went to the house of Jacob Francis, at Banham, near Launceston, to levy an execution on his goods. On stating their business they were violently assaulted by Francis (who is an old man), his wife and family, who, being armed with sticks, knives, &c. compelled the officers to withdraw, after an ineffectual attempt to discharge their duty, in which they were both wounded. Having procured the assistance of some constables of Launceston, the officers again repaired to the house, where they found the door shut, and the family armed, and were told, that whoever dared to enter should lose his life. They, however, forced an entrance, and having seized the old man, were about to disarm him, when a

fowling-piece was discharged at one of the constables, named Jory, and its contents having entered his side, he fell dead on the spot. The whole of the family were taken into custody.

15th.—At the late Somerset assizes, a cause of the greatest importance to sportsmen was tried, by which it was established, that no person has a right to destroy dogs belonging to other persons, whether trespassing or not, and that cautionary boards are of no avail. The action was brought by Mr Corner, against T. S. Champneys, Esq. and his gamekeeper, for shooting the plaintiff's greyhound, which was proved by several gentlemen to be a most valuable animal. It appeared that Mr Champneys had ordered his servants to destroy all dogs found on his premises; and one witness stated that the dog was forcibly taken, tied to the stump of a tree, and there shot and buried. The defendant attempted to justify himself by stating that he had cautionary boards put up, specifying, that all dogs found on his grounds would be shot. The learned judge animadverted severely on Mr Champney's conduct, and stated, that such notice would not justify the destruction of dogs. The jury returned a verdict for the plaintiff—Damages 50l.

NOTTINGHAM.—On Sunday night last, about twelve o'clock, Mr Orgil's patent lace manufactory, at Castle Donington, Leicestershire, was forcibly entered by a band of desperadoes, supposed ten or twelve, and the entire machinery, consisting of twelve warp lace frames, reduced to a heap of ruins, with the exception of one, which received only a partial injury. The depredators, not content with committing havoc on the machinery, cut or burnt all the valuable cotton-yarn and lace-pieces within the premises. The dry timber materials they attempted to fire; and had their scheme succeeded, the whole building might have presented one vast mass of flame. Mr and Mrs Orgil being roused from their sleep, the latter threw up a sash, and put her head out of the window to learn what the matter was; but before a word was exchanged, one of the villains that stood sentry discharged a pistol or musket at her head, the contents of which she distinctly felt pass by her. After the work of destruction was over, one of the wretches exclaimed, "Old Simon, before we leave you, I will have another peg at you!" when two pieces were immediately discharged, the heavy shot from which perforated the glass of the bed-room window in more than twenty places; but Mr Orgil, though in the room, received no personal injury. Several persons who worked with him some time ago, and who left him in consequence of a dispute about prices, have been seized.

16th.—This day the foundation-stone was laid of the new house, with which the Marquis of Queensberry has resolved to adorn the estate of his ancestors. Its site is chosen with much taste and judgment on a rising ground near the entry to the old house of Kelhead, and it promises to be, not only in extent of accommodation and elegance of plan, but also in beauty of situation, by far the most magnificent place in the south of Scotland. Some of the neighbouring gentlemen, and a number of the respectable tenantry belonging to the estate, assembled to witness the ceremony, and the foundation-stone being laid, W. Grierson, Esq. the marquis's factor, stated that he had been deputed by his lordship to preside on this occasion, with authority to give to this new residence the ancient name of Kinmont-house. A glass bottle was deposited beneath the foundation stone, containing a specimen of all the different coins current in the united kingdom, and the names of the noble owner, the architect, the master-builder, and

the overseer of the work, together with the London gazette, announcing the abdication of the French autocrat, and a copy of the Dumfries Courier, which contains the glorious details connected with that joyful and astonishing event.

On the 14th the ice of the river Duna broke up, but again congealed and stuck fast on the 16th. The consequence was, that the water burst through the dykes, and caused damage in Riga to the amount of 30 millions of roubles. More than 80 vessels with hemp were sunk, and a great quantity of timber and masts, besides 400 houses, destroyed.

18th.—On the 15th a novel spectacle presented itself at Portsmouth in the arrival of the Polonaise French ship of the line, of 80 guns, with a French rear-admiral's flag and the Bourbon colours flying, being the first French ship of that description that ever anchored at Spithead not as a prize. She was commanded by Rear-Admiral Trouett, and brought over a deputation, consisting of five French gentlemen, to Louis XVIII. from the principal authorities and inhabitants of Cherbourg, to congratulate him upon his happy restoration.

A spirit of insubordination has begun to be again manifested in the neighbourhood of Nottingham. Threatening letters have been sent to some of the most respectable hosiers: And Saturday's Gazette offers the Prince Regent's pardon, and a reward of 200 guineas, for the discovery and apprehension of five or six persons disguised in flannel shirts, who, early in the morning of the 4th instant, broke into the shop of Mr Morley, of Greasley, in the county of Nottingham, and destroyed several stocking-frames, with the work that was on them.

19th.—Thomas Bryan, of Bilston, in Staffordshire, a miner, after having been drinking the whole of the day, returned to his house about eight o'clock, in company with a person named Nevett, his companion in the day's merriment, and his wife, Mary Bryan, who had been with them for a short time. They supped together; and the woman afterwards went out at the front door, leaving her husband and Nevett together. A few minutes after, Nevett went out for a short time, when Bryan immediately took up his hat, went out at the back door, and at length round the house to the front door, apparently agitated with jealousy. His wife very soon followed him into the house: Bryan said to her, "Well, thee art come, art?" at which she smiled, and replied, "Aye, lad, I am come." He then said, "Aye, and I'll be with thee in a minute;" upon which he quitted his seat, and taking from the chimney-piece a large carving knife, went towards his wife, who met him, and a scuffle ensued. Nevett interfered, and pulled him away, but too late; the blood flowed upon the floor. A surgeon was sent for, after whose arrival she gasped two or three times, and then expired. Bryan was immediately taken into custody: And on Friday an inquest was held, when the Jury returned a verdict of wilful murder against the said T. Bryan, who was in consequence committed to Stafford gaol.

20th.—On this day the inhabitants of London were gratified with the extraordinary and interesting spectacle of the solemn entry of a king of France. Louis XVIII. from his retreat at Hartwell, being summoned to assume the crown of his native kingdom, was invited by the Prince Regent, first to display the royal dignity in the capital of England; and nothing could surpass the respectful attention, and, as it may be termed, the affectionate sympathy exhibited in the whole behaviour of his Royal Highness towards the illustrious stranger, now,

from an exile, become a potent monarch. His feelings appeared to be communicated to the whole British public; and a sovereign could scarcely be welcomed into his own capital with more cordial rejoicing, than Louis was into the British metropolis.

Early on the day, an arrangement for the king's entrance was issued from the Horse-guards, directing all the military part of the procession, which was rendered as full and splendid as the present diminished state of the guards and other troops would permit.

At four in the morning the Prince Regent's state-carriage, with seven of the usual royal equipages, with outriders, had set out for Stanmore, where his majesty was to breakfast. At eleven o'clock two troops of the Oxford Blues, in their state uniforms, arrived at Kilburn-turnpike, to escort the Prince Regent to Stanmore.

Her Majesty and the Princesses Elizabeth and Mary arrived at the Queen's-palace, from Windsor. The Prince Regent, after giving an audience to Earl Bathurst, left Carlton-house in his travelling carriage, for Stanmore, at half-past twelve o'clock, attended by the Duke of Montrose, Master of the Horse, and Viscount Melbourne, the Lord in Waiting. His Royal Highness's postillions were dressed in white jackets, with white hats and cockades.

The Duchess of Oldenburg sent invitations to the Queen, and the Princesses Elizabeth, Mary, Charlotte of Wales, and Sophia of Gloucester, to come to the Pulteney hotel, to see the royal procession: They all went except her majesty; and there the royal party were also joined by the Russian Ambassador, the Countess Lieven, General Taikescoff, the Baron Nicolai, &c.

The Prince Regent arrived at the Abercorn Arms inn, at Stanmore, about two o'clock, from whence the procession was to proceed. The town of Stanmore exhibited the most novel sight: There was hardly a house that did not display tokens of respect, by means of flags, ribbands, &c. Numbers of the nobility and gentry of that part of the country, and in fact every person who could procure a horse, went a mile out of the town to accompany the king of France into Stanmore; and when his majesty had got within a short distance, the populace, who had become extremely numerous, took the horses from his carriage, and drew him into the village. The Prince Regent was at the door of the inn in readiness to receive his majesty, which his Royal Highness did according to the custom of the French nation by embracing him: They conversed in the French language. The king was dressed in blue and gold, resembling the Windsor uniform. The Prince Regent was in full regimentals, with his Russian and English orders.

The procession being formed, it began to move in the following order, at 20 minutes past three o'clock:

One Hundred Gentlemen on Horseback.
Horse Trumpeters.
A numerous party of the Royal Horse Guards.
Six Royal Carriages, the servants with white cockades; an outrider to each carriage.
A party of the Royal Horse Guards.

Lastly, came the State Carriage, in which were the King of France, and the Prince Regent, drawn by eight cream coloured horses, and surmounted by the Royal Standard of England.

An officer of the royal horse guards rode at each window, and a numerous party of horse closed the procession.

Though, from some changes in the arrangements, it became generally known in the morning, that the train could not reach town till between five and six o'clock, such was the impatience of the multitude, that the principal avenues were crowded from noon. But this multitude was not the mere populace; persons of the first distinction lined the road with their equipages; and perhaps not the least delightful and admirable part of the day's exhibition was to be found among the spectators. The day was fine, a sky almost without a cloud: Wherever the eye ranged it fell on splendour and beauty, attitudes and countenances of loveliness and joy. From Albemarle-street to the Park was almost one mass of carriages, with females of the first fashion standing on the seats. Every balcony and window in that stately range of buildings was full, waving with the Bourbon flag or wreathed with white. About one o'clock a troop of the Life Guards took their stand opposite the Pulteney Hotel, with the band of the regiment. This spot attracted an unusual concourse.

About four miles from town, the procession met the line of vehicles, which preserved even so far a nearly unbroken continuity. The villas on each side were decorated, scaffoldings raised, and even the trees hung with the flag of the lilies. As it advanced, couriers were dispatched to announce its approach. At half-past five it entered the Park by Cumberland Gate. On its opening out into Piccadilly, the whole view was eminently striking. From the ascent near the Green Park, the total pomp lay under the eye; and the combination of military splendour, stately movement, and countless multitude, gave a coup-d'œil of unrivalled richness, interest, and variety. A troop of gentlemen on horseback, with white cockades, led the way. The carriages followed, escorted by detachments of the Life Guards. A strong body of the 14th Light Dragoons and London Volunteer Horse brought up the rear. The ceremonial moved slowly on, impeded by the eagerness of the multitude.

When his majesty entered Grillon's Hotel in Albemarle-street, he had hold of the prince's arm, who conducted him to the principal apartment prepared for the French monarch, *fleurs de lis* being embroidered in gold upon hangings of crimson velvet. In this superb room, the Earls of Buckinghamshire, Bathurst, and Liverpool, the foreign ambassadors, and about one hundred and fifty of the ancient French noblesse, were in attendance to receive his majesty, who seeming much fatigued, an arm chair was brought, in which his majesty seated himself, the Duke of York on his left, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent and the Duchess D'Angouleme on his right, the Prince de Condé and the Duc de Bourbon facing him, with all his suite surrounding him. The Marquis of Hertford and the Earl of Cholmondeley were behind the chair.

The Prince Regent then address his majesty to the following effect:—

" Your majesty will permit me to offer you my heartiest congratulations upon that great event which has always been amongst the warmest of my wishes, and which must eminently contribute to the happiness not only of your majesty's people, but to the repose and happiness of all other nations. I am sure I may add, that my own sentiments and feelings are in unison with those of the universal British nation, and that the triumph and transport with which your majesty will be

received in your own capital, can scarcely exceed the joy and satisfaction which your majesty's restoration to the throne of your ancestors has created in the capital of the British empire."

To which his Majesty replied,—

"Your Royal Highness will accept my most sincere and grateful thanks for your Royal Highness's congratulations—for the invariable kindness with which I have been treated by your Royal Highness, and by every member of your illustrious House. It is to your Royal Highness's councils, to this great country, and to the constancy of its people, that I shall always ascribe, under Providence, the restoration of our house to the throne of our ancestors, and that state of affairs which promises to heal the wounds, to calm the passions, and to restore the peace, tranquillity, and prosperity of all nations."

His majesty then, assisted by the Prince de Condé, and the Duke de Bourbon, taking the ribband of the order of *Saint Esprit* from his own shoulder, and the star from his breast, invested the Prince with it, declaring his happiness, that it should be upon his Royal Highness he should first have the honour of conferring that ancient order, upon his restoration. His Royal Highness soon after took leave.

Fontainbleau, April, 21st.—Buonaparte set out from this town yesterday, at eleven in the forenoon (and not on the 19th, as stated in one of our journals,) followed by 14 carriages. His escort required 60 post horses. The four commissioners of the allied powers who accompany him, are M. Scuwalow, the Prussian general Kolhere, an English general, and another general, supposed to be an Austrian.—Four officers of his household, among others his baker, form part of his retinue. Very few military men are gone with him, and they intend, as is reported, to leave him at the place of embarkation. At the moment of his departure, he addressed the officers and subalterns of the old guard, who were still about his person, nearly in these words:

"I bid you farewell. For these 20 years that we have been together, I have been satisfied with you. I have always found you on the road to glory. All the powers of Europe have taken up arms against me. Part of my generals have betrayed their duty, and France herself has betrayed hers.

"With you, and the brave men who remained faithful to me, I have for three years preserved France from civil war.

"Be faithful to the new king whom France has chosen, and forsake not your dear country, which has too long been unfortunate.

"Lament not my fate; I shall be happy, when I know that you are so.

"I could have been satisfied to die—nothing would have been more easy for me—but I wish still to pursue the road to glory—I will write the history of our achievements.

"I cannot embrace you all, but I will embrace your general—Come, General—(He embraced him.)

"Bring me the eagle—let me embrace it too—(He embraced the eagle.)—Ah! beloved eagle, may the kisses which I bestow on thee resound in the ears of posterity! Farewell, my children! Farewell, my brave fellows! Come round me once more!"

The staff, accompanied by the four commissioners of the allied powers, then formed a circle round him.

Buonaparte afterwards got into his carriage.—At this moment he was unable to suppress his emotion, and he shed some tears. At the moment of his departure he asked for Constant, his first valet-de-chambre, but he had hid himself, probably that he might

not accompany Buonaparte, though he had the preceding day received a gratuity of 50,000 francs.

22d.—The Right Honourable Lord Mayor, the aldermen, recorder, sheriffs, city officers, and common council of the city of London, waited upon his majesty Louis XVIII. king of France, at Grillon's hotel, in Albemarle-street, with an address, which was read by John Silvester, Esq. the recorder.

23d.—This morning, about eight o'clock, his most Christian majesty, the Duchess of Angouleme, the Prince de Condé, and the Duke de Bourbon, left London to embark at Dover for France. An immense concourse of people had assembled in Albemarle-street at an early hour. The escort of horse-guards took their station opposite Grillon's hotel soon after six. About seven the Prince of Condé and the Duke of Bourbon arrived; in a short time afterwards they were joined by the Duke of Sussex, who came on horseback, and wore his full dress highland uniform. The Duke of Kent followed. Both their royal highnesses received the affectionate greetings of those assembled.

Between seven and eight o'clock it was announced that the Duchess of Angouleme was approaching, to pay her dutiful reverence to her sovereign and uncle, before his departure, her royal highness going from her house in South Audley-street. Immediately every head was uncovered, and every voice was exerted to announce the esteem and respect generally felt for the amiable daughter of Louis XVI. Her royal highness remained with her uncle about a quarter of an hour, and on her return was handed to her carriage by the Duke of Kent. She seemed much affected, bowed several times, and repeatedly pronounced the word "adieu" to those about her.

About eight o'clock his majesty descended from his apartments; and as soon as the populace perceived him, they saluted him with three hearty cheers. His majesty returned this compliment by repeatedly bowing. He appeared in the highest spirits. The Duke de Duras accompanied him. When the carriage drove off, he was again cheered, and the populace exclaimed—*God bless your majesty—a happy return to your native country.* He bowed on each side several times. His majesty proceeded down St James's-street, Pall-mall, and Parliament-street, over Westminster-bridge.

The Dukes of Sussex and Kent rode by the side of the carriage, and conversed with the king. The Prince of Condé and the Duke de Bourbon followed. The royal carriages were preceded and followed by an escort of cavalry.

The Prince Regent, accompanied by Lord Yarmouth and Colonel Bloomfield, quitted Carleton-house at six o'clock the same morning, and proceeded to Dover, to be in readiness to receive his majesty, and to remain with him till his final departure from this country.

Upon the arrival of his majesty in Kent, he was met by the Marquis Camden, lord lieutenant of the county, attended by a detachment of the Kentish yeomanry, by whom his majesty was escorted to Dover. The whole road was lined with spectators. The towns through which he passed were decorated with white banners and flags, the bells were set a-ringing, guns were fired, and in fact every possible demonstration of respect and affection was exhibited on this novel but happy occasion.

24th.--Dover.--At one o'clock this afternoon the Royal Sovereign yacht sailed from our pier head, having on board his majesty Louis XVIII.; at four o'clock she was seen at anchor in

Calais roads. The departure of his majesty from the hospitable shores of England, and his return to the throne of his ancestors, took place in presence of one of the most numerous and delighted assemblages that a happy concurrence of events could bring together. The pier and the whole of the shore were also lined with troops, who had been assembled in honour of the occasion from different parts of the district.

A little before one o'clock the Prince Regent, accompanied by Lord Yarmouth, Colonel Bloomfield, &c. having taken leave of his majesty, came ashore from the Royal Sovereign yacht, which was stationed quite close to the quay, and was received by a royal salute from the whole line of troops. The king of France did not appear upon deck; but the Duke de Bourbon, and the other French nobility present, took off their hats on the Regent's leaving the ship. The tide then serving, the Royal Sovereign got under weigh, and passed the pier-head under a salute from all the batteries. Here the scene was most interesting: the Prince Regent had taken his station on the farthest point of the pier, and cheered the vessel as she passed, in which he was accompanied by an immense concourse of spectators of all classes. It would be difficult to describe the feelings to which such a scene gave birth. Its novelty, its importance, the various circumstances attending the principal personages engaged in it, all contributed to render it interesting and impressive in the highest degree; tears and acclamations were mixed, and all appeared affected.

On the yacht reaching the roads, she was received by a royal salute from the ships of war there stationed, among which was the Jason, the flag ship of the Duke of Clarence. She then ran over for Calais with a fine breeze, and was only between three and four hours on her passage.

25th.—CALAIS.—The different yachts sailed out of Dover harbour in the most majestic style, and as the breeze was extremely favourable, they proceeded across the channel with the utmost rapidity, accompanied and convoyed by the fleet under the command of the Duke of Clarence. On arriving off the French coast, the royal yacht hove to, when the Duke of Clarence, in the Jason frigate, passed her, fired a royal salute, and then manned his yards, gave three cheers, and bore away. Every ship of the fleet passed the royal yacht, saluted and cheered. The Royal Sovereign yacht then approached the harbour of Calais, and was received by a roar of cannon, which lasted upwards of two hours, and was in extent along the French coast further than the eye could reach; from Calais to Boulogne appeared in one entire blaze. The Duke of Clarence having now performed his high and gratifying functions of conveying a restored monarch to the country of his ancestors, immediately sailed back for England.

28th.—The return of peace and intercourse with the continent of Europe has produced a great increase to the trade of Leith: upwards of seventy vessels have sailed for Holland, and different parts of the continent, within the last four weeks, all laden with valuable cargoes of British manufactures and colonial produce, and a great many more are preparing to sail for the same destination.

AGRICULTURAL REPORT.

Sowing not having become general till towards the end of March, a good deal of barley still remains to be put into the ground. The rains, in the end of April, have greatly retarded all the usual operations of the season, and

particularly the planting of potatoes, and the sowing of grass-seeds among autumn and winter sown wheat. The present appearance of the wheat crop is in many situations by no means favourable, and very little could be sown in spring. The mild showery weather of April has produced a rapid vegetation, and cultivated herbage and pastures are somewhat more forward than usual at this period. The immense loss of turnips, by the uncommon severity of last winter, has thus been fortunately but little felt. Yellow and Swedish turnips, which, though partially injured, have suffered in a much less degree than the common kinds, must in future be highly appreciated.

Corn-markets continued almost steady, till about a month ago; and butcher's meat was gradually advancing. The glorious occurrences on the continent have since that time occasioned a general stagnation in the home corn trade; and both fat and lean cattle have declined in price considerably. Grass parks, also, have been let, in most instances, at a reduction of rent; in some places, of so much as 15 and 20 per cent. The wages of labour have in no instance fallen, notwithstanding the low prices of grain for the last six months; and in manufacturing districts, the wages of farm-labourers are even now rising much above the average of late years.

MAY.

2d.—FRANCE.—The progress of Louis XVIII. from Calais to Compeigne, which he reached on the 30th ult. was much retarded by the prodigious concourse of people who flocked from all quarters to welcome his return. At Compeigne he was waited on by Monsieur his brother, the allied sovereigns, French marshals, &c. His majesty replied to the various addresses with much kindness. He spoke to each marshal individually. When he arose, he leaned on the arms of the two nearest to him, and said, "It is on you, marshals, I wish always to support myself; approach, and surround me. You have always been good Frenchmen. I hope France will no longer have need of your swords. If ever, which God forbid, we are forced to draw them, afflicted as I am with the gout, I will march with you."—The marshals replied :—"Sire, be pleased to consider us as the pillars of your majesty's throne. It is our wish to be its firmest support."

His majesty reached the castle of St Ouen, about three miles from Paris, on the evening of the 2d inst. Every where the country people received him with enthusiasm, and, in the true language of the heart, exclaimed, "*Louis le desiré, Vive notre père!*" During his stay at St Ouen he signed an important document, approving the fundamental principles of the constitutional plan of the senate, but avowing an intention to subject it to the revision of a select committee of the senate and legislative body. The following is a copy :—

"Louis, by the grace of God, king of France and Navarre—To all those to whom these presents come, greeting :—

"Recalled by the love of our people to the throne of our fathers, enlightened by the misfortunes of the nation which we were destined to govern, our first thought is to invoke that mutual confidence so necessary to our repose, and to her happiness. After having read attentively the plan of the constitution proposed by the senate in the session of the 6th of April last, we have acknowledged that the bases were good, but that a great many

articles bearing the appearance of precipitation with which they have been digested, cannot, in their actual form, become the fundamental law of the state.—Resolved to adopt a liberal constitution, willing that it be wisely combined, and not being able to accept one that it is indispensable to rectify, we call together for the 10th of June, of the present year, the senate and the legislative body; we engage to place under their eyes the pains which we have taken with a commission chosen out of those two bodies, and to give for the bases to that constitution the following guarantees:—The representative government shall be maintained the same as exists this day, divided into two bodies, viz. The senate, and the chamber, composed of deputies of the departments. The duties shall be liberally granted. Public and individual liberty secured. The liberty of the press respected, saving the necessary precautions for the public tranquillity. The liberty of worship guaranteed. Property shall be inviolable and sacred; the sale of national estates shall remain irrevocable. The ministers being responsible, may be prosecuted by one of the houses of legislature, and judged by the other. The judges shall be irremoveable, and the judicial power independent. The public debt shall be guaranteed, the pensions, degrees, military honours, shall be preserved, as well the ancient as the new nobility. The legion of honour, of which we shall determine the decoration, shall be maintained. All Frenchmen shall be admissible to employments, civil and military. Finally, no individual can be disturbed for his opinion and votes.

"LOUIS.

"Done at Saint Ouen, the
2d May, 1814.

On Tuesday, the 3d, his majesty made his solemn entry into Paris, attended by the members of the household and of government, the marshals of France, the court attendants, and a long file of carriages, preceded by cavalry of the national guards and of the line. The particulars of this grand and interesting ceremonial have been given at much length in the French papers. The whole population of Paris was assembled to witness the joyous *entrée*; and, to judge from the description given, their enthusiasm was boundless on thus witnessing the restoration of their legitimate king. That part of the procession in which the sovereign was immediately present, consisted of fourteen state carriages, each drawn by eight horses. The monarch was in a rich and elegant open landau, drawn by eight white horses, presented to him by the Prince Regent of England. Their heads were adorned with plumes of white feathers. On the left of the king was seated the daughter of Louis XVI. Monsieur the Count d'Artois, and his son the Duke de Berri, were on each side of him, on horseback. The marshals of the empire were almost all of them present with their suites, either on horseback, or in equipages. The number of troops in array exceeded 33,000, 25,000 of which were national guards.

The triumphal arch of Porte St Denis was ornamented with the arms of France, and a crown of flowers, surmounted by the spotless standard decked with lilies. The prefects of the Seine and of the police were stationed at the barrier; the former addressed his majesty, and presented to him the keys of the city. His majesty replied: "I am at last in my good city of Paris. I experience a lively emotion from the proofs of affection which are at this moment given me. Nothing could be more agreeable to my heart than to see erected the statue of him, the recollection of whom,

among all my noble ancestors, is the most dear to me. I touch the keys, and restore them to you; they could not be in better hands, nor entrusted to magistrates more worthy of guarding them." The procession advanced to the cathedral; when the senate, legislative body, university, and judicial courts, mixed with the military and clergy. The *Domine, salvum fac Regem*, and *Te Deum*, were performed. The procession then continued to the palace of the Tuilleries, where the Duchess d'Angouleme was received by 144 ladies. The king and the royal family appeared at the windows, and embraced Monsieur (Count d'Artois) amid the acclamations of the people. *Vive le Roi! Vivent les Bourbons!* were unceasingly heard from an immense concourse of spectators. At night there was a general illumination. Fireworks were let off on Point Louis XVI. The musicians of the conservatory played several airs under the windows of the Tuilleries. At half-past ten the king appeared again at the windows, and saluted the assembled thousands with affection. Swiss guards do the duty at the Tuilleries as formerly.

Not a single foreign soldier joined the procession. The allied sovereigns appeared only at the windows of a private house. The next day they visited Louis XVIII. and there was a grand review of the allied troops, at which the Duke of Wellington was also present, who left the army on the 30th ult. During his grace's stay in Paris, he was treated with the highest distinction by the king of France, and the other great personages, and followed by the acclamations of the populace.

Louis XVIII. has issued an animated proclamation; in which he observes, that the happiness of France shall mark his reign; and his inmost wishes are, that it may leave recollections worthy of being associated to the memory of those kings whose first and most noble virtue was paternal goodness. The declaration forbids compliance with requisitions contrary to the armistice, but commands the different authorities to take care that the armies of the allies are regularly and well supplied. This has reference to discontents prevailing in the provinces, in consequence of exactions by the allied troops.

The funeral service for the late king and queen, their son, and Madame Elizabeth, was celebrated on the 14th. Monsieur, the Duke de Berri, and the princes of the blood, were the chief mourners. The king and the Duchess of Angouleme occupied an elevated tribune. The funeral oration was pronounced by the Abbe Gris Duval. The public accounts say that it was received with peculiar approbation; but private letters say that it was censured by many well-disposed persons, as a departure from the royal declaration, in exasperating those who ought to be conciliated.

At the head of the new ministry, is M. d'Ambray as chancellor, and M. Talleyrand as minister for foreign affairs. The Abbe de Montesquiou is the minister of the interior; and M. Malouet, minister of finance.

By an ordinance of the king, Monsieur resumes the title of colonel-general of the Swiss guards, the Prince de Condé that of colonel-general of the infantry of the line, the Duc d'Angouleme is appointed colonel-general of the cuirassiers and dragoons, the Duc de Berri colonel-general of the chasseurs and light-horse lancers, the Duc d'Orleans colonel-general of the hussars, and the Duc de Bourbon colonel-general of light infantry.

A council of war has been appointed, to consist of fourteen members,

most of them lately the principal generals of Buonaparte; Ney, Augereau, and Macdonald, stand at the head of the list—these marshals have dropped their old titles, and are to receive others instead.

4th.—Between 12 and 1 o'clock, two old houses in Lombard-street, Mint, in the Borough, fell down with a tremendous crash. Four persons were killed by this terrible accident—two men, a boy, and a girl. These unfortunate creatures were literally bruised to mummies, and were with great difficulty got out of the rubbish; three others were much hurt, and taken to the hospital. The house had not been repaired for a considerable time, and, like many others in the Mint, was mouldering with age.

"*Porto Ferrajo, Isle of Elba, May* 8.

"On the 3d instant, at six in the evening, there appeared in our roads an English frigate; it hoisted out a boat, which landed several officers of the Russian, English, and Austrian staffs, with two French generals accompanying the ex-emperor Napoleon, who was on board the frigate. These officers having officially communicated to the commandant of the port the events which had taken place in France, the abdication of Buonaparte, and his arrival at Elba, preparations were made during the night for the reception of this famous personage. Next morning, a flag sent by the dethroned emperor was brought into the town, and immediately hoisted on the castle, amidst the salute of artillery. Some time after, Buonaparte landed with all his suite, and was saluted with 101 rounds of cannon. The English frigate replied with a salute of 24 guns. Buonaparte was conducted to the house of the mayor, where he received the visits of all the superior civil officers; he affected an air of confidence, and even of gaiety, putting a number of questions relative to the isle. After reposing some moments, Buonaparte got on horseback, and, with his suite, visited the forts of Marciana, Campo, Capo, Liviri, and Rio. On the morning of the 5th, the ex-emperor, with the commissaries of the allied powers, rode to Porto Longona, five miles from this town. He also visited the iron-mines, which constitute the wealth of the isle of Elba."

10th.—A singular phenomenon took place in the province of Tschernomorsk, near Altemrjuk, opposite to the Salt Marshes, in the sea of Asoff. The weather was calm and serene, when, at two o'clock P. M. a tremendous noise was heard issuing from the sea, at the distance of about 200 fathoms from the shore, and the bottom of the sea was seen to rise above the surface of the water. Flames, accompanied with a sound like the discharge of cannon, burst from it, and large masses of earth and stones were projected into the air. The first ten eruptions, which followed within a quarter of an hour of one another, were the most violent; the succeeding ones were more distant and weaker. This phenomenon continued till after night. A smell of a peculiar kind, but not resembling sulphur, was diffused to the distance of 10 wersts. The noise was heard at the like distance; and a subterraneous motion, attended with a hollow rumbling, was also perceived. Hereupon an island appeared at the above-mentioned spot, with several springs, which threw up a fluid mud which gradually became dry.

Recovering their alarm, people began to examine the island. It seemed to be inaccessible, as it was completely surrounded to the distance of five fathoms by a slimy mud; and it was only in one place that they succeeded in reaching

the middle of it. Its length, from west to east, is 70 arschines: height a fathom and a half. The surface is covered with a whitish chalky substance.

12th.—John Gibson, late nailer in Hawick, who was tried at the Circuit Court of Justiciary, held at Jedburgh in April last, and convicted of the murder of Janet Renwick, his wife, was, pursuant to his sentence, executed on the Common Haugh at Hawick. His behaviour during his trial, and for some days subsequent, was remarked to be exceedingly hardened; but previous to his execution he was apparently penitent, and entertained a proper sense of the atrocity of the crime he had committed, and the justice of the ignominious and shameful death to which he was condemned. After ascending the scaffold the criminal addressed the spectators in nearly the following words: "Since my condemnation, a great many lies have been circulated about me, the authors of which I freely forgive. I am now on the brink of eternity, and with the awful prospect before me, I solemnly declare that I never materially injured man or woman, but my own family, for which I am now to suffer. I now warn all who hear me, to beware of any excess in drink or passion —to these causes I owe my unhappy fate."

NORWAY.—By a decree of the 1st of March, Prince Christian Frederick, regent of Norway, appointed a council of regency to act under his authority, in the administration of the interior of the kingdom, and addressed the following proclamation to his troops: "Brave Norwegian warriors! Upon your courage depend the hopes of a whole people. Know, that the first condition exacted for the surrender of Norway was, that all the fortresses and munition of war should be yielded up to the Swedish troops, and that all of you should be disarmed. But this shall not be. Your heroic valour shall preserve Norway. The old men, the mothers, and the children of this kingdom, shall rest in safety under the Ægis of those warriors who are led to the field by your general and your regent. Let our motto be, "*Victory and liberty, or death!*"

The Norwegian diet has formed a new constitution, making Norway an hereditary limited monarchy, and Prince Christian to be king. The Lutheran is the established religion of the state, but the professors of every other religion preserve their liberty and privileges. The king has the right of making war and peace, and the right of pardoning. The people exercises, by its representatives, the legislative authority, and the rights of levying the taxes. The judicial power is always to remain distinct from the other branches of government, and henceforward no hereditary privilege shall be allowed either to persons or corporations. Industry and civil occupations shall not be subjected to any new restriction. The press shall be free from all restraints.

DECLARATION.

"His majesty the King of Sweden having declared to the people of Norway, by a proclamation addressed to them, that he reserved to them all the essential rights which constitute public liberty, and having engaged himself expressly to leave to the nation the faculty of establishing a constitution analogous to the wants of the country, and founded chiefly upon the two bases of national representation and the right of taxing themselves, these promises are now renewed in the most formal manner. The king will by no means interfere directly in the new constitutional act of Norway, which must, however, be submitted for his acceptance. He wishes only to trace the first lines of its founda-

tion, leaving to the people the right of erecting the rest of the building. His majesty is also invariably determined not to amalgamate the financial systems of the two countries. In consequence of this principle, the debts of the two crowns shall remain always separate from each other, and no tax shall be collected in Norway for the purpose of paying the debts of Sweden, and *vice versa*. The intention of his majesty is not to suffer the revenue of Norway to be sent out of the country. The expence of administration being deducted, the rest shall be employed in objects of general utility, and in a sinking fund for the extermination of the national debt."

14th.—COUNT PLATOFF.—A party of English, at Paris, gave an entertainment to Count Platoff, the celebrated Hetman of the Cossacks. The following account of what passed on the occasion, by a gentleman who was present, we are happy to have in our power to give to our readers :—

"The English party were, the Earl Percy, the Earl of Kinnoull, Lord James Murray, Mr Finlay, M.P., Mr Barton, Mr Mitchell, Mr Douglas, Mr Drinkwater of Manchester, Mr William Stirling of London, Mr Oswald of Shieldhall, (Renfrewshire), Mr Colin Campbell of Glasgow, &c. Mr Finlay was in the chair.

"The Count is 65 years of age, and does not speak any language but Russian, but he was accompanied by Drs Wyllie and Crichton, two Scotch gentlemen in the military medical service of Russia, who prevented the company and the Count from perceiving almost that they were ignorant of each other's language. He several times, in the course of the day, addressed the chairman on the late events, and on general subjects, in a manner to convince the company that he was not the untaught savage that Buonaparte represented him to be.

"The chairman gave, as the first toast, "The health of the Emperor of all the Russias." The Count gave, "The King of Great Britain."

"The company then drank, with all the honours in the English manner, 'The Hetman of the Don Cossacks, Count Platoff, who had so mainly contributed by his exertions and counsels to the happy results of this glorious campaign.'—The Count said, he had to thank the gentlemen for the honour done to him, far exceeding his merits. It was his good fortune to be placed where, whoever had been Hetman must have done as much.

"The next toast was, 'The Don Cossacks.' The Count said, he had himself been a simple Don Cossack, and he drank the toast with pleasure, —that the Cossacks loved the English; and for his part he liked every thing belonging to the English people, who were great and steady in all they attempted.

"They then drank 'The Russian Armies.' 'The Allied Armies.' The Count gave 'The Duke of Wellington and the English Army.'

"When the health of the Prince Regent was drank, he said, this was to drink prosperity and happiness to the British nation; for a prince could only be well, when his people were prosperous and contented. He said, the first duty of those who approached princes, was to tell them the truth; that he had always done so to the emperor, and always would, whether it agreed with his stomach or not. He lamented his want of education, which he said he was resolved should be supplied in his son.

"The company dined exactly at four, by the Count's desire; and at ten they rose from table and had coffee, &c., after which he retired, and the whole accompanied him to his carriage."

15th.—This day Daniel Isaac Eton,

having suffered judgment to go by default, appeared in court to receive sentence for having published a book called *Ecce Homo*, or the Life of Christ, —which was described in the information as being a blasphemous and profane libel on the Christian religion.—An affidavit was offered of the defendant's deplorable state of health, and of the probability that he would not survive an additional imprisonment one month. The defendant's appearance fully proved the truth of his affidavit, for he seemed to be sinking under poverty, age, sickness, and despair. Lord Ellenborough intimated that the court was placed in a very distressing situation by the miserable spectacle before it, but still it must not be blind to its duty. It was clear, he said, that the miserable defendant was only used as an instrument, for it was evident that the author of the book was a man of no ordinary talent,—that he had a great faculty for mischief. Sir W. Garrow said, that he too felt for the miserable condition of the defendant who had lately been imprisoned for 18 months, for publishing the third part of Paine's Age of Reason. Whatever some might think, (continued Sir William) he did not sit on the watch, or hunt for libels; yet he did give directions for the purchase of this book, and he did sit down to mark out particular passages for a criminal prosecution; but he was so disgusted with the task that he renounced it, for all was bad alike. If the defendant would give up the author or printer, he would drop the prosecution against him. The court ordered that the matter should stand over till Monday, when he gave up the author, and was liberated. He is since dead.

16th.—A nefarious adulteration of flour was recently detected at Truro. Two millers near that place, of the names of John Rowe and Henry Rundle, were proved to have mixed a kind of pulverised clay used in the manufacture of earthenware, with their flour, to such an extent that two quarts of their adulterated flour weighed as much as three of that which was pure. Flour is sold by weight at Truro. The magistrates lamented that the law enabled them only to fine the offenders 10l. each. Forty sacks of this abominable composition were also discovered at Plymouth, on board a vessel from Truro; but the ownership not being clearly established, no conviction could take place.

17th.—The Emperor of Austria visited the catacombs at Paris. These are immense excavations, in which the bones with which the church-yards of the capital were overcharged have been deposited, piled in various forms, appropriate to the religious awe that the mortal remains of a hundred generations should inspire. The Emperor of Austria is the first sovereign that ever visited them.

19th.—GENERAL ASSEMBLY.—This day his Grace Francis Lord Napier, his majesty's commissioner, went in state from the Merchants Hall to the High Church, to open the meeting of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. A detachment of the Northampton militia and the city guard lined the streets, from the levee rooms to the door of the church, where his grace was received by the magistrates in their robes.

Among the distinguished personages who attended his grace were, Lord Audley, Lord Chief Baron, his Excellency the Commander in Chief, Admirals Hope and Fraser, Sirs J. Baird, G. Leith, and J. Dalrymple, Barons Clerk and Norton, Mr Solicitor-General; Generals Hope, Maxwell, and Laye, Colonel Horn Dalrymple, and a number of other military and naval gentlemen.

The gallant Captain Broke was this day presented with the sword voted to him by the corporation of London, together with the freedom of the city, in the chamberlain's office, Guildhall. Although not yet quite recovered from his wound received in his contest with the Chesapeake, his head being still enveloped with bandages, he looked extremely well. Having taken the oath of a freeman, he was addressed by the chamberlain, who read to him the resolution of the common council, voting to him the sword. The chamberlain then said, "he was not aware of the honour which awaited him, that of presenting a sword to an individual so meritorious, when he came to the office, or he should have been prepared to have expatiated at length on the brilliancy of his atchievement, by which he had taught the Americans, the descendants of Great Britain, that the parent country had neither abandoned the right, nor lost the power, to support her own dignity over her froward children." The sword was then presented to Captain Broke; who, upon receiving it, said, "he was grateful for the fortunate opportunity which had been afforded him of upholding the honour of his country's flag; he was bound to say, however, that his merit was but of a trifling nature, for he was convinced there was not an officer in the British navy who would not have performed his duty with equal zeal." There were present upon this interesting occasion the Lord Mayor, the Recorder, Mr Alderman C. Smith, Mr Alderman Heygate, Mr Alderman Scholey, and several of the common council.

The exchange of Hamburgh, after being so long closed, was re-opened to the inexpressible joy of the inhabitants. Though the merchants must have suffered excessively from French oppression, and especially from the rapacity of Davoust, yet the restoration of this emporium of foreign commerce must have a very beneficial effect on the trade and manufactures of this country. The Hamburgh Correspondenten, suppressed during the French regime, has also been revived.

20th.—The Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia often enter the theatre or opera, at Paris, arm in arm, without a single attendant. They pass together or alone from one box to another, during the evening, as they discover company which they are desirous of joining. Sometimes the Archduke Constantine accompanies his brother, or some general officer; and, in like manner, the King of Prussia is at times joined by some one or other of the Prussian princes. Both these sovereigns pass from their seats in the theatres without any attendants or retinue; on the threshold of the theatre, an officer or two may chance to wait to shew them to their respective carriages.

Yesterday evening a most shocking accident occurred at Ladykirk, Berwickshire. Richard Steele, byreman, being in the field where a bull and cows were pasturing, perceived the bull rubbing against a paling on one side of the field, and thinking that the animal might injure the fence, he went to the spot, and attempted to drive him away. The bull attacked him, and the unfortunate man was found soon after, by the shepherd, dreadfully bruised, having merely strength remaining to detail the particulars of what had happened. Mr Oliver, a surgeon at Norham, immediately attended, but all his efforts were vain.—This bull was reared from a calf by Richard Steele, who had always been his keeper, and far from showing any symptoms of vice before the fatal accident happened, was universally considered a quiet and inoffensive animal.

An interesting discovery has lately

been made by the keeper of the regalia in the Tower. In clearing out some secret places in the jewel-office, a royal sceptre was found, equalling in splendour and value the others which are there exhibited. It is imagined, from the decayed state of its case, and the dust wherewith it was enveloped, that this sceptre must have been thrown into that neglected corner in the confusion of Blood's well-known attempt on the crown-jewels, nearly a century and a half ago.

21st.—Cows, sheep, pigs and poultry, to a considerable extent, were imported last week at Portsmouth from France, and produced there a reduction in the price of meat, although not in the same proportion as in other places in that part of the country. At Southampton, pork was sold at from 6d. to 8d. per pound; fowls, butter, and eggs, were at equally reduced prices. At Weymouth, pork from Cherbourg was sold at from 4d. to 6½d. per pound.

22d.—An official return of the number of regimental officers of the regular army, printed by order of the House of Commons, states them at, Field-Marshals receiving full pay, 5.—Generals receiving full-pay, 4; ditto, half-pay, 7; total, 11.—Lieutenant-Generals, full-pay, 113; half-pay, 44; total, 157.—Major-Generals, full-pay, 152; half-pay, 69; total, 221.—Colonels, full-pay, 111; half-pay, 41; total, 152.—Lieutenant-Colonels, full-pay, 518; half-pay, 100; total, 618.—Majors, full-pay, 572; half-pay, 40; total, 612.—Captains, full-pay, 2,504; half-pay, 456; total, 2,960.—Lieutenants, full-pay, 3,909; half-pay, 618; total, 4,725.—Cornets, full-pay, 224; half-pay, 66; total, 290.—Ensigns, full-pay, 1,920; half-pay, 378; total, 2,208.

23d.—Glasgow Theatre, with patent, scenery, &c. was sold on Thursday for 5000l. It was let at first to Messrs Aikin and Rock at 800l. and then to Mr Beaumont at 1200l. It cost the original proprietors 16,000l.

Last week, a fine young woman, of the name of Leiper, while gathering dilse on the rocks near Altens, about three miles to the southward of Aberdeen, fell into a chasm where the water was not four feet deep; on which her younger sister caught her clothes, but was obliged, for her own safety, to quit her hold, when the succeeding wave carried off the unfortunate woman, and she was thus drowned. The body was found afterwards, but life was extinct.

On Wednesday last, a fine boy, about four years of age, was drowned at the quay, near the end of Marischal street, Aberdeen. The melancholy accident was discovered by the body floating on the tide, some time after he had been seen amusing himself in a boat, from which he is supposed to have fallen into the water; but the persevering endeavours of several medical gentlemen unhappily proved ineffectual for restoring animation.

RELIQUE OF BURNS.—The following verses, in the hand-writing of Burns, are copied from a bank-note in the possession of Mr James F. Gracie, of Dumfries. The note is of the Bank of Scotland, and is dated 1st March, 1780. The lines exhibit the strong marks of the poet's vigorous pen, and are evidently an extempore effusion of his characteristic feelings. They bear internal proofs of their having been written at that interesting period of his life when he was on the point of leaving the country on account of the unfavourable manner in which his proposals for marrying his "Bonny Jean" (his future wife,) were at first received by her parents:—

Wae worth thy power, thou cursed leaf,
Fell source o' a' my woe and grief;

For lack o' thee I've lost my lass,
For lack o' thee I scrimp my glass.
I see the children of affliction
Unaided, through thy cursed restriction.
I've seen the oppressor's cruel smile,
Amid his hapless victim's spoil,
And, for thy potence, vainly wished
To crush the villain in the dust.
For lack o' thee I leave this much-loved shore,
Never, perhaps, to greet old Scotland more.

R—— B——, Kyle.

25th.—A meeting was held of the gentlemen interested in the French funds prior to the accession of Buonaparte. Mr Impey, one of the largest claimants, (representing the family of Sir Elijah,) stated the progress of the business connected with these claims since 1802, and computed the extent of the demands on English account, as something below two millions sterling. In the sequel it was agreed that a subscription should be opened to prosecute the claims; that a committee should be appointed to conduct the business; that an agent should be resident at Paris, to be rewarded by the proportion of one per cent. upon the sum recovered,—the remuneration not to exceed 10,000l.

27th.—Edinburgh.—A contract has been made for finishing Nelson's monument, and it is stipulated to be completed by the 15th of September next.

Yesterday the proclamation for a cessation of hostilities between this country and France was read at the Cross of Edinburgh, with the usual formalities.

28th.—An indictment having been preferred against the suspected authors of the late fraud on the stock exchange, the grand jury returned a true bill against the persons included in the indictment, whose names are as follows: Charles Random de Berenger; Sir Thomas Cochrane (Lord Cochrane), K.B.; Andrew Cochrane Johnstone, Esq.; Richard Gathorne Butt; Ralph Sandom; Alexander M'Rae; John Peter Holloway; Henry Lyte; for a conspiracy. The indictment has since been removed by the prosecutors by *certiorari*, to the Court of King's Bench, and the defendants have pleaded thereto not guilty.

An engraver at Somer's-town, named Wilkins, died a few days since in consequence of having fractured his skull in the following manner: He was drinking tea, and, according to his usual practice when seated, was balancing himself upon the hinder feet of the chair, when he lost his equilibrium, fell backward, and struck his head against a marble slab; he was taken up in a state of insensibility, and survived only four days.

30th.—Edinburgh.—Pitt Club of Scotland.—The first public dinner of the Pitt Club of Scotland was given upon Saturday, in the Assembly Rooms, George-street, to celebrate, in the anniversary on the birth of Mr Pitt, the triumphant and glorious results which have followed the steady perseverance in his principles and system of government.

About 500 noblemen and gentlemen were present. The Duke of Atholl being detained in London, the Lord Chief Baron, as being one of the most intimate and most attached friends to Mr Pitt, undertook the duties of the chair. His Lordship was supported by the Earls of Moray and Kellie, Lord Gray, Lord President, Lord Justice Clerk, General Wynyard, Admiral Hope, &c.

A transaction, peculiarly lamentable, took place at Shercock, in the county of Cavan. At the fair of Shercock, several trifling disputes took place between the protestants and papists; but, at six in the evening, the matter became more serious, and there

was a general cry, as usual, of five pounds for an Orangeman; a few of whom being recognised, were severely beaten, and with difficulty made their escape into the house of one Carrol, where an Orange lodge is held: the doors and windows were assailed with stones, but the popish mob did not succeed in getting in. They then paraded the street in great force, and sent a message to Lieutenant Wimp, who resides in the town, to give up the arms and ammunition which he had; but he declined doing so, and they attacked his house most furiously, breaking the windows, and attempting to force the doors. Fortunately for him he prevailed on some of his yeomanry to remain in his house from the early part of the day, as well to protect himself from attack, as to keep them from the consequences of rioting; and, at the moment the mob were just forcing open the door, they fired one volley of blank cartridge, but this seemed to irritate the rioters the more, and they attacked with redoubled fury; when the yeomanry, driven to extremity, were obliged, in defence of their lives, to fire ball cartridge. Unfortunately 13 of these deluded wretches fell victims to their folly, and a vast number of them, between forty and fifty, have been wounded.

31st.–An account has been received from Jamaica, of the origin of a duel which led to the death of Captain Stackpole, of the Statira. The circumstances were as follow:—So long as four years ago a naval officer enquired of Lieutenant Cecil if he knew Captain Stackpole. Lieutenant Cecil replied he did, and had the best opinion of him as a brave officer, adding at the same time, that he believed him capable of drawing occasionally a long bow. This answer was publicly talked of in the gun-room of the Statira, and at length reached the ears of Captain Stackpole, who, having ascertained that the words were spoken, declared that he would call Lieutenant Cecil to an account when and wherever he met him. It was so far fortunate that they did not meet for four years; but the opportunity at last offered when the Statira was lying in the harbour of Port Royal, and the Argo, of which Cecil was senior lieutenant, happened to enter that port. Captain S. immediately sent a message to Lieutenant Cecil, purporting that he must either meet him, or make a suitable apology for the slanderous words he had used. Lieutenant Cecil, in reply, said, that four years having elapsed since the words were spoken which he was charged with having uttered, it was impossible for him to recollect how far they were correct or not; but as a brother officer and a man of honour had quoted his words, he could not act otherwise than avow them. As to an apology, he wished Captain Stackpole to understand, that under all the circumstances he should have had no objection to apologize to any other officer in his majesty's navy, but to him it was impossible; the Captain of the Statira being reputed throughout the navy as a good shot, and had been the friend and companion of Lord Camelford. The consequence was a meeting between the parties on the 23d of April; the result of which was, the loss to his majesty's naval service of a brave and meritorious officer. The challenge of Capt. Stackpole to fight the Statira against the American frigate the Macedonian, had endeared him to the crew, and not a man could refrain from tears on learning his fate.

JUNE.

2d.—The skeleton of a man was

found, at the depth of 30 fathoms, in an old coal-pit at Chirton, near North Shields. The discovery has excited much curiosity. The Duke of Argyle, who resided at Chirton in the reign of William III., built a small house of unhewn stone, in a shrubbery, which was afterwards converted into a brothel, and remained there until the present proprietor came to the estate, who immediately pulled it down. About the year 1784 a young sea-faring man was missing, and never more heard of. One of the nymphs of this house remembered a young man being rudely taken away from her by three other men, on the Newcastle road, and he was supposed to have been thrown down the pit near the house. The pit was then filling by order of the owners; the rubbish had filled it to about 30 or 40 fathoms of the top. The workmen proceeded and entirely closed it. The present owners of Collingwood main, having occasion for a shaft there, are now clearing out the rubbish, and the skeleton was discovered. The soles of the shoes were very perfect. Several of the ribs were broken.

3d.—The funeral of the Empress Josephine was celebrated at the church of Ruel, the parish in which the palace of Malmaison is situated. It was attended by a number of persons of distinction, among whom were the Prince of Mecklenburg, General Sacken, many marshals of France, senators, and general officers, both French and foreigners, the two grandchildren of the deceased princess, a great number of ecclesiastics from the neighbouring parishes, prefects, sub-prefects, mayors, &c. The funeral ceremony was performed by M. Baral, archbishop of Tours, first almoner to the deceased, assisted by the Bishops of Versailles and Evreux. The body was deposited in a vault recently made under the nave of the church, in which, it is said, a monument will be erected. More than 8000 inhabitants of the environs assembled to pay the last tribute to the memory of a princess, who so richly deserved the appellation of the Mother of the Poor and Distressed.

The late Empress Josephine was born in Martinique, 9th June, 1763. Her name was Tacher de la Pagerie. She came to France, where she married Count de Beauharnois, member of the constituent assembly, marshal de camp of the army of the king, minister of war, and who perished on the scaffold in 1793. Madame de Beauharnois was a long time in prison. In 1797 she married Buonaparte.

" *Windsor Castle, June* 4.

" The king's health has been uninterruptedly good, and his majesty has been very tranquil throughout the last month, although his majesty's disorder continues without any sensible alteration.

" HENRY HALFORD.
" M. BAILLIE.
" W. HEBERDEN.
" R. WILLIS."

By a letter from Smyrna we learn, that the plague, which had committed the most frightful ravages there, had put an end to all commerce. The deaths were about five thousand daily. Up to the present date about 20,000 Turks, and 10,000 Greeks, Armenians, Jews, &c. have fallen sacrifices to the plague. The port was almost completely empty of shipping; and Smyrna, which lately contained 180,000 inhabitants, seemed now a desert.

DUBLIN.—Yesterday the lord lieutenant, with the advice of the privy council, issued a proclamation, declaring the catholic board contrary to law. The proclamation states, that though the law had not hitherto been enforced against that assembly, from the hope that those who had been misled would become sensible of their er-

ror, and their meetings be discontinued without the necessity of legal interposition, yet the lord lieutenant, being now satisfied that the farther continuance of the assembly could only tend to serve the ends of factious and seditious persons, gives notice, that if it shall again meet, the said assembly, and all persons acting as members thereof, will be proceeded against according to law.

Paris.—The French parliament was opened by Louis XVIII., who was attended by most of his family, and was received with unbounded acclamation. Having ascended the throne, he delivered the following speech:

"Gentlemen,—When for the first time I enter this hall, and am surrounded by the great bodies of the state, representatives of a nation which incessantly lavishes upon me the most affecting marks of attachment, I congratulate myself upon being the dispenser of the benefits which Divine Providence deigns to confer on my people. I have made with Austria, Russia, England, and Prussia, a peace in which all their allies are included, that is to say, every prince in Christendom. The war was universal, so is our reconciliation. The rank which France always occupied among nations has not been transferred to any other, but remains entire. All that which other states have acquired for their security equally increases ours, and consequently adds to our real power. Whatever France does not keep of her conquests ought not to be regarded as taken from her real strength. The glory of the French armies has received no blemish; the monuments of their valour remain, and the *chefs d'œuvre* of the arts belong to us henceforward by rights more stable and more respected than those of victory. The paths of commerce, long shut up, are about to be made free. The market of France will no longer be open to the productions of her soil and her industry alone. Those productions, which habitude has rendered necessary, or which are required in the arts already exercised, will now be furnished by possessions which we recover. The people will no longer be deprived of them, nor forced to procure them upon ruinous conditions. Our manufactures are about to revive, our maritime towns are about to flourish once more, and every thing promises that a long calm abroad, and a durable felicity at home, will be the glorious fruits of the peace. A melancholy recollection will always interrupt my joy. I was born, as I once flattered myself, to be during the whole of my life the most faithful subject of the best of kings, and alas! I now occupy his seat! But he is not entirely dead, he lives again in that testament which he intended for the instruction of the august and unhappy infant to whom I was destined to be the successor! With my eyes fixed upon this immortal work, penetrated by the sentiments which dictated it, guided by the experience, and seconded by the counsel of several among you, I have drawn up the constitutional charter which you are about to hear read, and which establishes on solid bases the prosperity of the state."

The hall resounded with applause.

Italy.—On the 20th ult. the King of Sardinia made his solemn entry into the capital of Piedmont. The people made the air re-echo with the cries of "Long live King Emanuel! Long live our good father!"

The pope made his public entry into Rome on the 24th ult., attended by the ex-king of Spain, his consort, the queen of Etruria, the King of Sardinia, &c. His holiness has interdicted Cardinal Maury from his functions, and summoned him to Rome. His holiness has also sent Cardinal Gonsalvi to England, with a letter of congratulation to the Prince Regent.

5th.—It is a coincidence worthy of remark, that the Princess Charlotte entered into public life the day on which peace between England and France was ratified.

6th.—GREAT PEDESTRIAN FEAT.—A match to Windsor from Bow Church, and to return in a given time, was decided on Thursday. A gentleman made a bet of 100 to 30, that a man could not be found in a fortnight to go from Bow Church, Cheapside, to Windsor, to go a mile out of Windsor, and return, and then proceed back to Bow Church in eight hours, a distance of 52 miles. The public were unacquainted whom the backers against time would start for this great performance, but Rainer was selected. He started at twelve on Wednesday night, from Bow Church, by St Paul's clock, and when it was known Rainer was at work, betting got from even to any odds on him. He reached Hyde Park Corner in 22 minutes, and did seven and a half miles in the hour. This was about his pace to Windsor. He was much distressed at half the distance, but he recovered and travelled well back. He arrived at Hyde Park Corner gate, on his return, at a quarter past seven, having nearly three miles to perform in three quarters of an hour. The night was unpropitious, misty, and foggy, and on the arrival of the pedestrian at Piccadilly he was overcome by the haziness of the weather. He walked under a degree of embarrassment until he got through St Paul's Church-yard, when he made a start, and ran in, and won by four minutes and a half.

7th.—In the Moniteur appears a list of 150 noblemen named by the king as members of the chamber of peers for life. This list comprehends nearly all the old dukes and other chief nobility of the times prior to the revolution, with some of the new titles, among which are those of Talleyrand, Prince of Benevente; Clarke, Duke of Feltre; Lebrun; Marshals Berthier, Macdonald, Ney, Suchet, Moncey, Marmont, Augereau, and Oudinot.

A new ordinance, published at Paris, orders the strict observance of the Sabbath, and of holy days, under the penalty of 300 livres; by shutting the shops, exhibitions, theatres, gaming-houses, and desisting from labour. Since the revolution this had been wholly disregarded. Entering Paris on a Sunday, one was shocked at seeing all the solemnity, all the reverence with which that sacred day ought to be clothed in every Christian country, ridiculed and prophaned, and a whole people lost to the common exercises of Christianity. The shops all alive, the gaming-houses filled, the theatres crowded, the streets deafened with ballad-singers and mountebanks, the house of God alone deserted, and the voice of religion the only one that was not heard. This ordinance has excited the loud and furious murmurs of the Parisians. "Buonaparte (say they) never did any thing half so tyrannical as this."

7th.—GERMANY.—The bank of Hamburgh was opened this day. The capital was expected to be increased, by the patriotism of the inhabitants, to five millions of marks banco; numerous gold and silver articles, as well as coin, had been sent in to be melted down. On the 16th, payments were made there in louis-d'ors, the value of which had been raised to twelve marcs. Four thousand Russians garrisoned the city.

Some travellers, recently arrived from Wallachia, have brought an account of a terrible calamity which has befallen the inhabitants of Oybestein. That district, one of the most populous in the country, was situated in the neighbourhood of several lofty moun-

tains; some of these were cultivated to their summits, and the sides were covered with the dwellings of the natives; the base of the highest, however, is supposed to have been sapped by the long rains. On the night of the 20th of April, while the inhabitants, unsuspicious of such a calamity, were buried in repose, the peak called the "Devil's Neck," descended with a noise resembling an earthquake, and overwhelmed in its progress houses, forests, and innumerable cattle. The concussion was so frightful, that the inhabitants of the adjacent villages started from their beds, and were seen running quite naked from their habitations to seek safety in the plains. The extent of this calamity had not been ascertained; but it was supposed that 400 souls had been buried beneath the ponderous fragments, which extended and covered a mile of ground. The general distress was much increased by the groans which were heard issuing from the ruins four days after the avalanche. It was impossible to render these unfortunate sufferers timely aid; and their sufferings must have been augmented with the protraction of their lives.

8th.—LONDON.—*Arrival of their Majesties the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia.*—Their majesties sailed from Boulogne in the Impregnable about one o'clock at noon, on the 6th, under a grand discharge of artillery. As soon as the fleet was in sight, his majesty's ship, Monarch, off Deal, hoisted the royal standard, and various other flags, and fired a royal salute. The fleet consisted of the Impregnable, with his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, the Jason frigate, the Royal Sovereign and Royal Charlotte yachts, and several other vessels. The wind was very brisk, but their entry into the roads was delayed for some time till the rising of the tide. The landing at Dover was easily effected at half-past six. The guns of the Impregnable and the other ships of war fired a salute at the moment when the sovereigns left the ship, which they repeated on the landing, and which was answered by a full discharge of artillery from the batteries on shore, and by the joyful testimonials of thousands of the British people, whose acclamations rent the air. The *coup d' œuil* of the spectacle was magnificent; the sailors, who were all dressed in new blue jackets and white trowsers, manned the yards of the vessels, and joined in the plaudits of the multitudes on shore, by their hearty cheerings.

The chief persons among those who landed with the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia, were the Prince Royal of Prussia, Prince William, the king's second son, Prince William, the king's brother, Prince Frederick, nephew to the king, Prince Augustus, his majesty's cousin, Marshal Blucher, Baron Humbolt, the king's chamberlain, Count Hardenberg, Count Nesselrode, Baron Anstet, Prince Adam Garldriske, General Czernicheff, Dr Wylie, physician to the Emperor of Russia, Sir Charles Stewart, Colonel Cook, Capt. Wood, &c.

Their majesties were received on shore by Lord Yarmouth, Lord Charles Bentinck, and the Earl of Rosslyn, and were escorted by a detachment of the Scots Greys to the house of Mr Fector, under a discharge of cannon. The guard of honour appointed to attend their majesties consisted of the 43d regiment of foot and the Scots Greys. The whole of the garrison were under arms; composed of a very strong brigade of artillery, of three troops of the Scotch Greys, the 43d, 51st, 52d, and 95th regiments of the line, and the Galway militia. The royal equipages, &c. were brought over in a transport vessel.

The Duke of Clarence had provided a splendid entertainment, of which most of the royal and illustrious persons partook with much cheerfulness. Their majesties retired to rest between ten and eleven. The emperor slept at Mr Fector's; the king and other princes at the York Hotel; Lord Yarmouth, with all the general officers, &c. at the Ship Hotel.

Nine o'clock yesterday morning was the time fixed on by their majesties, for proceeding from Dover to the capital. The first carriage of the royal suites approached London at nearly two o'clock; there were three or four of them filled with Russian or Prussian persons of distinction; some with four, others with six horses. Several followed at intervals for some hours afterwards; one of which contained the Prussian princes. Marshal Blucher left Welling by the lower road.

When the Emperor of Russia arrived at the Pultney Hotel he alighted, entered the house, and passed through the lower apartments without being recognised. He ascended the first flight of stairs, when the Prince Gagarin announced "The emperor!" At the same instant his sister, the grand duchess, met him on the stairs, and they embraced in the most affectionate manner. The emperor afterwards kissed the interesting child Prince Alexander. The tidings of the emperor's arrival resounded not only throughout the house, but in the street, where an immense concourse of people testified their joy, by huzzas and "Long live the emperor," &c. His imperial majesty appeared shortly afterwards at the balcony, and bowed in the most condescending manner, which he continued to do occasionally, till eleven o'clock at night, the people shouting their applause. Lord Morton, the queen's chamberlain, waited upon the emperor, in the name of the queen, to express her congratulations on his arrival in England. At half-past four o'clock, the emperor went in Count Lieven's carriage, accompanied by his excellency, to visit the Prince Regent, at Carlton-house; but he went so privately, that the escort of horse, who were appointed to attend him, missed him; they escorted him back again, however, to the Pultney Hotel. He was received in a very private manner by the Prince Regent, who gave his majesty a most hearty welcome. Pultney Hotel had been fitted up in a magnificent style, particularly the principal apartments, which the grand duchess gave up for her brother. A new state bed was put up for his imperial majesty. The grand duchess and the emperor dined together without any companion.

The Prince Regent, to shew due attention to the emperor, prepared a residence for him at St James's, in the house of the Duke of Cumberland, which was newly fitted up for the occasion. Yesterday the lord chamberlain, the lord steward, the Duke of Montrose, and Colonel Thornton, were in attendance during the whole of the day, till seven o'clock, full dressed, in expectation of the emperor's coming there to take up his residence. A guard of honour, with two bands in their state uniforms, attended in the court-yard, opposite the house, during the day.

The King of Prussia, his sons, and their numerous suites, came also in a very private manner, and arrived at Clarence-house, St James's, about three o'clock. A party of the yeomen of the guard, royal servants and attendants, as at Cumberland-house, were in readiness to receive him. A few minutes before four, his majesty, attended by an aid-de-camp, went to Carlton-house. The Prince Regent received him in the same manner as the Emperor of Russia. He remained for about an hour with the prince.

His majesty received visits from the Prince of Orange, the Prince of Oldenburg, and a number of others. His majesty visited the Duke and Duchess of York, whose house is opposite.

At six o'clock Marshal Blucher arrived in St James's Park by the horse-guards, in the Prince Regent's open carriage, escorted by a party of light horse. Three troops of the Queen's Bays were drawn up on the parade. The moment he observed them he arose and pulled off his hat, steadfastly looking at them, and remained in this position until he had passed the whole. His countenance is manly and expressive, bearing the effects of the severities he has encountered; the mustachios on his upper lip are exceedingly prominent. The drivers, as directed, made first for Carlton-house. No sooner were the stable gates opened than there was a general rush in of the horsemen and the public at large. All restraint upon them was vain; the two centinels at the gates, with their muskets, were laid on the ground, the porter was completely overpowered, and it was with the greatest difficulty that he could get the gates shut. The multitude proceeded up the yard of Carlton-house with the general's carriage, shouting applauses of Blucher. The carriage stopped at the side door, but he did not enter Carlton-house that way; on his arrival being notified, Colonels Bloomfield and Congreve came out, dressed in full regimentals, received the general uncovered, and in that state conducted him to the principal entrance of Carlton-house. The crowd, assembled in Pall-Mall, now lost all respect for the decorum of the place; they instantly scaled the walls and lodges in great numbers; their impetuous zeal on this occasion was indulged, and the great doors of the hall were thrown open to them, and some of the horsemen had nearly entered the hall. After the first interview of the general with the prince, an interesting scene took place. The Prince Regent returned with the gallant Blucher from his private apartments, and in the centre of the grand hall, surrounded by the people, placed a blue ribbon on his shoulder, fastening it with his own hand, to which was hung a beautiful medallion, with a likeness of the prince, richly set with diamonds. Marshal Blucher knelt while the prince was conferring this honour, and on his rising kissed the prince's hand. The prince and the general bowed to the public, whose acclamations in return exceeded description.

9th.—COURT AT CARLTON-HOUSE.—At half-past one o'clock the guard of honour marched into the court-yard, with the Coldstream band, in state uniform, playing martial airs. All the royal dukes and the Duchess of York came in state, and were received with military honours. The Duke of Richmond and Marquis Wellesley also came in state. There were also present—

The Prince of Orange, the Prince of Mecklenburg, Marshal Blucher, Marshal Lord Beresford, Lord Hill, General d'Yorck, and a numerous assemblage of foreign and British officers, together with the British cabinet ministers, officers of state, and the royal household, the lord mayor and the corporation of London, the sheriffs, &c. &c.

At half past two the shouts of the populace announced the arrival of the King of Prussia and his family, Lord Charles Bentinck, his chamberlain, &c. in state. His majesty was dressed in his own regimentals; he wore his hair very short, and without powder; the band played "God save the King." His majesty bowed repeatedly.

At a quarter past three the Emperor of Russia arrived in state, in the Regent's carriage, escorted by a party of the Bays, and was received with military honours. His majesty was

dressed in an English uniform, and wore the Order of the Garter. He was met at the door of Carlton-house by the Prince Regent, in regimentals of blue and gold. His royal highness conducted the emperor to his closet, where they held a conference for some time, and were dressed in the robes of the Garter.

A procession was formed from the closet to the chapter-room, consisting of the following knights: The Dukes of York, Kent, Sussex, Cambridge, and Gloucester, Earl of Chatham, the Marquis of Salisbury, Earl of Westmoreland, Earl Spencer, the Marquis Cambden, the Duke of Rutland, the Earl of Hardwicke, the Duke of Beaufort, the Earls of Pembroke and Winchelsea, the Marquisses of Stafford and Hertford, the Earl of Lonsdale, the Marquis Wellesley, the Dukes of Richmond, Montrose, and Newcastle, followed by the Bishop of Winchester, prelate, the Bishop of Salisbury, chancellor, the Dean of Windsor, Register, and Garter at Arms and Black Rod. Then walked the Prince Regent, having on his right the Emperor of Russia in the mantle and collar. The Prince Regent's train was held by Sir William Keppel, groom in waiting. The Emperor of Russia's train was held by the Earl of Yarmouth.

The Prince Regent took his seat on the throne, having on his right a chair of state, in which his imperial majesty was placed, and a vacant chair on his left for the King of Prussia.

The chancellor then, by his royal highness's command, read a new statute, whereby, after complimenting the King of Prussia upon the heroism, military skill, and personal intrepidity, which had created the just admiration of all Germany during the late contest, now auspiciously terminated in the blessing of peace, his majesty was declared elected a Knight of the Garter. His majesty was then introduced to the Chapter, between the Dukes of York and Kent, and was invested with the insignia of the order. His majesty then received the accolade from the Prince Regent, and afterwards from all the royal knights and others, and was seated in a chair of state. The chancellor then read a statute, whereby the resolution of the Prince Regent, in the name of the Sovereign, was expressed, to commemorate within the order the present brilliant epocha in the history of nations, when, through the providential and signal interposition of the Almighty Disposer of events, the deliverance of the continent of Europe from a system inimical to the repose of mankind had been gloriously effected; and his Royal Highness, considering how eminently this happy state of affairs had been promoted by the Emperor of Austria, in the powerful co-operation of his arms towards the common cause, and until its final triumph, had thought fit to dispense with certain statutes of the order, and to declare his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty a Knight of the same.

Another statute was then read, wherein, after many high encomiums on the distinguished merits and services of the Earl of Liverpool and Viscount Castlereagh, it was declared that they should also be added to the number of knights of the order.

Their lordships were then severally introduced between the two junior knights, the Dukes of Montrose and Newcastle, and received the honour of knighthood, and were afterwards invested, with the usual ceremonies.

A statute was then read, declaring that no further election of any subjects, not being of the blood royal, into the order shall take place, until the vacancy of a stall of a knight subject, not of the blood royal, shall have happened subsequently to the reduc-

tion of the number of knights subjects, not of the blood royal, to the original number of twenty-five knights companions, including the Prince of Wales, who is a constituent part of the institution. The knights were then called over, and the procession returned in the usual order.

14th.—The Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and the Prince Regent, accompanied by a number of persons of distinction, paid a visit to the university of Oxford.

15th.—This night, between the hours of nine and ten, as Mr William Fowler, a farmer, of Chew Magna, was returning from Bristol market, accompanied by a young woman, in his market cart, he was stopped by a footpad near the Maidenhead at Dundry; when springing from the cart, as is supposed with a view to protect his property, he was shot through the head. The report of the pistol frightened the horse, but the young woman leaped out of the cart, and proceeded to a carpenter's shop about two hundred yards from the spot, where she procured assistance, and on her return found the deceased rifled of all his property. He has left a wife and four children. The robber was dressed in a smock frock. A tremendous storm of thunder and lightning, which was raging at the time, did not deter the villain from the commission of the crime.

16th.—EDINBURGH.—On Tuesday the Magistrates and Council of this city unanimously voted a dutiful and loyal address to the Prince Regent, congratulating his Royal Highness on the present auspicious situation of public affairs, and on the conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace, on an honourable and permanent basis.

An unfortunate man, of the name of Henry Rogers, was, one day lately, found drowned in the Neath Canal. In his pockets were several stones, and a label on his hat had the following remarkable words:—"The life of Henry Rogers has no enjoyment, therefore I bid it farewell. Die I must, some time or other, therefore I may as well die now as die 50 years hence."

17th.—On this day a grand entertainment was given to the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, the Duchess of Oldenburgh, the Duke of York, and a number of distinguished persons, by the merchants and bankers of London at Merchant Taylors'-hall.

18th.—The second civic banquet in honour of our illustrious visitors, the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, &c. was given this day, by the corporation of London, in Guildhall.

19th.—FATAL ACCIDENT.—On Monday afternoon, the fishing boats belonging to Auchmithie, near Arbroath, were overtaken by a violent gale of wind, at a considerable distance from the land. Some of them reached the shore in the evening, and others on Tuesday morning, with much difficulty, being in imminent danger of swamping in a heavy sea. One boat remained unaccounted for, and the greatest apprehensions were entertained for her safety. These were too soon realised. On Wednesday morning, her compass, and, on the same evening, the body of one of the fishermen, were found west of the Redhead. The crew, consisting of three brothers and a brother-in-law, namely, James, David, and John Spink, and Thomas Iton, have left four widows and 24 children to lament their loss. A subscription is entered into for their benefit. The boat was seen upset in a squall by a fishing smack, but it was at too great a distance to afford assistance to the perishing crew. In consequence of this calamity, a fisherman, belonging to the same village, has been induced to collect together his little savings (about 120l.) which, it would appear, he had deposited in various

secret places), and lodged the amount in one of the banks of Arbroath. "I do not know," said he, "how soon I may share the fate of my neighbours; and my family, not knowing where my money is concealed, may lose it altogether." Some of the bank-notes appear, from their dates, to have been in his possession upwards of thirty years.

20th.—A grand review of all the regular troops, and most of the volunteers in and near the metropolis, took place in Hyde-park, in presence of the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and all the illustrious foreigners accompanying them, and of the Prince Regent, the Duke of York, &c.

The ceremony of announcing to the inhabitants of the metropolis the conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace with France took place, with all its ancient and accustomed solemnities. So great was the public curiosity to behold this last scene of the important event which has terminated the struggles of Europe, that the streets were crowded at a very early hour. The scaffoldings which had been erected in front of the different houses for the grand procession of Saturday were suffered to remain, and, together with the windows, were thronged with spectators. The heralds and the different officers assembled at St James's about 11 o'clock, but were detained till near 4, by the absence of the military, who were to accompany them, they being engaged at the review in Hyde-park. The military having at length arrived at St James's, the procession proceeded to the Palace-gate in the following order:—

Knight Marshal's Men, two and two.
Knight Marshal.
Drums.
Drum Major.
Trumpets.
Serjeant Trumpeter,
(With his Mace and Collar.)
Poursuivants.
Heralds.
Serjeants at Arms. { Kings of Arms. } Serjeants at Arms.
Mounted and habited in their respective Tabards.

At the gate the proclamation was read by the senior officer of arms, and the procession being joined by that from Westminster, moved on to Charing-cross in the following order:—

Horse Guards, to clear the way.
Beadles of Westminster, bare-headed, two and two, with Staves.
Constables of Westminster, in like manner.
High Constable, with his Staff, on Horseback.
Officers of the High Bailiff of Westminster, with White Wands, on Horseback.
Clerk of the High Bailiff.
High Bailiff and Deputy Steward.
Horse Guards.

Then came the rest of the procession in the order in which they approached the Palace-gate, as before-mentioned, flanked by detachments of the Horse Guards.

At Charing-cross the officer of arms next in rank read the proclamation, looking towards Whitehall; after which the procession moved on to Temple-bar, the gates of which were

shut, and the junior officer of arms, coming out of the rank between two trumpeters, preceded by two horse guards to clear the way, rode up to the gate, and after the trumpets had sounded thrice, knocked with a cane. Being asked by the city marshal, from within (who had been there in waiting for some time, with the lord mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, attended by the other city officers,) "Who comes there?" he replied, "The officers of arms, who demand entrance into the city, to publish his Majesty's proclamation of peace." The gates being opened, he was admitted alone, and the gates then shut again. The city marshal, preceded by his officers, conducted him to the lord mayor, to whom he shewed his Majesty's warrant, which his lordship having read, returned, and gave directions to the city marshal to open the gates, who, attending the officer of arms on his return to them, said, on leaving him, "Sir, the gates are opened." The trumpets and guards being in waiting, conducted him to his place in the procession, which then moved on into the city, (the officers of Westminster filing off, and retiring as they came to Temple-bar,) and at Chancery-lane the proclamation was read a third time. Then the lord mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, the two former in their state, and the latter in their private carriages, joined the procession immediately after the officers of arms, and the whole moved on to the end of Wood-street, where the cross formerly stood in Cheapside; and the proclamation having been there read, the procession was continued to the Royal Exchange, where it was read for the last time, and the procession returning by way of Gracechurch-street, through Lombard-street, dispersed about seven o'clock, the military returning the way they came. Each reading of the proclamation was preceded and followed by a flourish of trumpets.

21st.—AMSTERDAM.—The following advertisement was published:—

"The Board of Trade hereby informs all whom it may concern, that it has been acquainted by his excellency the secretary of state for foreign affairs that by a decree of his Royal Highness our Sovereign Prince, dated the 15th inst. no ships or vessels shall be cleared out or dispatched from any port of the United Netherlands, which are designed to fetch negroes from the coast of Africa, or from any of the islands belonging to that continent, and to convey them to the continent or islands of America; and that all such ships or vessels designed for the slave trade shall be refused admittance at any fort, factory, colony, or possession on the coast of Guinea."

The following is a copy of the first play-bill, which announced the opening of the first theatre that was erected in Drury-lane. It is curious, not only in shewing the increase in the prices of admission since that period, but the different time at which the dramatic representations commenced. It should be observed, that no farces were performed in those days.

By his Majesty's Company of Comedians.
At the NEW THEATRE, in DRURY LANE,
THIS DAY, being THURSDAY, April 8, 1663, will be acted a Comedy, called
THE HUMOVROVS LIEVTENANT.

The King, . . .	Mr Wintersel.
Demetrivs, . . .	Mr Hart.
Selevivs, ...	Mr Bvrt.
Leontivs, . . .	Major Mahon.
Lievtenant, . . .	Mr Clvn.
Celia, ...	Mr Marshal.

The Play will begin at three o'clock exactly.
Boxes, 4s. Pit, 2s. 6d. Middle Gallery, 1s. 6d. Upper Gallery, 1s.

25th.—One of the grandest and most appropriate spectacles, in this country, presented to the royal visit-

ants, was a naval review at Portsmouth, which took place on this day. The illustrious personages had arrived at the town in the evening of the 22d, where were already the Prince Regent and the Dukes of York and Clarence. The two following days were employed by the party in surveys of the harbour, examinations of the interior of the Impregnable man of war, and visits to all parts of the vast naval establishments and stupendous machinery of that port; intermixed with banqueting and festivity. On the concluding day, a fleet, consisting of 15 sail of the line, and about as many frigates, formed a line in front of the Isle of Wight, and having received with a general salute the royal visitors on board the Royal Sovereign yacht, stood out to sea, and performed some of the manœuvres of an engagement. They returned to their anchorage in the evening, when the emperor and king, the regent, &c. accompanied by an immense number of pleasure vessels of all descriptions, came to land, and the day terminated with a grand entertainment given by the regent at the Government-house. The whole was calculated to impress the illustrious strangers with the most lively ideas of the national power and greatness.

FURTHER PARTICULARS OF THE ROYAL AND IMPERIAL VISIT.

At an early hour on the 7th of June, the road from London to Dover presented a spectacle unequalled in its kind. The whole population of the neighbouring districts seemed to have poured itself forth to hail the arrival of our allies; monarchs, princes, and generals distinguished for valour and success. At three the multitude became quite impatient, when intelligence arrived at Shooter's Hill, that their majesties had gone up to town two hours before in a private manner, which proved to be correct. The disappointment of those assembled may be conceived. When the emperor's arrival at the Pulteney Hotel, in Piccadilly, was known, the people expressed their joy by huzzas and exclamations, of "Long live the Emperor." His imperial majesty appeared shortly afterwards at the window, and bowed in the most condescending manner (which he continued to do occasionally till 11 o'clock at night), the people shouting their applause. At half-past four, the emperor went to Carlton-house.

The pursuits of the Emperor Alexander, like those of his sister the grand duchess of Oldenburgh, afford evident proofs of praiseworthy curiosity and good taste. He has a perfect indifference to show and parade. Such is his activity, that they who would observe him well must be early risers. In the morning after his arrival, he breakfasted by eight, an walked in Kensington gardens with his sister. He returned to the Pulteney hotel at ten, and proceeded to view Westminster hall, and the abbey, the tombs of the illustrious dead. His sister and himself afterwards visited the British museum. At one he held a levee at Cumberland house, which he used as his state apartments, and was visited by the Prince Regent, who afterwards attended the levee of the King of Prussia at Clarence-house. Between five and six both the illustrious sovereigns, with their respective suites, attended the court of her majesty, held expressly for their introduction at the queen's palace. Her majesty, the princesses, the allied sovereigns, their families, &c. dined afterwards with the Prince Regent, at Carlton-house.

9th.——The Emperor Alexander rode in Hyde-park between seven and eight, accompanied by Lord Yarmouth and Colonel Bloomfield. From thence they rode to Westminster, and through Southwark into the city, passing the Royal Exchange, and proceed-

ing through Finsbury-square, along the City-road, and the New-road, returned down the Edgeware-road and Hyde Park to the Pulteney hotel. After breakfast, the emperor, with the duchess and a party of distinction, left the hotel in their open carriages without military escort, and proceeded through the Strand and city to the London docks—those great works and symbols of unexampled commercial prosperity. The veteran Blucher visited the Admiralty at two o'clock, and was received by Lord Melville and other members of the board. After viewing the interior, he examined the telegraph. The view from thence to the east over the Thames, and to the south and west over St James's Park, and into Kent and Sussex, is particularly attractive ; and, together with the immense concourse of spectators parading the streets, struck the marshal in a great degree : he observed to Colonel Lowe in German, " there is but one London in the world." In the evening the hero accompanied the Duchess of York, the Prussian Princes, &c. to the opera The populace uniformly thronged round Blucher and Platoff to shake hands, which those veterans did with great cordiality, adding, " I thank you, I thank you."

The allied sovereigns breakfasted together on the 10th, at the Pulteney hotel, with the grand duchess. They afterwards set out, accompanied by Marshal Blucher, General Platoff, and a numerous suite, for Ascot races. They went by the Fulham road, and arrived at Richmond-hill at nine, at the Star and Garter tavern, where they partook of a cold collation. The whole party then walked on the terrace, and expressed themselves delighted with the beauty of the scene. Between ten and eleven they proceeded to Hampton Court. The Emperor of Russia and his sister arrived at Ascot about one. The King of Prussia and his company followed. The Queen of England and the Princesses arrived next ; and shortly after the Prince Regent and suite. All the royal personages occupied the royal stand. About four the illustrious party left Ascot, and proceeded to Frogmore, where dinner for 100 had been provided by the queen.

About eleven o'clock on the 11th, the Emperor of Russia and the Duchess of Oldenburgh, accompanied by the Prince of Orange, and other distinguished characters, passed through the city and visited the bank. The governor, deputy-governor, and directors conducted the visitors through the various departments of that extensive building. His imperial majesty listened with great attention to the explanations which were given of the several offices, and expressed much admiration at the systematic manner in which the business appeared to be conducted. He added with much affability and condescension, he was convinced by what he had seen and heard, that the character acquired by the people of England for their extensive commerce, their wealth, and their liberality, was not more great than deserved. The illustrious party partook of a cold collation. At five, his imperial majesty, accompanied by his suite, proceeded to his state apartments at St James's. About six, he was waited on by the lord mayor, recorder, sheriffs, and the whole of the aldermen and common council, in their civic robes, with an address of congratulation. His imperial majesty with great courtesy returned his thanks for the honour conferred on him in a short speech in English, which was elegantly and gracefully delivered. The corporation next waited on the King of Prussia at Clarence-house with a similar address. He did not answer them in English, but received them very graciously. In the evening the Earl of Liverpool enter-

tained the Prince Regent, the allied sovereigns, and the other illustrious characters who shed such a lustre on the British court, at dinner. At seven, the Prince Regent set out from Carlton-house in his carriage alone, but attended by his usual escort, and followed by loud cheers. The Emperor of Russia, accompanied by the grand duchess, soon after appeared, attended by an escort of the Blues: he was dressed in a British uniform, the same in which he had received the city address. The King of Prussia next arrived attended by a troop of horse. The Dukes of York and Kent, General Platoff, &c. were present. The intention of the allied sovereigns to visit the opera having been publicly announced, the doors were no sooner thrown open than every place was filled, and the house presented a brilliant and unexampled display of rank and fashion. The illustrious visitors did not arrive till half-past ten. The Prince Regent first entered the box amidst the most enthusiastic shouts of applause, followed by the Emperor of Russia, and the Duchess of Oldenburgh, the King of Prussia, his two sons, and other of the distinguished characters who had dined at Fife-house. The applause of the audience lasted many minutes. A hymn composed in honour of our august visitors, sung in admirable style, was received with rapture. "God save the King" was twice sung. Just as the second act of the opera was about to begin, the Princess of Wales, with Lady Charlotte Campbell, entered her box on the opposite side of the theatre. The spectators burst again into a loud and reiterated shout of applause; upon which the Prince Regent and the two illustrious sovereigns rose and bowed, which the Princess of Wales returned by a graceful reverence. The delight of the spectators was inexpressible. Owing to the immense crowd, the interior doors of the opera-house were broken to pieces, and an immense number of persons gained admission without payment.

On the morning of the 12th, the King of Prussia, his family and suite, went privately to Westminster-Abbey. In the afternoon the allied monarchs appeared in Hyde Park on horseback. The emperor left the Pulteney hotel about two o'clock, mounted on a most beautiful horse, dressed in an English scarlet uniform, with a large collection of feathers in his hat. He proceeded to St James's palace, and called at Clarence-House for the King of Prussia to accompany him; but, his saddle-horses not being in readiness, he proceeded towards the Park, and his majesty followed. By command of the Regent, Lord Sydney, the ranger of the Park, dressed in the Windsor uniform, headed the royal equestrians. They were also attended by the Duke of Montrose, master of the horse, in full military uniform, and wearing the order of the Garter; Colonel Mellish, the equerry in waiting, &c. &c. They remained in the Park till five o'clock, to the extreme gratification of thousands of spectators who received the monarchs with the most enthusiastic applause, of which they appeared truly sensible. In the evening the Prince Regent gave a second banquet to the illustrious monarchs and their suites. On this occasion the pages appeared in new uniforms, the yeomen of the guard and servants in their state dresses. The Prince Regent and the sovereigns afterwards met a select party at the Marquis of Salisbury's.

At nine o'clock on the 13th, the illustrious visitors and the Prince Regent embarked at Whitehall, in the admiralty, navy, and ordnance barges, for Woolwich. There were, in the whole, 17 barges; and a line of man-of-war boats on each side to keep order, with two large bands of music. The effect of the spectacle was ex-

ceedingly grand. On their arrival at the new wharf in the royal arsenal, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent landed amidst a salute of cannon, and assisted the Duchess of Oldenburgh, the emperor, and the King of Prussia up the stairs. A guard of honour was stationed on the wharf, consisting of the Horse Guards and royal artillery. General Lloyd, and the officers of the garrison, received the royal visitors, and conducted them first to the range of store-houses, where every sort of military appointment is preserved in the greatest order. In the model-room they inspected the curious model of Quebec; and went from thence to the rocket-ground, where several experiments were prepared to show the strength and effect of Colonel Congreve's rockets. A superb tent was erected on the mound for the illustrious visitors and their suite; and after they had taken their station, on a signal given by Colonel Congreve, who superintended the rocket-department, a demonstration was made of the power of the rocket-composition. At about two hundred yards north east of the mound, where the royal visitors were stationed, a quantity of the composition placed on three pieces of timber exploded, producing columns of flame awfully grand. The discharge produced a volcanic appearance, attended by a tremendous roaring; but the burning property of the material was most remarkable. After the discharge, the timber remained in flames, and actually consumed to a cinder. The next operation was a display of the rockets as used in besieging. They shot upwards to a considerable elevation, carrying a tube filled with burning materials a considerable distance. They were larger than any used on a former occasion, and made a tremendous roaring. The next experiment was a proof of the havoc these engines occasioned in a field of battle. They were fired from the opposite side of the Thames horizontally over the low grounds, to the distance of 800 or 1000 yards. It is impossible to describe the effect produced by these discharges. The shells thrown by the rockets flew to the distance required, and exploded with horrible sounds. There appeared little doubt that a single volley would disunite a body of cavalry. Against that description of force they are peculiarly operative, as they not only kill, but spread terror among the horses. The foreign officers were struck by the effect of this new engine in the art of war. The royal party next went to the new saw-mill, where human invention appears elevated to a very high point. Sawing, both vertical and horizontal, is here performed by machinery moved only by steam. Huge logs of elm, ash, and fir-timber, were cut into planks on this occasion, with an order and precision truly astonishing. They were then conducted to the royal carriage department, where Major-General Cuppage attended; and having visited other machinery, they retired to the cadet barracks, where an elegant collation was prepared. The Prince and his staff took their station, and the brigade went through a variety of evolutions and rapid firing till near six o'clock. General Blucher, the King and Prince of Prussia, and the foreign generals, appeared much interested in the general appointments of this brigade; and rode up to inspect the boxes, limbers, &c. The last visit was to the royal repository, which forms an immense depot; after which they proceeded to their carriages amidst a royal salute, and dined in town with the Marquis of Stafford.

OXFORD.—The morning of the 14th being fixed for the expected arrival of the royal guests, the utmost activity prevailed. Half-past ten was appointed by the chancellor for the assembling of

the university to meet their august visitors. At a meeting of the chancellor, heads of houses, and proctors, held in the delegates' room, a programma was drawn up and issued, by which all the arrangements were ordered; according to which all members of the university, under graduates and bachelors, all masters of arts, proctors, doctors, heads of houses, and noblemen, in short, all the university, went out, each in his proper habit, and ranged themseves in lines on either side of the High-street, from St Mary's church to the west end of Magdalen bridge, to which the seniors were nearest. The centre of the street was left entirely open and uninterrupted by horsemen or carriages. The yeomanry were stationed between the gownsmen and the footway, which was thus left free for the numerous spectators. The windows of all the houses in High-street were crowded with ladies. Within a few minutes of the appointed time, an avant-courier announced the approach of the Prince Regent; and Lord F. A. Spencer, who commanded the troops, rode out to meet his royal highness. The prince came in his travelling carriage and four; but, on perceiving the university assembled on foot to receive him, he was pleased to alight at the extremity of the bridge, and to confer on the assembly the distinguished honour of walking through the whole line of gownsmen uncovered. He was attended by the Hereditary Prince of Orange, and three or four gentlemen. The cheerings were incessant on every side as he passed along. He bowed frequently with the greatest condescension and kindness. The arrival of the prince being more private, and also more punctual, than could be calculated on from a distance of 58 miles, the procession had not time to repair to the bridge, and was obliged to meet his royal highness opposite to the entrance of Magdalen college. Here the chancellor laid the staves of the university bedels at his feet. Here also the mayor, at the head of the city procession, in their full dresses, presented the ensigns of his office. When his royal highness had been pleased most graciously to return these different insignia, the two processions uniting, and the chancellor and the mayor immediately preceding the Prince Regent, the whole moved forward up the High-street. His royal highness was in the Windsor uniform (dark blue and scarlet,) and wore the order of the garter, and the Russian and Prussian orders. The Duke of York was on his right, wearing his doctor's gown, and the order of the garter; and their royal highnesses were followed by Lord Sidmouth, the Earls of Darnley, Harcourt, Essex, Pembroke, Spencer, and Fortescue, and the Bishop of Peterborough, and a long train of the nobility, clergy, and members of the university. The combined procession moved on to the divinity school, on approaching which the members of every rank formed lines to the right and left, while the chancellor, attended by the proper officers, conducted his royal highness to his seat. The chancellor then humbly read and presented a loyal address, to which his royal highness returned a most gracious answer. The officers of the university were next presented. The chancellor then accompanied the prince to the suite of apartments prepared for his royal highness's reception at Christchurch. After the lapse of about an hour, the Emperor Alexander and the Duchess of Oldenburgh appeared in an open barouche of the Prince Regent's, drawn by four post-horses. The emperor was dressed in a plain blue coat, wore his hair without powder, and with his hat in hand continued bowing to the public, constantly and gracefully, the whole way up the

High-street. The emperor and his sister drove to Merton college, where they were received by the warden, and conducted to very elegant apartments. Within a few minutes afterwards, the King of Prussia, accompanied by his two sons, arrived in a style equally simple with his brother sovereigns. He also wore a plain dark-blue coat, with a brown travelling coat; and as soon as he was recognised, he acknowledged to the shouting multitude the gratitude he felt for their warm reception. His majesty's residence was at Christi college, in front of which a guard of honour immediately raised the Prussian eagle. The illustrious strangers, in less than half an hour, having joined, proceeded through the eastern entrance to wait on the Prince Regent in his rooms in Christ-church. The chancellor and the dean received them uncovered at the door. The prince having assumed his academic robe, and velvet cap adorned with gold tassel, came forth, followed by the emperor and his sister, the Duke of York, and the King of Prussia, the Prussian princes, with the Prince of Orange, and a number of foreign nobility, accompanied by the Duke of Devonshire, Earl Fortescue, the Earl of Essex, and several other distinguished characters. Their first object was the hall of Christchurch, with which they seemed highly delighted; the cathedral and library were also inspected. From Christchurch they proceeded to Merton, Magdalen college, Queen's, and All Souls', &c. The party then honoured the Clarendon press with their presence, and from thence proceeded to the Bodleian library, with which they were highly pleased; and the chancellors and curators presented the Prince Regent with a copy of Aristotle's Poetics, splendidly bound, which his royal highness was pleased to accept. The loud acclamations of the populace now announced their discovery of the venerable Blucher. The banquet at the Radcliffe library was the next object of public attraction. The imperial and royal parties assembled in the library of All Souls' college. At half-past seven they proceeded to the library, on a carpet laid across the street, and sat down to dinner. The upper gallery was thrown open to the populace. The sight was truly gratifying. In the centre of the building, directly under the dome, was placed a table covered with plate. Around this, and so extensive as to occupy the whole circle within the arcades of the building, was placed a table nearly circular; and branching off from this in lines leading from the centre, five tables occupied the spaces under five of the eight arcades, into which the exterior of the library is divided. In the centre of the circular table sat the chancellor, with his illustrious guests. About 200 sat down to dinner, 50 of whom were considered as the prince's party, and occupied that part of the table nearest to his royal highness. The tables were loaded with elegant plate; the dresses of the company were superb, many gentlemen being in court dresses and regimentals, and wearing, thrown loosely over them, the scarlet academic robe. The prince was in high spirits; and whenever, on the announcing of a favourite toast, the spectators loudly testified their approbation, his royal highness was pleased repeatedly to wave his hand. About 11 the party separated, in order to see the illuminations, which then blazed universally through the streets of Oxford. Between 12 and 1, a tremendous storm of thunder and lightning burst suddenly over the city, and a torrent of rain soon extinguished the numerous lights.

Next day (June the fifteenth,) before eight, the ladies' seats in the theatre, where there is room for 600, were completely filled. The upper gallery

and orchestra contained at least 900 under-graduates and bachelors. The area received the masters of arts, bachelors of law, &c. and the strangers admitted by tickets. About ten o'clock the great door of the theatre opened, Dr Crotch at the organ, accompanied by the whole band, playing the march in the occasional overture. But, by desire of the Duchess of Oldenburgh, the music ceased some time before the procession entered the theatre.

At length his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, preceded by the bedels, proctors, vice-chancellor, and chancellor, appeared uncovered upon the threshold, and in an instant thunders of applause pealed on every side. Next to his royal highness came the emperor, and then the king of Prussia, in their robes as doctors of law. Then followed the Duchess of Oldenburgh, accompanied by the Duke of York, the Russian and foreign princes and noblemen, and all the honorary members of the university who were present: the heads of houses and doctors closed this beautiful and unique procession. The applause had continued long after the whole had reached their places, and the assembly of between two and three thousand persons continued standing till it had been loudly intimated by the prince, and stated by the chancellor, that his royal highness wished every one to be seated. It is impossible to describe the combined effect of the scene. Above the rest of the university, to the left of the prince, sat the chancellor, in robes of black and gold, with his long band of most exquisite lace. Even with the chancellor on the right sat the Duchess of Oldenburgh, in a simple robe of white satin, and no ornament upon her head. And still higher the three sovereigns were seated on superb chairs of crimson velvet and gold, with their feet resting upon footstools of the same. The chair of the Prince Regent was surmounted by a plume of feathers in gold, and the whole platform on which these five seats were placed, was covered with crimson velvet.—As soon as silence was obtained, the chancellor opened the convocation in his usual dignified and impressive manner, after which the names of the Prince Regent, Alexander, Frederic, the Duchess of Oldenburgh, the Duke of York, and the chancellor, were severally and distinctly announced from the upper gallery, and followed by peals of approbation. While this was going on, each of the great personages in turn was pleased to rise and bow.—At this period of the ceremony, the public orator appeared in the rostrum, from whence he addressed the regent and his princely guests in a classical Latin oration. Dr Phillimore, the regius professor of civil law, delivered a panegyric upon the two great monarchs, on whom the degree of doctor in civil law, by diploma, had been conferred. The chancellor upon this delivered the diploma of the emperor to the two proctors, with a command to present it to his imperial majesty; which was accordingly done. The like ceremony was observed with respect to the King of Prussia. The chancellor then proposed a diploma degree to the Duke of Wellington, and honorary degrees to Prince Metternich, the prime minister of the Emperor of Austria, Count Lieven, the Russian ambassador, and to Prince Blucher. The three latter were accordingly introduced, and presented by the regius professor of civil law.

Eight original congratulatory addresses in verse were then recited. These were honoured with universal applause. The prince and royal sovereigns paid the most marked attention to these compositions. Each rose on a compliment paid to him, and made his acknowledgment by a low bow.

On one occasion, on the mention of his royal father, the prince rose and made three bows, and seemed visibly affected. His royal highness afterwards marked his approbation of particular passages by inclinations of his head; and distinguished those particularly in which allusion was made to the forbearance and moderation in the midst of victory displayed by the allied powers. The chancellor then dissolved the convocation, and the procession left the theatre in the same order as it entered.—At one, the royal party, accompanied by Lord Sidmouth, (one of the trustees) visited the observatory. The professor of astronomy pointed out its most striking features, and the different instruments, with which they were highly pleased; and at two, partook of an elegant breakfast at All Souls' college. Soon after which the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and their party, left the university on a tour to Blenheim and Stowe. The Prince Regent then held a levee in the upper room of the Christ-Church library, and was likewise pleased to receive an address from the county of Oxford, which was read by the high sheriff, and to which his royal highness returned a most gracious answer. His royal highness honoured the society of Christ-Church with his company at dinner in their hall, to which the nobility, and all the members of the society were invited. After dinner his royal highness ordered the college book to be brought, and the dean, by his command, inserted his name among the list of members. The most interesting incident on this occasion was a speech from Marshal Prince Blucher. The gallant veteran addressed the company in German, with a powerful voice and most expressive energy. The prince, with a condescension which did him the highest honour, instantly undertook to interpret the sentiments of the brave warrior. His royal highness commenced with saying, that although it was impossible for him to do justice to the eloquence of the gallant and excellent man who had just addressed them, he would, nevertheless, attempt to convey his meaning to the audience. His royal highness then was pleased to say, that Prince Blucher had always heard of the fame and grandeur of this country,—that he had in consequence been induced to visit it, and that from every thing he had seen, it far transcended all accounts he had heard of it; that he himself was an old man, seventy years of age, whose hairs had grown grey in the service of his king and country, that he had, therefore, but little time to live in this world; short, however, as it might be, the reception he had met with in this country was an ample reward to him for all his labours;—that he was but little used to universities and their ceremonies, but that he should be insensible indeed, if, from what he had witnessed here, he did not know how to value institutions such as that of the University of Oxford. This was the substance, although by no means the exact words, of his royal highness's interpretation, delivered with a most inimitable grace, and altogether conceived and expressed with a taste which excited the admiration of all his hearers. The party broke up at nine o'clock, and the illuminations were renewed in the evening with increased brilliancy.

Soon after ten, next day, (June 16) his royal highness left Oxford on his return to London.

16th.—His Imperial Majesty and the Duchess of Oldenburgh arrived this morning between two and three o'clock at the Pulteney Hotel, Piccadilly. They had travelled all night in an open carriage, and experienced the inconvenience of a fall of rain and a thunder storm on their way. The emperor, however, notwithstanding the fatigues

of his journey, and the hour of the morning, merely stopped at his hotel to change his dress, and repaired with great expedition to the Countess of Jersey's festive meeting, where he remained till six. His majesty rose about ten, and at half past eleven, attended by Lord Yarmouth, proceeded to St Paul's cathedral. Here his majesty witnessed the usual assemblage of upwards of 6000 of the charity children belonging to the different parishes of the metropolis. His Prussian Majesty and the Princes his sons were also present. At three o'clock the emperor, accompanied by the grand duchess, proceeded to view the new mint, where they were received and attended by the deputy warden and other officers of that establishment. After seeing the various machinery and the different processes through which the coin passes, they partook of a cold collation provided on the occasion. His Imperial Majesty was presented with a gold medal, of the same impression as the one presented to the grand duchess, his sister, of his Imperial Majesty's likeness, on her former visit.

In the evening their imperial and royal majesties dined with Lord Castlereagh in St James's-square. There were also present the Princes of Prussia, the Princes of Orange, Wurtemberg, Metternich, Hardenberg, the Duchess of York, the Dukes of York, Clarence, Kent, Sussex, Cambridge, Saxe-Weimar, and Orleans, the Count and Countess of Lieven, &c. &c. After dinner, their majesties honoured Drury-lane theatre with their presence. The house was crowded to excess. At 25 minutes before 11 the two monarchs entered amidst the general shouts of the audience. The curtain then drew up, and about 200 of the performers appeared, and sang "God save the King." The emperor joined most cordially in the chorus: his Imperial Majesty and the King of Prussia clapped heartily at the conclusion. They remained till the performance ceased, and then went to a grand entertainment at the Marchioness of Hertford's, where his Imperial Majesty stayed till half-past five o'clock, engaged in the festive dance; at six he retired to his hotel.

At eleven o'clock on the 17th, the emperor set out on a visit to the Military Asylum and Chelsea Hospital. He was accompanied by the Duchess of Oldenburgh, and attended by Lord Yarmouth and his suite. At the Military Asylum his Imperial Majesty was joined by the King of Prussia; and the royal party was received by the Duke of York as governor, and the other officers of this noble institution. After inspecting its various departments, the Emperor of Russia, accompanied by his sister, proceeded to Greenwich Hospital, and then returned to the Pulteney hotel. The King of Prussia, after viewing Chelsea College and the Military Asylum, visited the Duchess of York and St James's Palace. Soon after eight o'clock the same evening, the Emperor of Russia, King of Prussia, Duchess of Oldenburgh, &c. went to Merchant-Tailors' Hall, and partook of a splendid dinner given by the merchants and bankers of London. The Duke of York in the chair; the Emperor of Russia on his left hand, and the King of Prussia on his right. Next to the emperor sat the Duchess of Oldenburgh; the rest of the table was filled with princes, ministers, and ambassadors, all in the most splendid dresses, chiefly military. The toasts given were generally complimentary to the illustrious visitors. At eleven they left the hall, and repaired to Covent-Garden theatre, where they remained till the close of the entertainment, and then retired amid loud and universal plaudits.

The entertainment given by the corporation of the city of London on the 18th to his royal highness the Prince Regent, and the illustrious monarchs of Russia and Prussia, was, in costly splendour and magnificence, never equalled in this country. The Prince Regent went in state, with the full splendour of his court. The streets east of Temple-bar were lined with nearly 8000 troops. The houses were filled and covered with thousands of spectators, and windows in particular situations to view the procession were disposed of so high as from 20 to 30 guineas each.

At four o'clock the cavalcade departed from Carlton-house in the following order:

The 11th dragoons. Seven of the Prince Regent's carriages, in which were the officers of his household and foreign officers of distinction. The state carriages of the Prince of Orange, Duke of Gloucester, Duke of Cambridge, and Duke of Kent, each drawn by six horses. The state carriage of the Duke of York, who was accompanied by the two Princes of Prussia. The Speaker of the House of Commons in his state carriage. Between each of these carriages were sections of the Oxford Blues. Then came the carriages of his majesty's ministers, including those of the Earl of Liverpool, Lord Sidmouth, Lord Melville, Earl Bathurst, Mr Vansittart, &c. &c. These were followed by two troops of the horse-guards in new uniforms. His majesty's heralds in their official costume; 12 marshals with their staves; the whole of the king's yeomen in their state uniforms, carrying halberts. A state carriage, drawn by six beautiful white horses, containing the Emperor Alexander and the Duchess of Oldenburgh. The Prince Regent's carriage of state, in which were his Royal Highness, the King of Prussia, and two foreign princes. The carriage was drawn by eight cream-coloured horses, covered with ribbons, silk reins, &c. and was followed by the remainder of the horse-guards; after which came a vast number of other carriages containing foreigners of distinction; the Marquis of Wellesley, Lord and Lady Castlereagh, Prince Blucher, Count Platoff, Lords Hill and Beresford, and a long line of persons of distinction.

The lord mayor, sheriffs, aldermen, and city officers, had previously arrived at Temple-bar in their state carriages—and, on the approach of the procession, they mounted horses which were decorated with crimson ribbons. The first part of the cavalcade having advanced, the carriage of the Prince Regent drew up, when the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs advanced; and, after a short conference, took the lead of his royal highness's carriage, in the following order:—A number of sheriffs' officers, the city marshals, the lord mayor's footmen, the band of the London militia playing God save the King. Sixteen aldermen in their robes, bare-headed. The common crier bearing the city mace, and the sword-bearer. The lord mayor, also bare-headed, carrying the sword of state, and dressed in a rich velvet robe which cost 150 guineas. He was followed immediately by the carriage of the Prince Regent. In this order the procession proceeded to Guildhall, cheered as it went by the spectators in the houses and streets.

On arrival at Guildhall, the first object of notice was a temporary passage which had been erected from the principal door of the hall, half-way across Guildhall-yard. This passage was lined with green cloth, and the flooring covered with matting; it was illuminated by a profusion of lamps, and led to the porch of the hall, which was also lined with green cloth and converted into a temporary arbour, in

which were displayed the most costly flowering shrubs and evergreens, arranged upon shelves, and ornamented with moss. This arbour extended into the hall, and, being illuminated with variegated lamps, had the most enchanting effect. Thus conducted into the hall, a scene of dazzling splendour burst upon the sight. The whole of the Gothic pile exhibited a profusion of rich and brilliant cut-glass lustres, with some thousands of wax-lights, which were suspended from the ceiling. The table for the Prince Regent and his royal visitors was raised four steps above the floor of the hall. Over the centre was a canopy extending in front, ornamented with the Prince's feathers and the Russian and Prussian eagles. It was a single table reaching nearly the width and the length of the hustings. It was served entirely with gold and silver plate. On each side of the canopy were three large mirrors, which reflected the whole of the company. Three beautiful lustres of cut glass were suspended from the lofty ceiling. The east window was decorated with a transparency of the king's arms, which was illuminated. The monuments of Lord Chatham and of his son William Pitt, on the opposite side, were left entirely open for the contemplation of the illustrious visitors. The floor of the hall was filled, but not crowded as on ordinary occasions, with dinner tables; and on each side a gallery was raised, and the pillars which supported it formed large recesses for tables. The gallery was nearly twenty feet in depth, so as to contain four seats, and, where the windows admitted, a fifth, and extended on both sides of the hall to the west window, where it was enlarged so as to afford eight seats. The common-councilmen dined on tables laid in the recesses. Below the gallery, and next to the two monuments, were two boxes facing each other, and extending with circular fronts, designed as orchestras, and in which were placed Messrs Bellamy, Goss, Leete, Taylor, and other glee-singers. A music gallery was raised over the clock, which was hid from view. The two giants were newly painted, but little more of them than their busts, hands, and staves appeared. From the noble gallery already described, folding doors were opened over the kitchen and comptroller's house for every accommodation. This gallery was appropriated solely to the ladies. The whole of the walls and galleries were covered with crimson cloth plaited in folds, and forming a circular drapery over each of the recesses. Lustres were pendant from all parts, intermingled with banners of the arms of companies, &c. The rise of a few of the steps to the king's bench court led to a splendid room, also lined with crimson cloth.

On the procession reaching Guildhall, the Prince Regent and royal visitors were ushered into the council chamber, which had been splendidly fitted up, and a canopy and throne erected for the occasion. The Regent being seated on the throne, the recorder delivered an address of the lord mayor, &c. upon his royal highness's visit to the city, which was most graciously received. Here the royal and noble visitors promenaded for some time in familiar conversation; and the Prince Regent, with the most gracious and condescending freedom, thus addressed the worthy chief magistrate:

"This, my lord mayor, is the first time of my coming into the city as regent. On similar occasions it has been customary to bestow some compliment on the city of London. I rejoice that, on this interesting occasion, the chief magistracy has fallen into your lordship's hands, as it enables

me at once to evince my respect for the city, and my personal esteem for your lordship, by declaring my intention of creating you immediately a baronet; and I wish you health to enjoy this honour."—Dinner was then announced, and the Regent, with his royal guests and attendants, proceeded to the hall; the Regent, Emperor of Russia, and King of Prussia, taking their seats under a grand state canopy in the centre of the table, at which were seated 21 personages of the blood royal, including the Grand Duchess of Oldenburgh. The dinner, which consisted of every delicacy in and out of season, was served up in gold and silver plate, and the wines and desert were of the most choice and costly kind. The appearance of the hall was beautiful beyond description. The Prince Regent left the hall at half-past eleven; but the whole of the company were not able to depart till three the next morning.

The King of Prussia met Earl Percy on the 19th at Sion-house, Brentford, and thence proceeded to Oatlands to dine with the Duchess of York. The Emperor of Russia and Duchess of Oldenburgh went to the Russian private chapel in Welbeck-street, and from thence proceeded to the meeting of the Society of Friends in St Martin's-lane. At three o'clock they visited the Princess Charlotte at Warwick-house. They next went to Chiswick, to partake of a public breakfast given by the Duke of Devonshire, and returned at a quarter before seven to the Pulteney hotel. At ten o'clock the Emperor and the Grand Duchess went to Carlton-house, to meet her majesty.

Previous to the departure of the Emperor, a deputation from the Royal Humane Society (of which his imperial majesty is a member, in consequence of having restored a Polish peasant, apparently dead by drowning,) waited upon him for the presentation of the diploma of the society. The deputation consisted of Lord Brownlow; Sir Abrm. Hume, Bart.; Sir William Garrow; Mr Whitbread, &c. &c. &c. They were introduced to his imperial majesty, and were most graciously received; the benevolent monarch, in the most condescending manner, expressing his high approbation of the laudable institution, and cordially shaking hands with each member of the deputation.

At an early hour of the 20th, persons of all descriptions were making preparations to go to Hyde-park, for the purpose of gratifying their curiosity, not only in seeing the royal visitors, the Prince, &c. but also for the purpose of witnessing the turn-out of almost the whole of the military of London and its environs. At nine o'clock the different corps were on the ground, and the whole of Hyde-park, from Tyburn to Hyde-park-gate, was covered with soldiers. It was near eleven before the numerous corps were properly arranged, when a spectacle was presented which has not been surpassed for a series of years. After the lines were arranged, the different bands belonging to the infantry and cavalry continued to play martial airs. The crowd became so excessive, that it was deemed expedient to send a detachment of cavalry to clear them to the extremities of the Park. Every beholder by this time appeared to fix his eyes on Hyde-park gate, where the illustrious visitors were to make their grand *entrée*. Every tree in the park was clustered with people, and the balconies, windows, and roofs of the houses fronting the Park were crowded with a great assemblage of beauty and fashion. At half-past 11 a royal salute of 21 cannon announced that the royal party were on their way;

and soon after another discharge of 21 guns gave intimation of their arrival at Hyde-park-gate. A detachment of the Greys proceeded to meet the potentates, accompanied by the Hettman Platoff and a small detachment of cossacks. They were received with the loudest shouts by the populace. The Prince Regent, who was accompanied on one side by the King of Prussia, and on the other by the Emperor of Russia, kept his hat off, and bowed repeatedly to the populace. He was followed by Blucher and a most magnificent staff superbly attired. The different lines were soon arranged, and the royal party passed, while the bands played "God save the King."—After this the numerous regiments passed in review, and then fired a *feu-de-joie*. The illustrious visitors were pleased to express the greatest satisfaction at their discipline; and about half-past three the different corps marched from the ground, highly gratified with the honour paid them by the great generals. The King of Prussia afterwards went to the House of Lords, to see the ceremony of passing bills by the lords commissioners.

The Emperor of Russia and Duchess of Oldenburgh dined on the 21st with the Count and Countess Lieven. They returned to the Pulteney hotel at ten o'clock, and dressed for the Prince Regent's grand party. The Emperor wore an English uniform, with the Order of the Garter.

The Duke of Oldenburgh and Prince of Wirtemberg were introduced to the queen on Tuesday, by Earl Morton, her chamberlain, for the purpose of formally taking leave of her majesty. The King of Prussia visited the India-house, and the warehouses of that establishment.

This evening the Prince Regent, the illustrious visitors, and their suites, went by invitation to White's fete, which was graced by one of the most handsome assemblages of women ever seen in this country. The Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia paid due homage to their charms—the former by dancing with great spirit and perseverance till five in the morning.

On the morning of the 22d, the Emperor and Grand Duchess sent for M. Escudier, the proprietor of the Pulteney hotel, and, acknowledging the attention he had shown them, kindly bid him adieu. Count Orloff, Count Woronzow, Baron Nicholai, Colonel Fenshaw, and a number of Russian gentlemen who remain in England, attended to take farewell of the Emperor; and they embraced, according to the custom of their country. The Emperor, the Grand Duchess of Oldenburgh, the Duke of Oldenburgh, and the Prince of Wirtemberg, entered an open carriage of the Prince Regent's as the clock struck nine. The carriage then drove to the Tower of London, which they visited *en passant*, and passed over London-bridge at half-past twelve, on their way to the seat of the Earl of Liverpool, at Coombe Wood, to breakfast. The King of Prussia, followed by the princes, left Clarence-house at half-past nine, in a royal carriage, for the Earl of Liverpool's seat. His Royal Highness the Prince Regent set off from Carlton-house a few minutes after nine, accompanied by his royal brother the Duke of Cambridge and General Bayley, in his travelling carriage, for Portsmouth.

The Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia arrived at Portsmouth in the evening, but too late to be present at the Government-house at a dinner given by the Prince Regent; they therefore drove directly to the houses prepared for their reception; the emperor and his sister to Commissioner Grey's in the dock-yard, and the Prussian king and princes to the

Lieutenant-governor, General Houston's.

Early on the morning of the 23d, the royal standards floated in the air over the public buildings, and the troops were drawn out in front of the Government-house. The Prince Regent got into his carriage under a discharge from the battery, at half-past nine, with the Duke of York, and drove to the residence of the Emperor, whither the King and Princes of Prussia, the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, &c. shortly after repaired. The illustrious company walked from thence about eleven, to the place of embarkation, where the whole naval procession, headed by the Duke of Clarence as admiral of the fleet, was ready to receive them. It commenced with men-of-war's barges commanded by captains clearing the way. The admiralty barge, with its characteristic ensign, came first, and was followed by the royal barge, with the royal standard, and two other barges, one hoisting the Russian flag of yellow, with the black spread eagle, the other of white, with the sable eagle of Prussia. They contained the Regent, the Emperor, the Duchess of Oldenburgh, the King of Prussia, his sons and relatives, many German princes, and the suites of the three royal personages. The procession passed along the line of men-of-war, amid a general salute of 42 guns from each ship. The ships' yards were all fully manned, and the loud cheerings of the crews, and of the countless company in the surrounding boats, emulated the roar of the cannon. The Duke of Clarence had previously gone on board the Impregnable, where the procession had stopped, to welcome the visitors. A short interval elapsed after their going on board, when the universal shout for the Emperor Alexander brought his imperial majesty to the entering port, where he stood some minutes, bowing very graciously and gracefully to the surrounding spectators. Similar calls were made to the Prussian monarch, who in a similar way testified his gratification. The same honours were paid to the Prince Regent, who, in recognising the public attention, seemed greatly delighted. The Duchess of Oldenburgh was the next object of applause, and her imperial highness in the kindest manner imaginable bowed repeatedly. The Dukes of York, Clarence, and Cambridge were in like manner hailed; and each appeared, bowed, and thanked. Blucher and Platoff were loudly vociferated; but the Duke of York declared they were not on board. Another grand salute was then fired, mixed with the cheerings of the ships' companies, in which the Prince Regent heartily joined.—Soon after the royal party came on board, they proceeded to explore the ship, each as he pleased. The Regent was very curious and attentive. The King of Prussia examined much, and appeared a very careful observer. Alexander lost no time: he left the main deck, and went about the ship alone for a time. He then took his illustrious sister, and descended to the place where the crew were receiving their allowance, at 12 o'clock. He made enquiries concerning it, and asked what quantity of water was added to the rum? Being told that the proportion of water was as six to one, a tar observed, that it would be no worse for being stronger. Alexander requested the usual allowance, and drank it off readily, smiling, and adding his approbation of the liquor, "which," said his majesty, in very intelligible English, "you call grog, and I think it very good." He had a smaller quantity poured out for the Duchess, who drank it with much good humour. The men were ordered an extra allowance. Alexander then went into a marine's birth, where about eleven were at dinner. He seat-

ed himself by them, and took a portion of their mess. He then pulled out a sum of money, and left it with the company, bidding them "good bye." The sons of the King of Prussia also drank grog with the men with much satisfaction. A grand collation was now prepared in the cabin, where a most superb display of the Regent's plate decorated the tables. Admiral Blackwood, captain of the fleet, and Captain Adam, captain of the ship, did the table honours to this exalted party. On coming again on deck, nothing could exceed the satisfaction of the guests. Leaving the Impregnable, salutes were again fired for the Regent, the Emperor, and King, followed by a general salute; after which the whole party repaired to the Government-house, where another grand banquet was given by the Regent to near 150 persons. Blucher arrived in the evening at nine.

On the 24th, the Prince Regent, the Duke of York, the King of Prussia, with the Prussian and other princes, repaired early to the emperor, whence they proceeded to view the various establishments. The ships building or repairing in the slips, the immense naval stores of every description in the warehouses, the rope-house, the copper-works, and all the other important branches, were examined with much attention. But the emperor and king appeared more particularly interested by the machinery for making the ships' blocks, the rapid operations of which they witnessed with peculiar pleasure. The numerous objects of curiosity and utility in the yard occupied all the forenoon. About two o'clock the royal barges, and the rest of the grand aquatic procession, left the King's-stairs at the dock-yard, in the same order as the day before, to pay another visit to the fleet in the roads. Royal salutes were fired from all the batteries. On their arrival at the fleet, they went on board the Royal Sovereign yacht, which immediately hoisted the royal standard. The emperor had previously gone with the duke of Clarence on board the Impregnable, the interior of which seemed to afford his imperial majesty peculiar delight. He was as assiduous as before in making himself personally acquainted with nautical arrangements. The fleet formed a line of seven or eight miles in extent, in front of the Isle of Wight. They received the royal visitors with a general salute, after which they slipped their cables, and were immediately under sail with a brisk north-east gale. They speedily cleared St Helen's, and went quite out at sea. The Royal Sovereign yacht led the van. The yachts and barges of the Admiralty, the naval commissioners, the ordnance, and other public offices, a great number of private yachts, and above two hundred vessels of all descriptions sailed out, keeping at various distances from the fleet. About five o'clock the whole line-of-battle ships hove-to by signal, when the Prince Regent, the King of Prussia, &c. left the Royal Sovereign, and went to the Emperor of Russia in the Impregnable, to which the royal standard was accordingly shifted. At this time the leading ships were about twelve miles from Portsmouth. The royal circle partook of some entertainment in the Impregnable's cabin. The signal was made soon afterwards for the return of all the ships of war to their anchorage. The wind was not so favourable for sailing back; but the general effect of so many vessels of war and pleasure-boats turning to windward through a narrow channel, the men of war ranging up alongside of the smaller vessels, and the frequent repetition of signals in both directions along the line, together with the amazing accuracy of the naval movements, was of the most beautiful and of the grandest kind

imaginable. As they returned, they continued their firing, so as to afford, in some respects, the idea of a naval engagement. In the visit of yesterday, the ships lay at anchor, with their sails down; in that of this day, they displayed, before assembled sovereigns, the proudest boast of this sea-girt isle, a British fleet in a state of activity. In the course of the night and morning, many private vessels had come in from various parts of the coast, so that the number had considerably increased. The Prince, of 98 guns, was in the night splendidly illuminated. The oldest boatmen of the harbour never saw before so great a number of vessels collected together, nor so fine a sight at Portsmouth. The whole line were at their anchorage by half-past seven, off Spithead, when the emperor, king, regent, princes, &c. &c. all quitted the men of war, and got into their respective barges, sailed up the harbour, and landed. The salutes, on their coming away, were very imposing on shore and in the harbour. The discharge of all the artillery round the works of Portsmouth and Portsea, on the Blockhouse, Cumberland, and South-Sea forts, and on the different batteries at Haslar and elsewhere, followed by ten *feux de joie* of the many thousand military drawn up, chiefly on the ramparts, was prodigious. Under this tremendous firing, the sovereigns retired to their several residences.

At 11 in the forenoon of the 25th, the Prince Regent and the allied sovereigns and retinue left Portsmouth for Portsdown-hill. About 7000 troops were drawn up in review order; and, after their majesties had inspected them, they drove off for Goodwood, to breakfast with the Duke of Richmond. From Goodwood the Emperor of Russia, the Duchess of Oldenburgh, the King and Princes of Prussia, the Prince Regent, &c. arrived at Petworth, the seat of Lord Egremont, to dinner on Saturday, about six. The emperor travelled in an open carriage; and, on his arrival at Petworth, expressed himself highly delighted with the picturesque beauty of the road.

26th.—This afternoon at six, the guns of the Castle of Dover announced the arrival of the King of Prussia and his two sons at this port. About 11, the Emperor of Russia, accompanied by the Duchess of Oldenburgh, Lord Yarmouth, &c. also reached Dover, amidst the thundering of cannon and cheers of the people.—On the 27th, the King of Prussia, after taking a farewell of his imperial majesty, at 11, accompanied by his sons, embarked on board the Nymphen frigate, under a royal salute from the shore and from the ships, and landed at Calais the same evening. The emperor and the grand duchess embarked at half-past six. His imperial majesty was moved even to tears at his embarkation at Dover; all the spectators certainly were. His majesty stood on the deck of the yacht, with his glass to his eye, as long as the objects were visible, cordially returning the salutations and blessings bestowed upon him.

28th.—DOVER.—About 5 o'clock this morning, his majesty's sloop of war the Rosario arrived in the roads, and fired a salute. Shortly afterwards, the yards of the different vessels of war were manned, a salute took place throughout the squadron, and the launch of the Nymphen frigate was seen advancing towards the harbour, with the Duke of Wellington: at this time the guns upon the heights and from the batteries commenced their thunder upon the boat leaving the ship; and on passing the pier-heads his lordship was greeted with three distinct rounds of cheers from those assembled; but upon his landing at the Crosswall, nothing could exceed the rapture with which his lordship was received by at least 5000 persons;

and, notwithstanding it was so early, parties continued to arrive from town and country every minute. The instant his lordship set his foot on shore, a proposition was made, and instantly adopted, to carry him to the Ship Inn: he was borne on the shoulders of the townsmen, amidst the reiterated cheers of the populace.

PROCLAMATION OF PEACE.

30th.—EDINBURGH.—Although the anxiety of the public to witness this ceremony was considerably lessened by the rejoicings which had previously taken place, yet a very great concourse of people had assembled yesterday, long before 12 o'clock, when the procession moved from the High Church aisle, escorted by a detachment of soldiers and the city guard, in the following order:

Six of his Majesty's Household Trumpeters, on horseback.
The Pursuivants, two and two.
The Heralds.
The Provost's Officer, with his badge, suspended by an orange ribbon
The City Officers, with their halberts.
The Sword and Mace.
The Magistrates, in their robes.
The Sheriff, with his attendants.

On reaching the Cross, which the pressure of the crowd rendered a task of much difficulty, the heralds uncovered, and the proclamation was read in the usual manner. At its conclusion the trumpets sounded, and three hearty cheers were given by the surrounding multitudes.

The procession then moved to the Castlehill, where the Dumfries, Stirling, and Norfolk regiments of militia, were drawn up to receive it The royal standard was displayed from the walls, and when the reading of the proclamation was concluded, a round of the great guns, and three vollies by the soldiers, were fired to commemorate the event. The whole line then presented arms, the bands playing God save the King.

The cavalcade next proceeded to the Abbey, the third station, accompanied by a band of music, and escorted by a detachment of cavalry. In the Canongate it was joined by the magistrates of the burgh, and was received in the outer court of the Palace, where the third reading took place, by the royal Irish dragoons.

After the proclamation was read, the magistrates, with the heralds and their suite, proceeded in coaches to Leith, where they were joined by the port admiral and the other magistrates, and the whole went in procession to the shore. The proclamation was now read, for the last time, amid the acclamations of the surrounding multitude, and the ceremony ended. Previous to and at the conclusion of each reading, the trumpets were sounded.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.—*Trial of the Persons concerned in the Fraud on the Stock Exchange.—Wednesday, June* 8th.—In the court of King's Bench, Guildhall, Captain Random de Berenger, Lord Cochrane, Hon. A. Cochrane Johnstone, R. Gathorne Butt, Ralph Sandom (a spirit merchant at Northfleet,) Alex. M'Ray, J. Peter Holloway, and Henry Lyte, were tried, for conspiring to defraud the Stock Exchange, by circulating false news of Buonaparte's defeat, his being killed by the Cossacks, &c., to raise the funds to a higher price than they otherwise would have borne, to the injury of the public, and to the benefit of the conspirators.—Mr Gurney called witnesses to prove that Colonel de Bourg, who pretended to have been conveyed in an open boat from France, and landed at Dover, with the above intelligence, was Random de Berenger; that he wrote to Admiral Foley, who, but for the haziness of

the weather, would have telegraphed the intelligence to the Admiralty—the precise object which the conspirators had in view; that he afterwards proceeded through Canterbury to London, dressed as a foreign officer, repeatedly telling the post-boys that he was the bearer of glorious news, until he came to the Elephant and Castle in the Kent-road, when, finding no hackney-coach there, he was set down at the Marsh-gate, Lambeth, where he stepped into a hackney-coach, and was traced to a house then recently taken by Lord Cochrane, in Green-street, Grosvenor-square. The effect which this news had on the funds, particularly omnium, is well known: the latter rose from 27½ to 30 per cent. premium. But no confirmation having been received at the Admiralty, omnium began again to get down; when an important auxiliary to this fraudulent contrivance appeared. This was the arrival of three apparently military officers in a post-chaise and four from Northfleet, having the drivers and horses decorated with laurel. These were Sandom, M'Rae, and Lyte, in disguise. To spread the news, they drove through the city, over Blackfriars-bridge, and were set down near the Marsh-gate, where they tied up their cocked hats, put on round ones, and walked away. This last contrivance raised omnium to 32 per cent. Much evidence was adduced by the counsel to connect the parties; and to show that the two arrivals were branches of the same conspiracy. The amount of the stock in the possession of Lord Cochrane and Messrs Johnstone and Butt, amounted to nearly one million; and, but for this plan of raising the funds, they must have been defaulters to the amount of 160,000*l.*, and nearly ruined by their speculations. Sandom, Holloway, and Lyte, were jobbers in the funds; the two latter had confessed what was their object to the Stock Exchange committee, though they denied any participation with the other parties. Berenger's hand-writing was proved; and a coat, purchased at Solomon's of Charing-cross, was identified as having been bought and worn by him, and then sunk in the Thames, from whence it was accidentally drawn up by a fisherman. M'Rae, who was in distressed circumstances, lodged at Mrs Alexander's, in Fetter-lane, and received 50*l.* for his services: he made no defence. Mr Serjeant Best, for the defendants, contended, and proved by calling Lord Yarmouth, Colonel Torrens, and Admiral Beresford, that Lord Cochrane was acquainted with De Berenger on honourable grounds, not arising from stock-jobbing transactions, having exerted himself to get him into the navy; likewise that he had authorized his broker to sell his stock whenever he could get a profit of one per cent. To account for the 450*l.* found upon De Berenger when taken, being the produce of a cheque of Mr Cochrane Johnstone, he called Mr Tahourdin, the solicitor, and other witnesses, who were employed to survey some grounds belonging to him near the regent's park, upon which it was in contemplation to build a new Ranelagh, and for which prospectuses had been issued. For this purpose Mr Tahourdin had remitted him money on Mr C. Johnstone's account. Mr Serjeant Pell addressed the jury in behalf of Sandom, Holloway, and Lyte. An alibi was set up on the part of De Berenger; and his servants, Smith and his wife, were called to prove that he slept at home on the night of Sunday, Feb. 20, and Mr M'Guire, a servant at a livery stable, deposed that he saw him at Chelsea on that evening; but they varied as to the dress he wore. At three on Thursday morning the court adjourned: it afterwards met at ten o'clock, when Mr Gurney

having replied, Lord Ellenborough took two hours to sum up. The jury then retired two hours and a half: on their return they found *all the persons guilty*.

June 15th.—On Tuesday, Lord Cochrane addressed the court in person. He said, that understanding from his counsel that they could not appear for him, to move for a new trial, in conformity to his wishes, as the rule was, that where there were many persons embraced by the indictment, all must be present; and as that was not possible, the other parties not being within his controul, he appeared in person, though scarcely recovered from the shock he had experienced on being found guilty by a jury of his country, to entreat the court, that, for the sake of justice, they would grant a new trial.

Lord Ellenborough assured his lordship that he could not hear him. The rule of court prevented it. All the parties must be present.

Lord Cochrane had to complain, that on the trial evidence of great importance to the proving his innocence had not been brought forward. If their lordships would allow him to read to them the evidence to which he alluded, they would be better able to judge.

Lord Ellenborough.—It cannot be, consistently with the established forms of the court.

Lord Cochrane said, he should be extremely brief: he held in his hands affidavits.

Lord Ellenborough assured his lordship, that it gave the court pain to interrupt him; but they could not, consistently with the solemn and established rule of the court, suffer him to proceed.

Lord Cochrane trusted, that in deviating from their rule, in such a case, their lordships would do an act more calculated to promote the ends of justice, than by inflexibly acting up to it. What could there be inconsistent with justice, in suffering him, who, though he had no counsel, was ready to assert and prove his own innocence, from doing so, merely because those who were guilty were not present, and dared not show their faces?

Lord Ellenborough said, if they were to yield this rule to one, they must do so to all.

Lord Cochrane begged only to state—

Lord Ellenborough.—It would be idle in the court to announce to your lordship that there is such a rule as I have mentioned, if we did not intend to act upon it. We did act upon this rule this very day, in the case of an obscure individual, and are we now to act differently in your lordship's case? That would indeed be to furnish evil-minded persons with a handle for saying, that we have one rule of law for the poor, and another for the rich.

Lord Cochrane said, he had been so conscious of his own innocence, that he had never thought it necessary to instruct counsel, as several gentlemen in court knew, nor had he even read a brief on the subject, till after the trial, when he found that a very great error had crept into it, in respect to the evidence of his servants, as to the dress of the stranger who called at his lordship's house in his absence. They were represented as admitting that he was dressed in a red coat, whereas all they had stated was, that he appeared to be a military officer, to which character they as a matter of course attached the idea of a red coat, though it might equally well have been green.

Here the matter dropped, and his lordship, of course, took nothing by his motion.

June 20th.—Mr Gurney moved for the judgment of the court on the defendants in the case of Lord Cochrane

and others.—They were accordingly called on, when Random de Berenger, Lord Cochrane, R. Gathorne Butt, John Peter Holloway, Ralph Sandom, and Henry Lyte, appeared to their names; and the Hon. Andrew Cochrane Johnstone and Alexander M'Rae failed to appear.

Mr Serjeant Best, on the part of R. G. Butt, having urged various legal objections to the conviction, all of which were overruled by the judges,—

Lord Cochrane addressed the court: he said, "It has been my very great misfortune to be apparently implicated in the guilt of others with whom I never had any connection, except in transactions, so far as I was apprized of them, entirely blameless. I had met Mr De Berenger in public company, but was on no terms of intimacy with him. With Mr Cochrane Johnstone I had the intercourse natural between such relatives. Mr Butt had voluntarily offered, without any reward, to carry on stock transactions, in which thousands as well as myself were engaged, in the face of day, without the smallest imputation of any thing incorrect. The other four defendants were wholly unknown to me, nor have I ever, directly or indirectly, held any communication with them. Of Mr De Berenger's concern in the fraud, I have no information, except such as arises out of the late trial. With regard to Mr Johnstone and Mr Butt, I am willing to hope that they are guiltless. They repeatedly protested to me their innocence. They did not dare to communicate any such plan to me, if such was projected by them, or either of them. Be they guilty, then, or be they, one or both, erroneously convicted, I have only to lament that, without the most remote suspicion of their proceedings, if they or either of them were concerned in the fraud, I have, through my blameless intercourse with them, been subjected to imputations which might, with equal justice, have been cast upon any man who now hears me. Circumstanced as I am, I must keep myself unconnected with those whose innocence cannot be so clear to me as my own. Well had it been for me if I had made this distinction sooner. I do not stand here to commend myself—unhappily, I must seek only for exculpation; but I cannot exist under the load of dishonour which even an unjust judgment has flung upon me.—My life has been too often in jeopardy to make me think much about it; but my honour was never yet breathed upon; and I now hold my existence only in the determination to remove an imputation as groundless as it is intolerable."—His lordship then proceeded to comment on the evidence: he explained the circumstance of his leaving King's tin-shop, on account of the expectation of hearing an account from his brother, who was ill in Spain. He urged the improbability of his disclosing the name of De Berenger, if he had been an accomplice, since this was to afford the only clue for detecting the transaction. As to the difference of swearing respecting De Berenger's coat, it was possible that he might have changed his coat in his way to Green-street, and also have taken off his stars and other insignia: his having with him a portmanteau implied at least a possibility of his having so acted. De Berenger might be afraid to appear before him in his assumed dress, as he was afterwards unwilling to go to Lord Yarmouth in his real uniform, because such a circumstance would be exceedingly unusual.—He concluded by saying, that he had often had an opportunity of showing his character: this was the first time, thank God, that it had been called in question; and he hoped that, if not now, he should speedily be cleared from all guilt in the estimation of the public.—He then

put in his affidavits. The first was one of his own making, in which he re-stated that the assertions in his former affidavit were true, and urged that his trial had been materially defective from the absence of an important witness, who was compelled to go to sea, and also by the lateness of the hour at which his counsel, fatigued and exhausted, were called upon for the defence.—He next offered an affidavit of his servant Thomas Dewman; but Lord Ellenborough observed, that it could not be heard; that the deponent had been a witness on the trial, and had then an opportunity of saying all that was necessary. Lord Cochrane then put in the affidavits of some persons who were on the trial, but not heard. Mr Justice Le Blanc said it was clear that the affidavits of persons so situated could not be heard. The affidavit of the Hon. William Erskine Cochrane was then read: it stated, that the deponent had been dangerously ill in January and February last. To this was added the certificate of the surgeon.–Lord Ellenborough said, that his lordship should have been prepared to verify when he received these documents.

Mr Butt was then called upon, and expressed a wish for a new trial, confident that, whatever might be the guilt of the other persons, he should then receive a separate acquittal.

Mr Park put in an affidavit for De Berenger, in which the deponent stated, that he had served the country for many years as a volunteer without reward; that his father was an American loyalist, and had spent a patrimonial fortune in the service of this country; that he had suffered much by his imprisonment under the alien act, which had prevented him from proper communication with his advisers.

Mr Serjeant Pell spoke in behalf of Holloway, Lyte, and Sandom. He maintained that the plots were connected by no direct proof, but only by some striking coincidences. Two of his clients had made some atonement by a voluntary confession; and the third, Sandom, had instructed him on the trial not to deny his guilt. He hoped that this would operate to an apportionment of punishment not so heavy as those might be thought to deserve who had made no confession.

Mr Gurney replied. He said that observations had been made on the mixed rank of the defendants. It was true that "conspiracy, like misery, acquaints a man with strange bed-fellows." He was willing, however, to concede that the guilt of Holloway and Lyte was somewhat repaired by their contrition, though he could not say so of Sandom. De Berenger was a step higher in guilt; he was the hired and staid agent: he had also attempted to escape, whereby he would have screened himself and his companions. His learned friend (Mr Serjeant Best) had, in his address to the jury, eloquently insisted on the high character and services of Lord Cochrane. They had indeed been most meritorious, but they had been highly rewarded: his rank in the navy had been advanced; he had been honoured with a great personal distinction from his sovereign, and he was elected member for the great city of Westminster;—a situation which, while it authorized his lordship to be attentive to the conduct of others, made it doubly important that he should be as vigilant as to his own. What return had he made for these honours? Fraud, backed by falsehood and moral perjury. His offence was not the ebullition of youthful passion; it did not spring from excessive generosity, or an over-ardent spirit. It was a cold calculating crime, mixed up with meditated meanness. The prosecutors in this arduous business had looked only for

justice, and that they would find it at the hands of the court.

The court deliberated, and then ordered the defendants to be brought up to-morrow morning.

Tuesday, June 21.—The defendants being before the court, Mr Justice Le Blanc addressed them in a speech of great length, in which he commented on the charge, the evidence, and the defence made. Turning towards Lord Cochrane, he observed that it was with pain he noticed among the defendants a person whose high rank, education, attainments, birth, and the honourable distinctions which had been bestowed upon him by his sovereign and by a grateful people, for honourable and heroic deeds performed, should be linked with a banditti of depredators of the worst and foulest kind. But inasmuch as he did possess those distinctions and this elevation in society, so much the more was he criminal in participating with those guilty offenders in a crime, which in its progress was denoted by every disgraceful act, and in its perpetration by every unseemly characteristic. It was tainted with meanness, mendacity, and avarice; and with three of the adventurers had not even the palliative of poverty as an apology for the sin. Respecting them, therefore, the court, in its equal distribution of justice, was bound to show them and the world, that as they sought to gratify their passion of avarice by conspiracy, and as conspiracy was held in the eye of the law of an infamous nature, so they must award such a punishment as would convey infamy with it. Some offenders, (and it frequently happens) when brought up for judgment, had the plea of sudden gust of passion to move them to the commission of crime; but here there was no such thing. A plot, long devised, much ramified, including many actors, put into effect with unusual cunning and artifice, marked from its commencement, through its progress, and to its completion, with systematic fraud, was the only picture which could be given of it. As a punishment, therefore, for a conspiracy so dangerous and so extensive, he was directed to pronounce the following judgment:

"That you, Sir Thomas Cochrane, commonly called Lord Cochrane, and you, Richard Gathorne Butt, do pay to the king a fine of 500l.—That you, Sir Thomas Cochrane, R. G. Butt, and John Peter Holloway, Ralph Sandom, Hen. Lyte, and C. R. De Berenger, be severally imprisoned twelve calendar months in the custody of the marshal of the Marshalsea; and that you, Sir T. Cochrane, R. G. Butt, and J. P. Holloway, be further imprisoned till your respective fines be paid.—And further, that during the period of imprisonment mentioned, that you, Sir Thomas Cochrane, you R. G. Butt, and you C. R. De Berenger, do stand one hour in and upon the pillory before the Royal Exchange."

The prisoners were immediately conveyed away (amid warm expressions of the public sympathy towards Lord Cochrane) by a strong escort of officers to the King's Bench prison.

JULY.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

1st.—Lord Castlereagh informed the House of Commons, that in pursuance of the invitation with which he and a committee had been charged, by direction of the House, the Duke of Wellington was in attendance on the outside of the House. He therefore moved that the Duke of Wellington be called in.

The question was put and carried with acclamations. The serjeant-at-arms then left the bar, and, in his

robes, re-entered the House with the Duke of Wellington at his side. The whole House rose uncovered, and the Speaker took off his hat and bowed to the duke, who took his stand between the bar and the table, and spoke as follows :—

"I ventured to solicit to be permitted to attend the House to return my thanks personally for the honour done me, in deputing a committee of the House to congratulate me on my return to this country; and this, after the House had animated my exertions by their applause upon every action that appeared to merit their approbation, and had recently been so liberal of their favours in recommending his Royal Highness the Prince Regent to confer upon me the noblest gift a subject has ever received.

"I hope I shall not be thought presumptuous in taking this opportunity of expressing my admiration of the great efforts made by this House and the country, at moments of unexampled pressure and difficulties, in order to support the great scale of operations by which the contest was brought to so fortunate a conclusion.

"By the wise measures of parliament, the government was enabled to give the necessary support to the operations carried on under my direction, by the confidence reposed in me by ministers, and by the commander-in-chief. By the gracious favours of the Prince Regent, and by the reliance I had on the support of my gallant friends, the general officers of the army, and the bravery of the officers and troops, I was encouraged to carry on the operations in such a manner as to acquire these marks of the approbation of the House, for which I now return them my thanks.

"It is impossible for me to express the gratitude I feel. I can only assure the House, that I shall always be ready to serve his majesty in any capacity of which I may be thought competent, and in which my services may be useful. I am ready on all occasions to devote my services entirely to the wishes of the House." (*Hear, hear, hear.*)

The whole House rose again, and repeated cheers were given on all sides.

The Speaker then rose, took off his hat, and addressed the Duke as follows:

"MY LORD,—Since last I had the honour of addressing you from this place, a series of eventful years have elapsed, but none without some mark and note of your rising glory.

"The military triumphs your valour has achieved, upon the banks of the Douro and the Tagus, of the Ebro, and of the Garonne, have called forth the spontaneous shouts of admiring nations. Those triumphs it is needless on this day to recount. Their names have been written by your conquering sword in the annals of Europe, and we shall hand them down with exultation to our children's children.

"It is not, however, the grandeur of military success which has alone fixed our admiration, or commanded our applause. It has been that generous and lofty spirit which inspired your troops with unbounded confidence, and taught them to know that the day of battle was always a day of victory; that moral courage, and enduring fortitude, which, in perilous times, when gloom and doubt had beset ordinary minds, stood nevertheless unshaken; and that ascendancy of character which, uniting the energies of jealous and rival nations, enabled you to wield, at will, the fate and fortunes of mighty empires.

"For the repeated thanks and grants bestowed upon you by this House, you have thought fit this day to offer us your acknowledgments; but this nation well knows that it is still largely your debtor.

"It owes to you the proud satisfaction, that, amid the constellation of illustrious warriors who have recently visited our country, we could present to them a leader of our own, to whom all, by common acclamation, conceded the pre-eminence; and, when the will of Heaven and the common destinies of our nature shall have swept away the present generation, you will have left your great name an imperishable monument, exciting others to like deeds of glory, and serving at once to adorn, defend, and perpetuate the existence of this country amongst the ruling nations of the earth.

"It now remains only that we congratulate your Grace upon the high and important mission upon which you are about

to proceed; and we doubt not that the same splendid talents so conspicuous in war, will maintain, with equal authority, firmness and temper, our national honour and interests in peace."

His Grace then withdrew, making the same obeisances as when he entered; and all the members rising again, he was reconducted by the serjeant to the door of the house. After he was gone, Lord Castlereagh moved, that what the Duke had said on returning thanks to the house, together with the Speaker's answer, be printed in the votes, which was agreed to *nem. con.*

This was the termination of one of the most impressive and dignified scenes that had been witnessed by modern times in either house of parliament.

Isle of Mann Fete.—This public celebration in honour of the peace took place to-day upon the top of Snaefield, the highest mountain in the island, where upwards of 1500 persons were assembled, and from whence, at an elevation of 2000 feet above the level of the sea, they had a view of the united kingdom of England and Ireland, with the seventeen parishes of the lordship of Mann lying at their feet like a beautiful and highly-finished painting. There was a sumptuous dinner, with all the usual accompaniments suitable to the occasion.

" *Windsor Castle, July* 2.

" His Majesty continues well in his health, and has been generally in a tranquil and cheerful state of mind through the last month.—(Signed as usual.)

The Emperor of Russia arrived at the Hague this day. In his progress thither, his majesty viewed the city and fortifications of Antwerp, the house at Sandam where his illustrious ancestor Peter the Great formerly dwelt, and the dock wherein he engaged himself as a shipwright.

A tin-tube, filled with powder and ball, with a match at the end, was found introduced into an air hole of the powder magazine belonging to the barracks, at Ayr, containing, at the time, about 300 barrels, with a design, it is supposed, to blow up the same. A candle was also found at a little distance by the centinel, which, it is conjectured, was used in attempting to kindle the fatal match, but fortunately it had gone out, by which many valuable lives and much property, have been happily saved. A reward of 80 guineas has been offered for the discovery of the offenders.

Melancholy Accident.—At Piermount, in the parish of Troqueer, some persons were employed in digging a well, and had, without any accident, sunk to the depth of 32 feet. Monday morning, however, about ten o'clock, as the carpenter, a man of the name of Samuel Black, was engaged with two workmen in adjusting an additional frame, the earth began to rush in about 12 feet from the bottom, and the workmen, immediately becoming alarmed, attempted to effect their escape, by climbing up the wood. Black, at the same time, finding it impossible to ascend, endeavoured to shelter himself by means of the frame. Before the workmen could extricate themselves, however, another rush of earth overwhelmed them, to the height of three feet above the head of the man who was nearest the top, and, in this perilous situation, they remained for nearly three hours, although immediate assistance was procured. By the judicious and unremitting exertions of some skilful persons, the two workmen were at last dug out, without any very material injury, but the poor carpenter could not be reached, till the vital spark was entirely extinct. He had been distinctly heard for some time by the labourers, uttering pious ejaculations, but by degrees his voice became

fainter, and at last three deep groans were heard, which terminated his earthly existence.

3d.—The gazette announced the appointment of the Duke of Wellington to be ambassador to the court of France, and the right honourable Lord Fitzroy Somerset to be secretary of embassy at the said court.

HOLLAND.—The Prince Sovereign of the United Netherlands issued a decree on the 16th ultimo, not only prohibiting all vessels of that country from trading to Africa for slaves, but forbidding the Dutch ports and factories on the African coast to give protection to any vessels engaged in that trade.

A numerous and respectable meeting of the inhabitants of Leith was held in the assembly-room, at which it was unanimously resolved to petition both Houses of Parliament respecting the abolition of the slave trade.

A young man, in walking round the Calton-hill, a little to the north of Wordsworth's stables, was seized with a fit, and fell over the precipice. He was taken up comparatively little injured; but the effect of the accident upon the mind of his father, who was in a declining state of health, was so great, that he expired in a few hours after.

4th.—In a committee of the House of Commons, Lord Castlereagh proposed to increase the allowance of the Princess of Wales to 50,000l. per annum. This grant her royal highness declined, and, in a letter to the Speaker, declared that an income of 35,000l. will be sufficient for her.

ROYAL EDINBURGH VOLUNTEERS.—This day, the first regiment of royal Edinburgh volunteer infantry and rifle company attached, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel the right honourable Charles Hope, paraded, according to orders, in the Meadow Walk, to the number of upwards of 600, and, being formed, marched to the grounds of Heriot's Hospital, where, being placed in open square, the order of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, releasing them from their military engagements, and expressing the high sense entertained of the loyalty and patriotism which have invariably distinguished their conduct, and which have given a lasting claim on the esteem and gratitude of their country, was read, with a letter from the lieutenancy of the city of Edinburgh, and an act of the magistrates and council, presenting their unqualified thanks to the corps, for their long and meritorious services, and congratulating them on the happy state of the country, and the highly honourable termination of their military labours, after which the corps was addressed, in presence of a crowd of spectators, by the Lieutenant-Colonel, in the following energetic and impressive manner:—

"This is now the second time that I am to go through the painful ceremony of disbanding this regiment, and although my time of life and public official situation render the duty of it every day less easy to me, yet I do assure you that I part from you with feelings of regret which no language can express. Thank God, our present separation is under circumstances very different from our last; we then too had obtained a peace, but it was a peace that, I believe, those who made it did not expect to be lasting, and that they considered it merely as an experiment to convince the nation of the necessity of continuing the war. Our present peace has been effected under more auspicious omens, and I think promises to be as lasting as the mutability of human affairs, and the unforeseen circumstances which occur to embroil nations with each other, can possibly permit. On this occasion, therefore, we have little to apprehend on the part of our country; but in regard to myself, deprived of you, I shall feel as if I had lost my right arm in point of strength, and my best friends in case of need.

"In this last respect, however, I am more fortunate than the commanders of

many other regiments—composed as we are, entirely of inhabitants of this city, whose professions will necessarily retain most of us here for life, we shall not scatter like other corps recruited from all parts of the empire, and, therefore, I trust that we shall long be spared to enjoy the happiness of private friendship, and to render each other every mutual good office in our power.

"It is now exactly 20 years, this very day, since the first squad of this regiment began to drill. Of the merit of your services, and of the degree of discipline which you have attained, it would ill become me to speak. For the one you have received the repeated thanks of your king and country, and of the other the most honourable testimony has been borne by the very eminent and distinguished officers who have successively commanded his majesty's forces in this part of the united kingdom. But this I may be permitted to say, because no man can know it so well as myself, that the merit of that discipline is exclusively your own.

"You now retire into private life, with the thanks of your sovereign and of your country, and with the pleasing consciousness, that in the hour of danger you obeyed the call of Britain to her sons to do their duty—our services have been humble, but they have not been useless. The volunteer and militia force at home enabled government to send forth those powerful and gallant armies whose glorious successes have so materially contributed to the deliverance of Europe. In those achievements many gentlemen from our ranks have borne their share, for since the formation of this regiment we have furnished above *six hundred* officers to the regulars, and other descriptions of military force.

"And now, gentlemen, I bid you all farewell. May the God of Heaven bless and prosper you in your families and in your professions, and may we all retain, through life, those principles which originally brought us together, loyalty to our king, attachment to our glorious constitution, and reverence for our pure and holy religion."

This address was received with rapturous applause by all present.

The regiment then marched to the Cross, where the crowd was immense, and, having formed an oblong square, it was notified to the gentlemen of the magistracy, that the corps was paraded, for delivering over the colours received from them, and to be disembodied, whereupon the magistrates, preceded by the city serjeants, sword and mace, proceeded from the city chambers, and, entering the right of the regiment, were received with a general salute, and moved uncovered along the whole line, and, having come to the head of the square, the colours were brought by the majors, and delivered by the lieutenant-colonel to Mr Trotter, acting chief magistrate, with an appropriate speech.

It is just twenty years since this corps commenced its military career. Every one will long remember the perilous situation of this part of the kingdom in 1794, and the substantial services this institution then rendered to the capital and to the country, by stepping forward to support that constitution we now enjoy, which, matured by the experience of ages, has long been the envy of the world.

The officers afterwards dined at Oman's, where a very elegant entertainment was provided.

5th.—After a long debate in the House of Commons, Lord Cochrane, and his uncle, Mr Cochrane Johnstone, were expelled—the latter without a dissentient vote, and the former on a division, in which the numbers were, Ayes 140, Noes 44—Majority for the expulsion 96.

7th.—*Thanksgiving at St Paul's.*—This being the day appointed for returning thanks to the Almighty for the restoration of the blessings of peace to this country and to Europe, it was observed with all the state and solemnity usual on such occasions. The general manner of the procession, &c. was similar to those of the king on

his going to the cathedral upon his recovery, and after the naval victories.

The two houses of parliament met early to attend the procession.

At an early hour, the troops appointed to preserve order in the avenues leading to the cathedral church of St Paul proceeded from their respective parades, and took those stations which had been previously appointed by the adjutant-general; and soon after eight o'clock, the streets leading from St Paul's to Carlton-house, which had been covered with a thick coat of gravel, were lined with infantry, and paraded by detachments of volunteer cavalry and light horse.

The military, consisting of detachments of infantry from the foot guards, the 5th foot, the Stafford, West Middlesex, Aberdeen, and Fermanagh militia, marched into Pall-Mall and the Strand, and lined each side of the route from St James's to Temple-bar. The route from Temple-bar to St Paul's was also lined by troops, consisting of the East India regiments of volunteers and artillery company.

A detachment of 150 of the 11th light dragoons were divided into patroles, and kept moving backwards and forwards, from one end of the line to the other, to preserve order, and assist the peace-officers in the execution of their duty: a detachment of thirty of the royal regiment of horse-guards was allotted for keeping the grand route from the houses of parliament to Charing-Cross clear of impediments; of these a subaltern officer and twelve men were posted in Palace-yard, and the remainder employed in patrolling from thence to Charing-cross.

One hundred and four of the 11th light dragoons were posted at the end of the chief streets leading into the Strand.

The light horse volunteers, the London volunteer cavalry, the Westminster volunteer cavalry, and the Surrey yeomanry, assembled at seven o'clock in the morning, in Hyde-park, and proceeded along the grand rout, to Temple-bar. They kept the route open to St Paul's, furnishing strong detachments at the top of Fleet-market and in Bridge-street, and particularly guarding all the avenues leading into Fleet-street and Ludgate-hill.

Lieut.-General Sir Charles Green commanded the troops.

So early as eight o'clock, lines of carriages proceeded along Pall-Mall and the Strand, with Peeresses and other ladies of rank, to St Paul's.

The procession of the House of Commons was preceded by the messengers of the House on horseback, constables of Westminster, the clerks' assistants, and the chaplain and deputy serjeant-at-arms in one of the Speaker's carriages. The Speaker closed the procession.

The foreign ambassadors, in a train of about 20 carriages, at 9 o'clock proceeded by Charing-cross, the Strand, and Ludgate-hill, to the cathedral; they were in their state carriages, and in full court dresses. The members of the House of Peers came next, and were followed by the Lord Chancellor in his state carriage. In the line of carriages forming this part of the procession was the gallant Blucher, who was recognised by the people, and, as usual, loudly cheered.

Shortly before 11, the discharge of 21 guns announced the departure of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent from Carlton-house, from whence the procession advanced in the following order:—

Two Horse Guards.
The Duke of Gloucester, in his state carriage, drawn by six horses.
A party of Horse Guards
The Duke of Cambridge, in his state carriage, drawn by six horses.
A party of Horse Guards.
The Duke of Sussex, in his state carriage, and six horses.
A party of Horse Guards.
The Duke of Kent, in his state carriage, and six horses.
A party of Horse Guards.
Two of the Oxford Blues.
The Heralds, in their official costume.
Three state carriages, drawn by six horses each, containing the Household of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent.
A detachment of the Blues.
Fourteen Royal Footmen, in state liveries.
Twelve Marshal's Men.
A troop of the Horse Guards.
His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in his state carriage, drawn by eight cream-coloured horses.
His Royal Highness was accompanied by two of his Officers of State.
A troop of Horse Guards followed.

The Dukes of York, Clarence, Sussex, and Gloucester, were in the procession. The silver trumpets sounded at intervals. After the royal carriages came two of the heralds in costume, on horseback. In the carriage with the Regent were the Duke of Wellington and the Duke of Montrose.

The lord mayor, sheriffs, and other city officers, fell into the procession at Temple-bar.

The peeresses, and other individuals who were accommodated with seats in the cathedral, approached by Holborn to Newgate-street, down Warwick-lane, to the north gate of the church.

Great order was preserved in the streets. The windows and housetops were crowded with spectators.

About 12 o'clock the procession reached St Paul's gates. Most of the nobility, the great law officers, and the members of the House of Commons, had taken their places when the Prince Regent arrived; his royal highness was preceded by his brothers, the Dukes of Cambridge, Sussex, Kent, and York, according to their respective seniority, and the Duke of Gloucester, who was warmly greeted by the populace. Nothing could equal the splendour of the Prince Regent's equipage and horses, and their trappings. The Duke of Wellington walked on the right hand of his royal highness from the carriage to his seat in the church.

On the arrival of the procession at the great western gates of the cathedral, it moved along the nave of the church, through the screen. Immediately on the right-hand side of the chancel was the seat constructed for the Prince Regent and his party. It was covered with crimson cloth, the cushions of velvet and gold. The Duke of Wellington was seated on the right of his royal highness, with the sword of state before him.

Over the pew, if so it might be called, in which his royal highness was seated, was a lofty and magnificent canopy, with an elevated dome in the centre, the whole of crimson, bordered with gold.

On the right of the regent were seated his royal brothers, and the

Duke of Gloucester, in a pew by themselves, covered with crimson; the Prince Regent's face was towards the high altar: they looked across the chancel with their right to the eastern end of the church. The ministers of state occupied the lower end of the chancel: the peers, foreign ministers, members of the House of Commons, &c. &c. filled each side, on benches one above another, mounting almost to the top of the arches.

The liturgy was performed after the cathedral manner, *Te Deum*, &c. being chanted. After a sermon by Dr Law, Bishop of Chester, the splendid cavalcade moved in inverted order from the cathedral to Carleton-house.

9th.—The Duke of Wellington was entertained with a grand dinner, at Guildhall, by the corporation of London. Previously to the entertainment the noble duke was presented, in the customary forms, with a sword of exquisite workmanship, voted by the common council. The guests consisted of several of the royal dukes, of the foreign princes remaining in this country, the foreign ambassadors, the ministers of state, and a long list of naval and military characters of distinction. The galleries, which had not been removed, were again crowded with ladies. The interior of the hall was decorated much in the same manner as at the banquet which was honoured by the presence of the Regent, and their Russian and Prussian majesties.

The Dutch papers are full of the progress of the Emperor Alexander through Holland, and of the honours with which he was received at Rotterdam, the Hague, and Amsterdam. The visit of his imperial majesty to the village of Saaldam was interesting. The house which Peter the Great first entered on his arrival, August 18, 1697, was prepared for the reception of his majesty, and the Prince of Orange, who accompanied him. The house was fitted up with Dutch neatness. In the parlour was a fine portrait of Peter the Great in armour. The emperor and the prince were received by 16 daughters of the magistrates, in the dress of Saaldam. The illustrious visitors testified their satisfaction at their reception, and then went to the house of the Czar Peter, which had simply the inscription, "To the great man, nothing is too little." The emperor having visited the dock, where Peter engaged himself as a workman, came to the house. The prince led him in, and one could immediately see the impression which the immense contrast of the simple dwelling with the power and splendour of its former inhabitant, and so many other recollections, would not fail to inspire. The prince requested the emperor to leave a memorial of this remarkable visit, and all having been prepared, the emperor, with a silver trowel, fixed in the chimney a square of white marble, on which is inscribed in golden letters—"Petro Magno—Alexander."

11th.—Advices from Cashel mention the murder of Mr Long, of Ardmale, in the county of Tipperary, on Monday last, at an early hour of the morning. Mr Long, though advanced in years, was fond of rural sports, and had risen at a very early hour, in order to reach the mountains betimes, which were to be the scene of his intended sport. He had proceeded but a few steps from his house when he was fired at with two shots, both of which took effect, and he fell. Mr Long had passed the early part of his life in India, where he had amassed a considerable fortune, which it was his wish to enjoy in his native country. With a view to the employment of the poor, he had attempted the establishment of a woollen manufactory at Ardmale, which turned out unsuccessful; and the building originally destined for this purpose

he was about to dispose of to government, to be used as a barrack, a measure which the lawless state of the surrounding district most urgently called for, when he fell by the assassin's hand. He was an active zealous supporter of the public peace, and he has fallen the victim of his public zeal, and of his opposition to the savage turbulence which has convulsed so long the country in his vicinity.

12th.—Dresden.—The explosion which happened here on the 27th of June, was one of the most tremendous recorded in history; it has crowned the calamities which have so long afflicted our unfortunate city.

During the armistice of 1813, the French erected before the Black-gate of the New Town a considerable *tête-de-pont*, which they called the Emperor's entrenchment. In this entrenchment they constructed a large fort of wood, and a spacious vault, where they established a vast powder magazine, which was surrendered by the capitulation. This magazine contained upwards of 100,000 quintals of gunpowder, partly in barrels, partly in cartridges, grenades, &c. It was guarded by Russian soldiers.

On the 27th of June some Saxon artillerymen were to fetch a quantity of powder from this magazine, and a number of peasants had been ordered to remove it. Some detachments of Russian troops were exercising near the place. About half-past eight o'clock, part of the wooden fort blew up with such a tremendous explosion, that the ground was shaken to a great distance. All the men and animals within the distance of a thousand paces from the fort fell victims to this accident. Several persons were killed by the beams, the palisades, and other things belonging to the fort; and others suffered severely from the pressure of the air. The arms and legs of these unfortunate people were carried to an immense distance. The buildings of the New Town, situated near the entrenchment, and among others the church, were so violently shaken, that not a single pane of glass in them was left whole, and the altar and organ were much damaged. The academy of the cadets has also suffered exceedingly. The barracks, in which 2800 Russians were quartered, are entirely ruined, and those troops had great difficulty to escape from them into the New Town.

The consternation occasioned by this misfortune was heightened, when it was known that the fire had communicated to that part of the wooden fort which contained the principal store of powder, cartridges, and grenades. The most prompt assistance was requisite to prevent an explosion still more dreadful than the first. An aulic counsellor had the courage to seize and pull away a beam that was on fire, and that alone would have been sufficient to annihilate us. The cellars where the powder was deposited were covered with earth and dung, and Heaven interposed in our favour. It began to rain about eight o'clock, and the rain lasted the whole day.

Even in the Old Town upwards of 1000 houses were much damaged by the shock. Beams were thrown to the opposite side of the Elbe, which proves the extreme violence of the explosion. It was felt as far as Pirna, which is four leagues from Dresden, and the windows were broken there in almost all the houses of Castle-street. The number of persons who perished by this catastrophe is not correctly ascertained.

Waterford.—About five o'clock in the evening two ruffians, armed, one with a blunderbuss, the other with a carbine, apparently strangers, and their faces slightly blackened, entered the dwelling-house of Charles Crowley, woodranger, at Woodhouse, in this

county. Crowley was absent, but the intruders made his son Francis accompany one of them into an inner room in search of arms, while the other was stationed at the door. Shortly after they had entered the room, a shot was fired by the man on the outside, which almost instantly killed Crowley's daughter, a young woman about 20 years of age. The search was immediately abandoned: the villains ran off, and have hitherto escaped detection.

15th.—Mr Sadler and his son this day ascended in a balloon from the court-yard of Burlington-house, at half-past three in the afternoon. As the balloon proceeded, the travellers were distinctly observed, each waving a flag which he held in his hand. In about eight minutes it disappeared. Mr Sadler has since published the following account of his voyage:—

"After the balloon had cleared the east wing of Burlington-house, our ascent was slow, and only evidenced by the apparent receding of objects; for it was not we who seemed to rise, but every thing beneath us to retire. In a few minutes we were perpendicular with Leicester-square, and our prospect was at once grand and awful; the whole of London and its magnificent buildings lay below us, with its surrounding fields, canals, and parks; the beautiful serpentine form of the river, with its rich shipping, docks, and bridges. We enjoyed this scenery for about 15 minutes, and at a quarter before four o'clock entered a dense cloud, which completely shut us out from all sight of the earth: at this time we could sensibly perceive the balloon to be rising. When we had soared through this cloud, my son observed to me, that, from the variegated colours reflected and refracted from the multitudinous congregation of vapours around us, and the effulgence of different lights, he could scarcely see to any great distance, or make any distinct observations on the numberless forms around us; although, from the shadow of the balloon on the more opaque clouds, I could easily discover that we had altered our course towards the south-east. From the intense cold, and a most violent pain in my ears, which I never experienced before, our height could not be less, in my calculation, than five miles. The late Right Hon. Mr Windham, about thirty years ago, indeed experienced a similar attack in his ears, though we had not then ascended above two miles and a half; but from my best observations, calculated upon former experience, we must have been about that height. My son soon after found the same effect, though in a much slighter degree.

"By the various currents of air, and the renewed motion of the machine, I judged we were approaching the sea; and requesting my son to open the valve, we perceived ourselves rapidly descending. The clouds were so near the earth, that, after lowering for the space of a quarter of an hour, though we distinctly heard the lowing of the cattle, we could not discover terra firma; but shortly after the clouds opened themselves beneath us, and displayed the variegated fields and the river Thames, and informed us that we had again altered our direction, and were returning from the south-east to the north-west; and, sailing over the Lower Hope and East Tilbury, we had a distinct view of the mouth of the river, Sheerness, Margate, Ramsgate, &c. with their coasts and shipping; but the clouds collecting and rolling over each other, again enclosed us in visible invisibility. After again descending below the clouds, we saw an inviting hay-field at a considerable distance, and opening the valve again, a sufficient quantity of gas escaped for us to reach the proposed spot; and, after

throwing out the grappling-iron, which immediately took effect, we came to the ground without any unpleasant convulsion. We remained quietly in the car till all the gas had evaporated, by which time a number of spectators reached the place, but not before every thing had been properly secured. Our descent was at Great Warley Franks, near Ockenden, Essex, where we were hospitably entertained and accommodated by Mr S. Francis, the occupier of the land. A chaise being prepared from Brentwood, on which the whole of the apparatus was placed, we returned to Burlington-house again about 11 o'clock."

A dreadful riot, attended with very melancholy consequences, took place at the race course of Downpatrick.

It appears that a very great and unusual assembling of country people, all armed with sticks, and some with pistols, was observed on the race course on Friday, and it was understood that a preconcerted disturbance was to be the consequence, as, for several days before, it was said without hesitation, that "the Orangemen had their day on the 12th of July, and they (the Threshers) should have theirs on the Friday of the races. About four o'clock on that day, a quarrel (many present say a sham fight) took place between two men, which in an instant attracted a great crowd, apparently on the watch, and a disturbance ensued, and continued for a considerable time, till it became so alarming that the magistrates found it necessary to send to Down for a detachment of the Middlesex militia, quartered there.

When the military were drawn up, the rage of the assembled crowd was directed almost wholly against them, and they were assailed with vollies of stones from behind the tents, and many opprobrious names. The militia all this time kept their ground with the greatest coolness. The great mass, (some thousands, it is said,) emboldened by the quiet manner in which the soldiers acted, advanced so near as to bid them defiance, pelting them with stones, by which some of them were injured and knocked down. The soldiers were then ordered to fire with blank cartridge; but this only made the mob more riotous. They were then ordered to fire with ball: two men instantly fell, and a great many were wounded; four or five are in the infirmary. A number of the rioters were taken prisoners and lodged in jail; one of them had four pistols in his possession, another had two.

Louis XVIII. has issued a long ordonnance regulating the naval service, and limiting the officers to 10 vice-admirals, 20 rear-admirals, 100 captaines de vaisseau, (40 of the first class, and 60 of the second class) 100 captaines de frégate, 400 lieutenants, and 500 ensigns. The annual pay of each rank is, vice-admirals, 12,000 francs; rear-admiral, 8000; capitaine de vaisseau, 1st class, 4000; second class, 3600; capitaine de frégate, 2300; lieutenant, 1600; ensign, 1200.

16th.—This day a great concourse of people assembled in Covent Garden, to witness the election of a representative for Westminster in parliament, in the room of Lord Cochrane expelled. Sir Francis Burdett concluded an animated speech by proposing the re-election of Lord Cochrane, which was seconded by Mr Sturch. Mr Wishart and Mr Alderman Wood severally addressed the meeting, and the motion was carried unanimously. After the election the Westminster committee, accompanied by Sir Francis and Mr Jones Burdett, repaired to the King's Bench prison, to congratulate Lord Cochrane upon the result, and to deliver the following address:—

Committee-room, King-street, Covent-garden July 16, 1814.

My lord,—I am directed by the committee of electors of Westminster, appointed at the general meeting held in New Palace-yard on Monday the 11th instant, to acquaint your lordship, that you were this morning nominated as a fit and proper person to fill the vacancy in the representation of the city of Westminster in parliament, occasioned by your lordship's expulsion; and that you were immediately re-elected, without opposition, and with the most lively expressions of universal approbation. The committee further direct me to convey to your lordship their sincere congratulations on an event so happily demonstrative of the sense which your constituents entertain of the accusation which has been brought against you, and of the very extraordinary proceedings by which it has been followed up; and to assure your lordship, that it affords them the highest gratification to find that you are able to oppose, to the envenomed shafts of malice and party spirit, the impenetrable shield of conscious innocence. They rejoice to see that the prejudices, occasioned by gross and shameless misrepresentations, are fast wearing away from the public mind; and they trust that the time is near when your lordship's character will appear as fair and unblemished in the view of every individual in the British empire, as it now does in the eyes of the electors of Westminster.

Samuel Brooks, chairman.

To Lord Cochrane.

To which this was the reply of Lord Cochrane:—

King's Bench, July 18, 1814.

Sir,—Amongst all the occurrences of my life, I can call to my memory no one which has produced so great a degree of exultation in my breast as this, which, through a channel I so highly esteem, has been communicated to me, that, after all the machinations of corruption (bringing into play her choicest agents) have been able to effect against me, the citizens of Westminster have, with unanimous voice, pronounced me worthy of continuing to be one of their representatives in parliament. Merely to be a member of the House of Commons (as now made up) is something too meagre to be a gratification to me. But when I reflect on that love of country, that devotion to freedom, that soundness of judgment, that unshaken adherence to truth and justice, which have invariably marked the proceedings of the citizens of Westminster; and when I further reflect, that it is of Sir Francis Burdett whom they have now, for the third time, made me the colleague, how am I to express, on the one hand, my gratitude towards them, and, on the other, the contempt which I feel for all the distinctions of birth, and for all the wealth and all the decorations which ministers and kings have it, under the present system, in their power to bestow!—With regard to the case, the agitation of which has been the cause of this to me most gratifying result, I am in no apprehension as to the opinions and feelings of the world, and especially of the people of England; who, though they may be occasionally misled, are never deliberately cruel or unjust. Only let it be said of me—The Stock Exchange have accused;—Lord Ellenborough has charged for guilty;—the special jury have found that guilt;—the court have sentenced to the pillory;—the House of Commons have expelled;—and the citizens of Westminster have re-elected. Only let this be the record placed against my name, and I shall be proud to stand in the calendar of criminals all the days of my life. In requesting

you, sir, to convey these my sentiments to my constituents at large, I cannot refrain from begging you and the other gentlemen of the committee to accept of my particular and unfeigned thanks. I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant, COCHRANE.

To Samuel Brookes, Esq.

At Candar Mill, near Stonehouse, a very wonderful circumstance took place on Monday. As a boy, three years of age, was playing near the mill, he fell into the lead, and was carried by the current below the water-wheel, whose circumference moves within two inches of the rock. It happened that one of the paddles was broken; into the interstice so formed, the boy was providentially borne by the water, and thence he was carried round below the wheel, and thrown out upon the shore, apparently lifeless; but he was happily recovered by the exertions of his friends, and is now, with the exception of a slight bruise upon his arm, in good health.

20th.—Louis Buonaparte has published in the Gazette of Arau, a letter of the 18th ult. in which he formally renounces, for himself and his family, all right to the property assigned to him by the convention of last April at Fontainbleau, as well as an estate given him in 1810 as an indemnity for the crown of Holland. The former is 200,000 francs a-year (about 8000l. sterling).

21st.—The Prince Regent gave a superb fete to Field-marshal the Duke of Wellington. On this occasion the temporary erections in the gardens of Carlton-house, which have been so long in preparation, were used for the first time; and the whole of the entertainment exhibited a splendour and magnificence which have probably never been exceeded in this country.

The Duke of Wellington appeared in regimentals, wearing the brilliant insignia of the various orders with which he has been invested, and of course was the great attraction of the night. One of the temporary rooms, also, was wholly devoted to the display of military trophies, among which were the colours of his grace's regiment, the standard of England, and other military decorations. Nor was the navy, the bulwark and glory of Britain, neglected, an opposite room being fitted up with naval trophies and appropriate devices.

Besides the principal branches of the royal family, there were present the foreign ambassadors, the ministers, the great officers of state, a great number of foreigners of rank, and a numerous assemblage of the nobility and persons of distinction. From the number of officers who were present, many of whom had served in the peninsula, the entertainment assumed the appearance of a military fete; and they might in all amount to between 1800 and 2000. There were 2500 persons invited.

The weather proving favourable, the gardens were brilliantly illuminated, and afforded an agreeable promenade. About three o'clock in the morning a shower of rain fell, but it was too slight to prevent their being frequented. The façade of Carlton-house, and the court-yard, were also illuminated. The company began to arrive at nine o'clock; but they had not all arrived till near one. They were received at the grand entrance by the prince's equerries in waiting, who conducted them to the suit of temporary rooms in the garden. The first of these was a tent, decorated with plate-glass, and white and rose-coloured draperies. This tent led to the large new polygon-room, which measured 120 feet in diameter. Each side of this spacious room was groined and

supported by fasces ornamented with flowers; from these arose an elegant umbrella roof, terminating in a ventilator, decorated with large gilt cords, and painted to imitate white muslin, which produced a very light effect. The walls within the groins were decorated with muslin draperies and eight large plate-glasses, round which the draperies were elegantly disposed. In the centre was a garland of artificial flowers in the shape of a temple, connected by a very large gilt rope from the roof; this was used as an orchestra for two bands. The floor was chalked with elegant devices in compartments for twelve sets of dancers, radiating from the centre to the pillars at the sides. This room was illuminated with twelve glass lustres with patent lamps. From the centre of each groin was suspended an antique alabaster lamp.

Immediately opposite to the tent of communication with the house, was a similar tent, in which were tables for tea, coffee, ices, and fruits of various sorts from the royal gardens. To the west of the polygon-room was a specious covered promenade, decorated with white draperies, and ornamented with rose-coloured cords. In this were four recesses, lined with muslin draperies; at the end of this spacious apartment, a Corinthian temple presented itself, terminating with a large mirror, over which was a brilliant star, and the letter W. in cut glass. In front of the mirror was a bust of the Duke of Wellington, executed in marble, by Turnerelli. It was placed on a verde antique column, and formed an attractive and appropriate object from the polygon-room. From each side of this temple, which terminated the promenade, extended a spacious supper-room, ornamented with regimental silk colours belonging to the ordnance. The communication to these two rooms was closed until supper was announced, by folding doors concealed by a white drapery. From the east of the polygon-room extended another spacious promenade, decorated with green calico draperies. In this apartment were introduced allegorical transparencies. The first of these transparencies represented the 'Overthrow of Tyranny by the Allied Powers;' the second, 'Assembly of the Powers for the General Peace;' the third, 'Arrival of the Allied Princes in London;' the fourth, 'Arrival of the Allied Sovereigns in Paris;' the fifth, 'Passage of the Allied Sovereigns from France to England;' the sixth, 'Agriculture in England;' the seventh, 'Victory and General Peace!' the eighth, 'Commerce of England;' the ninth, 'Union of the Seine and the Thames with the Ocean;' the tenth, 'Military Glory;' the eleventh, 'The Arts in England;' the twelfth, 'Emancipation of Holland.'

Beyond the apartment which contained these transparencies was an arbour in different compartments formed with laurel branches, as emblems of victory, and decorated with rare and beautiful plants brought from Kew gardens; in these were tables, with a variety of refreshments. To the south of the arbour was a large temporary supper-room for the accommodation of 300 persons, which was also fitted up with allegorical paintings, and flags, as emblematical of our great military hero, and terminated with a large sideboard and mirror, surmounted with the standard of England. Several tents, fitted up as supper-rooms, communicated with this spacious apartment. All the temporary rooms were rendered peculiarly comfortable from the floors being boarded, and great attention paid to their ventilation.

An additional Gothic room, erected

at the end of the conservatory, calculated to accommodate 100 persons at supper, added considerably to the splendour of the lower suit of rooms.

The Queen, and Princesses Augusta and Mary, arrived in their chairs exactly at ten o'clock, attended by a party of the yeomen of the guard and footmen with flambeaus: they entered by the garden from the park. They were received at the library by the Duke of Kent; and the Prince Regent hastened immediately after to attend his royal guests.

About half an hour after the arrival of the royal party, they entered the polygon-room, the Queen leaning on the Prince Regent's right arm. His royal highness was dressed in regimentals, wearing his English, Russian, Prussian, and French orders, and appeared in excellent health; the royal party promenaded round the room, receiving the compliments of the numerous and distinguished assembly. The Queen and Prince were followed by the Duke of Kent and Princess Augusta, the Duke of Cambridge and Princess Mary, the Princess Sophia of Gloucester; the Duke and Duchess of York came afterwards. The Prince Regent's band, in their full dress, played in the orchestra, during the royal promenade, "God save the King," and "The Prince Regent's March." When this band left the orchestra, a very numerous band for country dances took their place, and dancing commenced.

A little before two o'clock, the company retired to supper. The royal party supped in the two rooms which were erected to receive the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia, where the cloth was laid for 120. After supper dancing recommenced.

The queen and princesses withdrew about half-past four; the company had not all retired till past six.

22d.—On Sunday night se'nnight, about ten o'clock, Mrs Noyce, an aged woman, who resides at Fawley, in the New Forest, Hampshire, was barbarously murdered near her own residence. The deceased kept a chandler's shop, was a widow, and had one son about twenty years of age, who being from home, she left her house to go in pursuit of him: as she did not return home at a late hour, some of her neighbours went out in quest of her, and at two o'clock in the morning she was found apparently lifeless in a field adjoining a lane where they knew she would pass, with her head shockingly bruised. She remained in this state for several days, and when she came to herself, she described the attack to have been made by a man in the lane, who came behind her and gave her some violent blows with a stick or bludgeon on the back of her head, and afterwards dragged her into the field, but she did not see the man, and of course could not describe him. She has since died of the wounds, and the coroner's jury have brought in a verdict of wilful murder against her own son. On Monday he was conveyed to Winchester gaol, by Vickery the Bow-street officer. It appeared before the jury, that the son courted, and was about to marry, a young woman whom the mother had a great objection to, but he persisted. On the night when the horrible deed was committed, he was proved to have been visiting the young woman, and he was seen by a servant girl coming out of the field where his mother was found five minutes after she left her house. It is conjectured that the motive for the barbarous act was, that the mother had left all her property to her son; but had threatened, that if he married the girl she objected to, she would alter her will and leave it to some one else.

25th.—CHARLES DIBDIN.—This celebrated character expired this morning, at his house in Camden Town. As a song writer, he has never been equalled, for the number and merit of his compositions. They amount to upwards of 1200; and it may be truly said, that, though a great proportion of them are in praise of love and festivity, not one passage can be found in the whole number of a loose and licentious tendency.

27th.—COWES, ISLE OF WIGHT.—A melancholy accident took place yesterday in Hamble river, by the upsetting of a punt, in which were R. Holmes, Esq. member for Newport, and only brother of Sir L. W. Holmes, Bart. and a young man of this town, named Parkman, who, although they could both swim exceedingly well, were unfortunately drowned, by getting entangled in the weeds. Mr Holmes was not more than 24 years of age, and such was the respect in which he was held, that his death has occasioned an universal gloom throughout the island.

28th.—At the levee, Dr James Edward Smith presented to the Prince Regent a set of the Transactions of the Linnæan Society; on which occasion his royal highness was pleased to confer the honour of knighthood on Dr Smith, as founder, and hitherto only president, of that learned body, of which his royal highness is patron.

30th.—The king of France has permitted the free exportation from his kingdom of gold and silver, coined and uncoined; subject merely to certain slight custom-house regulations. The preamble to the decree is worthy attention:—"We have ascertained," says his majesty, "that all the prohibitions of the exportation of gold and silver are of no avail in preventing it, and have no other effect than that of fettering commerce, and hindering the entrance or transit of the said articles; so that such prohibitions, far from increasing the quantity of gold and silver, tend, on the contrary, to make them disappear, and diminish their quantity," &c.

AGRICULTURAL REPORT.

Until the third week of this month, the weather has been singularly cold and ungenial for the season; and it is only within the last fortnight that we have had either refreshing showers, or the warmth of summer. The extreme drought has been favourable to cleaning and pulverizing turnip and summer fallows;—the latter were probably never in finer tilth in any season. But, from the same cause, the hay crop is universally light—perhaps not more than half an average one; pastures have kept little stock; and straw, there is reason to fear, will not be nearly so abundant as it was last year.

Of the growing crops, wheat, upon rich deep soils, promises to be the best; but upon thin clays and burning sands, and generally on all sorts of inferior land, it will not be nearly an average crop. The appearance of barley is not unfavourable. But oats, in almost every situation, will be deficient both in corn and straw. Beans and pease look tolerably well. Everywhere, harvest will be later than it was last year by ten days or a fortnight. The late rains have greatly improved the appearance of all the corn crops, as well as of potatoes and turnips; for the last of which they have been peculiarly seasonable. The orchards, which in April gave the promise of abundance, have suffered so much by the subsequent frosts, that in Scotland their produce will not be equal to half an average crop.

Corn markets have fluctuated but little for these three months. Prices are rather higher; but the stock on

hand is so abundant, independent of continued importation, that nothing but a very unfavourable harvest can occasion any material advance. In some places, about a fourth of last crop seems still to be in the stack-yard.

All kinds of live-stock are lower than they were last year;—cattle not fit for being soon brought to the shambles, about 30 per cent.; the best horses 20 per cent., and all others almost unsaleable. Sheep have not fallen so much, as there has been a considerable advance upon wool, particularly long wool. The grazier has been every way a loser; his pastures have never kept their ordinary stock, and what part he has hitherto brought to market, scarcely replaced the prime cost. The drover has fared no better in the southern markets.

There has been no reduction of wages. Women have got somewhat more than usual in several hiring markets. The present state of things has not continued so long as to produce any fall in rent; but a good many farms, taken since last harvest, are now thought to be much too high rented; and some agreements, we understand, have been recently cancelled. —*Farmer's Magazine.*

AUGUST.

1st.—Grand Jubilee.—It having been determined in the councils of the Prince Regent that the return of peace should be marked by displays of joy most striking and appropriate to the occasion, and of which the whole public might be partakers, a general and splendid jubilee was decided on to take place in the parks. With respect to the subject of celebration, the renewal of peace was naturally that which first presented itself; and over the royal booth an inscription was placed to this effect, viz. "Peace restored under the Regency." But, from delay, peace was now become a circumstance with which the public mind was familiarized; and it was at length resolved to associate with it the ascension of the house of Brunswick, by selecting the day on which that happy event took place a hundred years before. A new inscription pointed out this intention; and the names of Nelson and Wellington, in great letters upon the booth, further indicated that our naval and military glories were to form other objects to which the joyful feelings of the spectators were to be directed.

The three parks were adopted for the scene of this civic festival, as alone affording space for the expansion of the immense multitudes by which the British metropolis is peopled. In that of St James's, the principal attraction to curiosity was a Chinese bridge thrown over the canal, upon the centre of which was erected a lofty pagoda, while the other parts were decorated with pillars, and boxes for the exhibition of fire-works. The Bird-cage walk, and part of the Mall, were hung with Chinese lanterns. In the Green-park, on the edge of the Mall, was placed the royal booth, of a circular form, with a gallery attached to it, for the ministers of state, foreign ministers, and other distinguished persons. Not far from it, in the same park, was the grand edifice, entitled the Temple of Concord. From the Queen's palace a bridge of communication to the Green-park was thrown over the road of Constitution-hill. In Hyde-park the Serpentine River was allotted for the spectacle of a naumachia, in which a British and French fleet, represented by barges brought from Woolwich, and fitted up to resemble men of war of the line and fri-

gates, were to exhibit the manœuvres and circumstances of a naval fight. The park itself was covered with a multitude of booths, erected by permission, and fraught with all the variety of amusement and recreation belonging to a country fair.

During the whole progress of preparation, and especially as it approached to completion, the parks were the great object of public curiosity, and became the most crowded promenade of the metropolis. The daily papers were likewise filled with descriptions and speculations relative to the expected jubilee, which even was a subject of parliamentary discussion; and not a little satire both within and without doors was bestowed upon the fluctuations of the plan, and particularly upon the mimic naumachia, which, after the late display of real power and grandeur at Portsmouth, was treated as a kind of burlesque, calculated only for the diversion of holiday cockneys. At length, on July 31st, the following public notification was issued by authority:—

"August first is the day fixed for a grand national jubilee, being the centenary of the accession of the illustrious family of Brunswick to the throne of this kingdom, and the anniversary of the battle of the Nile. Hyde Park, in which there will be a grand fair, is entirely open to the people. The Green Park will also be entirely open to the people. The Mall of St James's Park, and Constitution-hill, will also be open to the people, to enter by Spring-gardens and New-street gates. The lawn in St James's Park, and the Bird-cage Walk, will be devoted to those who have purchased tickets."

Then followed a description of the accommodation prepared for the public; and never, perhaps, in the annals of this metropolis, had the curiosity of hundreds of thousands of the public been more eagerly and anxiously excited than by this annunciation. It is certainly true that so immense a number of the people at large were never brought together, in any previous instance, by any description of public rejoicings, on any of the great events which have so often gilded the pages of British story. The hoped-for morning came: the sky was darkened, the rain descended in torrents, and the expected pleasures of the day were given up for the moment as lost. Sunday had been fine. The eve of the festal day had in a manner commenced the entertainment, and thousands promenading the parks, had almost outwatched the moon. The apprehension of disappointment was, however, suddenly relieved; for between ten and eleven the sun re-appeared, beaming in all his glory, and shedding his brightest refulgence on the scene. The inhabitants of the metropolis, and the countless numbers who had come to it from every quarter, had nothing now to interfere with their hopes, or to prevent them as soon as they pleased from throwing themselves into the vortex of festivity and rejoicing.

Hyde Park, without the advantages of pagoda or fortress, was not without its share of attraction: its extent of view, the openness of the scene, and consonant coolness of the air, would of themselves have made it a refuge from the deep and close sultriness of the other parks. But if it had neither tower nor temple, it had booths and shows in profusion, and the wide and peopled magnificence of the Serpentine.

The naval engagement on the Serpentine commenced about six by a cannonading between the foremost vessels, some of which hoisted the American, and others the English colours. Both shores were lined with people anxious to witness this mimic fight; and, in the public eagerness, many

were forced into the water. The Americans were of course compelled to strike their colours. An interval of near an hour and a half followed without further movement. At dark, however, the English fleet formed, and came down with a fair wind to attack that of the Americans lying at anchor. A tremendous cannonade followed, when the American fleet were driven on shore, and the English ships were towed back to their original moorings. About ten o'clock the spectators were suddenly surprised by the instantaneous burst on their sight of a ship on fire. This was at first beheld as a calamity; but in a few minutes it was universally perceived that she was bearing down on the American fleet previously driven on shore. The awful grandeur, and the still increasing splendour of the scene, drew forth bursts of acclamations from both the shores of the Serpentine; and in a few minutes the first ship of the American fleet which lay in her line, and with which she came in contact, was set on fire, and added to the magnificence of a scene which, in its real occurrence, has been universally allowed to exceed all others in terrific pomp, viz. that of a ship of war on fire at sea. This frigate was followed by a second, and by the two the whole American fleet were set on fire and demolished. Soon after this the fireworks began; and Hyde Park presented a phœnomenon no where else to be seen, namely, the water-rockets. They commence with a report which draws the attention of the spectators to them; they are then seen whirling about with great rapidity on the surface of the water, imitating the rotatory motion of a mill-wheel. In a few seconds there is an addition of a very beautiful fountain, which, after displaying its elegant spoutings for some time, bursts forth with a loud report into what are called water-snakes. These, after flying into the air, descend again into the water, into which they immerge for a minute or two, and then rise at the distance of a few feet, and keep thus continually bounding in all directions, and after various immersions, till at last they expire in a loud explosion. With these the exhibition in Hyde Park terminated.

The Green Park, at an early hour, began to display its attraction. Besides the balloon, it was here that the castle-temple was to be seen; here the royal booth displayed its crimson tapestry and its illuminated front; and here the splendid bridge over Constitution Hill presented the names of the chief naval heroes of the war. The attractions in this quarter were increased by the presence at Buckingham-house of the princesses and queen, who had invited the Regent, and 250 of the nobility and gentry, to dinner, and to view the different exhibitions. The royal family paraded the lawn for a short time. The Duke of Cambridge and the Princess Sophia of Gloucester were particularly anxious to see and understand the process of filling the balloon. It was ready to ascend about six o'clock, but its flight was delayed a few minutes, that her majesty and the princesses might witness the ascent. At twenty minutes past six, when the ends which held the balloon were ready to be cut, it was found that the fastening which secures the network to the valve at the top of the balloon had by some means been disengaged, and was held only by a slight twine. Under these circumstances, the new aspirant to celestial excursions, Mrs Henry Johnston, was informed that she could not possibly accompany Mr Sadler on his voyage without imminent danger to both. The Duke of Wellington, who conversed with Mrs Johnston, having ascertained the dan-

ger, recommended both to decline the voyage. This enterprising young aëronaut, who is only 17 years of age, feeling for the disappointment of the public, and for his own honour, was determined to go up; and he ascended about twenty-four minutes past six. When above the London Docks, the balloon appeared for a short time nearly stationary, and it was not until a quantity of ballast was thrown out that a quicker motion could be given to it. On passing over Deptford, at a considerable height, Mr Sadler went through a cloud which left behind it on the railing of the car, and on various parts of the balloon, a thick moisture, which soon became frozen; and Mr Sadler, for a short time, felt the cold as intense as in winter. Immediately over Woolwich, the string which fastened the net, as was apprehended, suddenly broke, and the main body of the balloon was forced quickly through the aperture nearly 18 feet. Mr Sadler, to prevent the danger which threatened him, caught the pipe at the bottom of the balloon, and by hanging on it and the valve-line, he prevented the ballast from further escaping. The valve, which had for some time resisted every attempt to open it, in consequence of being frozen, at this time gave way, and suffered the gas to escape. A sudden shift of wind, while the balloon was apparently falling into the middle of the Thames at Sea Reach, carried it about 100 yards over the marshes on the Essex side, when the aëronaut seized the opportunity of making a gash in the balloon with his knife, which the wind considerably widened, and occasioned the escape of the gas in great quantities. Mr Sadler's descent, on this account, was rather more precipitate and violent than he could have wished. He landed, however, in Mucking Marshes, 16 miles below Gravesend, on the Essex coast, without sustaining any other injury than a slight sprain, in about 40 minutes after his departure from the Park. A fisherman, of the name of Mansbridge, fearing that the balloon might fall into the Thames, followed its course as nearly as he could with his boat, to afford any assistance in his power. Mr S., with his balloon, was conveyed by him to Gravesend, from whence he took a post-chaise and four to town, and arrived at Buckingham-house at half-past three on Tuesday morning.

Scarcely had the moon risen when the bridge and the royal booth were illuminated, and the Chinese lanterns here and there showed their fantastic transparencies: they were, however, too few in number, and not sufficiently lighted, to produce much effect, and were only pretty when viewed in detail. The illuminations did not pretend to any extraordinary magnificence; they merely exhibited, amidst a profuse blaze of lamps, the names of all the illustrious companions of Wellington in the peninsular war, and of the principal naval heroes, dead and living, who, during the last 20 years, have upheld and increased the maritime glory of their country. At ten o'clock a loud and long-continued discharge of artillery announced the commencement of the fire-works, which were certainly, if not the most tasteful, yet on the grandest and most extensive scale possible. From the battlements of the castle, at one moment, ascended the most brilliant rockets: Presently the walls disclosed all the rarest and most complicated ornaments of which the art is susceptible. The senses were next astonished and enchanted with a pacific exhibition of those tremendous instruments of destruction invented by Colonel Congreve. Some notion even of their terrible power might be formed from the display of the night, and their exceeding beauty could be contemplated, divested of its usual awful associations. Each rocket contains

in itself a world of smaller rockets: as soon as it is discharged from the gun, it bursts, and flings aloft in the air innumerable parcels of flame, brilliant as the brightest stars; the whole atmosphere was illuminated by a delicate blue light, which threw an air of enchantment over the trees and lawns, and made even the motley groups of London become interesting as an assembly in romance. These several smaller rockets then burst again, and a shower of fiery light descended to the earth, and extended over many yards. Such was one of the beautiful fire-works which, during the space of two hours, amused and astonished the people. The public were now becoming weary, when the grand metamorphosis took place of the fortress into the Temple of Concord, by the removal of the fortifications, displaying the temple moving upon an axis, ornamented with allegorical paintings.

The fire-works and the temple together certainly gave a very brilliant gratification in the Green Park. But St James's Park was the chief place of attraction for all those who feared to encounter the trouble of mixing in the crowd, and who could afford to pay half-a-guinea in the expectation of personal security and comfort.

Notwithstanding the immense crowds in the streets, the access to this park was very easy at several gates. Between two and three o'clock some thousands entered, and their numbers gradually increased till dusk, when they augmented considerably, and the place had all the appearance of Vauxhall on a full night. Besides the Bird-cage walk, the Parade, and the front of Buckingham-house, outside of the semicircular railing, were appropriated to that part of the public who paid for admission. Over the canal was erected a bridge of timber, elegantly ornamented with temples and pillars, surmounted by a lofty pagoda. Tents were pitched in rows along the sides of the canal; and at regular intervals national flags were hoisted. A number of Thames watermen had permission to ply on the canal; and many worthy citizens and their families enjoyed an aquatic diversion for the first and perhaps the last time on this regal stream. Several boat-races took place before dusk. Of the booths erected for the accommodation of the company, many were untenanted: those, however, which were occupied, had a pretty good share of business. The time till dark was chiefly employed by the company in walking backwards and forwards, or getting dinner. The only public amusement consisted in the ascent of the balloon from the front of the Queen's house, which was preceded by the flight of one or two of a lesser size. From six to nine, people beguiled their tedious hours with eating and drinking, or observing the progress of the illumination of the Chinese bridge, or the somewhat distant noise of the firing on the Serpentine River. About nine the bridge and the pagoda were nearly, though they were not all night completely, illuminated according to the design, either through the wind, or some other accidental circumstance. The lawn was lighted up by two rows, on each side of the canal, of stars and crescents placed alternately. The Mall, Bird-cage walk, &c. were illuminated by circles of lamps embracing the trunks of most of the trees. The Chinese lanterns by no means answered expectation; not from any inherent fault in themselves, but from the poverty of the lights placed within them, which were not sufficient to shew off their whimsical and pretty devices. About ten the bridge, with its temples and pillars, and its towering superstructure, became an object of singular beauty and magnificence. It appeared a blazing edifice of golden fire. Every part of it was covered

with lamps, the glass reflectors, in proper places, relieving the dazzling splendour with their silver lustre; the canopies of the temple throwing up their bright wheels and stars, the pillars enriched with radiance, every rising tower of the pagoda pouring forth its fiery showers, and rockets springing from its lofty top in majestic flights, almost presuming to outrival the ancient inhabitants of the firmament. The effect of its vivid lights on the calm water which flowed beneath, the verdant foliage of the surrounding trees, the scattered tents, and the assemblage of spectators on the lawn, might without much of hyperbole be called magical and enchanting.

At ten, discharges of artillery hurried all spectators to the western end of the park, as they announced the commencement of the superior fireworks in the Green Park. Benches innumerable were brought by soldiers to enable the fair portion of the assemblage to obtain a view of the castle, of which after all the upper part only could be seen distinctly; that edifice being placed in a low situation, instead of being raised on a mound so as to render it conspicuous. Then the grand display of pyrotechnics took place, in number perhaps never exceeded. Rockets in profusion led the way, and were continued at every interval from both parks. Jerbs, maroons, Roman-candles, catherine-wheels, serpents, stars, flower-pots, and girandoles, succeeded each other, and were discharged with excellent skill and effect. That sort of fire-work called the girandole was very frequently displayed, in different colours, and was decidedly the most beautiful of the whole.

We have now to relate the melancholy occurrence of the evening. About twelve o'clock, and near the expiration of the fire-works, the pagoda, which was covered with lamps, and at intervals showed a calm mass of uniform light, exhibited an appearance that excited much doubt. Its upper towers seemed enveloped in flame, and it was soon learned that it had actually caught fire. The flames spread rapidly. Several engines were procured and played upon it; but it continued burning till in a short time the five upper towers were destroyed, or fell over the eastern side of the bridge: The lower ones were in a state little better, and some part of the substructure was much injured. The fate of the erection was much regretted, as it was deservedly a favourite; and still more for the calamity by which it was attended.

A coroner's inquest was held on the bodies of M. Foulkes and J. Taylor, who met their death from the unfortunate destruction of the pagoda in St James's Park by fire. Foulkes, who had precipitated himself from the building, fractured his skull, and Taylor was dreadfully burnt.—Verdict in both cases, *Accidental death.* The jury expressed a hope, that the family of Taylor would be provided for by government, which has since been generously done. Foulkes, it appears, had been a wholesale hosier in Wood-street, but a bankrupt. He was no way employed about the pagoda, but it is supposed ran up the building in the hope of rendering some assistance. After the cessation of the fire-works in Hyde Park, several accidents occurred: The limb of a tree broke down, by which a young woman who was standing under had her thigh broken, and two young men their arms. A rocket took off the calf of a gentleman's leg.

The three parks remained much in the same state as on the day of jubilee for some days after. In Hyde Park the booths, shows, gaming-tables, printing and copperplate presses, &c. amounted to 400: Every day added

to their number and attractions. The booth-keepers were thrice ordered away on Saturday the 6th; but they drew up a petition to remain till the 12th. They however received an order to quit at night, which they set at defiance. On Sunday the fair, with the exception of the shows, was continued. On Monday, the order from the secretary of state was renewed; and on Tuesday the magistrates, with the police-officers, compelled obedience.

2d.—Fall of Kilwinning Steeple.—This morning, about half past five o'clock, the inhabitants of Kilwinning were thrown into a dreadful state of alarm by the fall of their huge steeple. The atmosphere was completely darkened by the dust which arose from the rubbish.—In a minute or two it cleared, and then it was found that the whole of the west, and great part of the south side of the steeple, had given way, whilst the north side presented a most terrific appearance. The rents in the wall of the north side continued to increase till a quarter before twelve o'clock noon, when it also fell with a most terrible crash, a very small part of the north-east corner still standing at its height. Providentially no lives were lost. One house was completely destroyed, but the inhabitants were out of it. Some of the stones were thrown to a great distance, and one in particular, a very large one, entered a house by the door, and rolled a considerable way up the passage, without doing any other damage than simply grazing the door post.

In Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland, we read, that "The monastery of Kilwinning was founded in the year 1140, by Hugh de Morville, a very opulent and powerful baron, Lord of Cunninghame, and Lord High Constable of Scotland. It was dedicated to St Winning. The monks were brought from Kelso. In 1560, Alexander Earl of Glencairn, one of the most distinguished and active promoters of the reformation, in consequence of an order from the states of Scotland, in a great measure demolished this venerable and magnificent monastery. The only entire ruins of the abbey, now remaining, are a steeple and gable. These were repaired, some years ago, at a very considerable expence, by the Earl of Eglinton." It was from this steeple, on a pole 120 feet high, that the archers annually shot for the popingoe.

There is a woman of the name of Johanna Southcote, nearly 70 years of age, of whose impostures, or lunacy, our readers may already have heard. Some chapel in St George's Fields has acquired considerable popularity by the attendance of this poor wretch. She has lately given out that she is pregnant with the true Messiah, and expects to lie-in in a few weeks. It is a fact that a cot or cradle, formed of most expensive and magnificent materials, has been bespoke, by a lady of fortune, for Mrs Southcote's *accouchement*, and has been for some days exhibited at the warehouse of an eminent cabinet-maker in Aldersgate-street. Hundreds of genteel persons, of both sexes, have been to see this cradle; in which the followers of Johanna believe the true Messiah is to be rocked!

3d.—Mr Verity, surgeon of Bridgend, has lately attended a case of *Fragilitas Ossium*: the patient was a female, aged 62, and such was the brittle state of her bones, that she fractured the thigh bone, and the bones of the upper arms, in several places, in the short space of six weeks, though confined to her bed, merely by the ordinary action of the muscles. This disease was preceded by slight pains in the limbs similar to chronic rheumatism.

5th.—This morning, between 12 and one o'clock, Miss Mary Anne Welchman, a respectable young woman, who carried on the business of a dress-maker in the first floor of a house opposite the watch-house of St George, Hanover-square, in Mount-street, was barbarously murdered in the front room of the first floor. The report of a pistol was heard by the landlord and other persons in the house where she lodged, soon after twelve o'clock, which greatly alarmed them; immediately after, they heard the discharge of another pistol: great alarm was also created in the neighbourhood; it was not, however, at first discovered that the pistols had been discharged in Miss Welchman's apartments, till the smell of gunpowder became extremely strong in the house. Several persons proceeded to examine the house; they knocked at Miss Welchman's room door several times, and, receiving no answer, opened the door, and beheld Miss Welchman a lifeless corpse on the floor. Her head, on examination, proved to have been shot in two places, and but little remained of it. Two pistols were found on a table, which, on examination, proved beyond a doubt that they were the deadly instruments which had done the deed, as they must have been lately discharged. A man's hat was also found in the room, but no person of any description could be found on the premises who was suspected of being the perpetrator of the horrid act. The hat that was found in the room on examination led to the discovery of the murder, as it was ascertained to belong to a young man of the name of James Mitchell; and his not being found on the premises was afterwards accounted for by some persons who were in Mount-street at the time, a short distance from the house in which the deceased lodged, who heard the report of the discharge of the pistols, and immediately saw a man come out of the window of the first floor, and let himself down into the street by the assistance of the lamp-iron and the door, and then instantly ran off with all possible speed down the middle of the street. It was recollected that Mitchell had been admitted into the house between eight and nine o'clock on Thursday evening to visit Miss Welchman, and it was not known that he had gone out of the door. He had been in the frequent habit of visiting Miss Welchman for some time past, and it was generally understood that he was paying his addresses to her by her consent, which circumstance coming to the knowledge of the deceased's brother, he had several interviews with her upon the subject to endeavour to persuade her against countenancing the courtship of Mitchell, as being an improper connection. At length she listened to her brother's advice, and promised to act accordingly; and it is supposed, that the deceased and Mitchell had several interviews upon the subject, and that he would not submit to her refusal of marriage; that Thursday was the day fixed upon for the question to be finally settled; that he went prepared with two loaded pistols to put a period to her existence in case of refusal. This is the conjecture of those who knew the circumstances of the parties. Mitchell is a gentleman's servant out of place, and has been so for some time. Next morning the relations of the deceased attended at the public-office, Bow-street, and gave information of the murder, and the full description of Mitchell. This man was afterwards apprehended near Salisbury, and being brought to town, was tried for the murder at the Old Bailey sessions in September, before Mr Justice Heath, and found guilty upon the clearest circumstantial evidence. He was condemned, and executed.

Windsor Castle, Aug. 6.

His majesty's bodily health has been uninterrupted, and his mind uniformly tranquil, through the last month; but his majesty's disorder continues without any sensible alteration.—(Signed as usual.)

8th.—At the Cambridge assizes, William Pollard, a boy only fifteen years of age, was found guilty of setting fire to a house at Sawston, in the occupation of John Matthews, his uncle. The prisoner, it appeared, confessed his crime to another boy, and when examined before a magistrate, said that his uncle came to him in the field where he was working, and made a noise at him for being idle, when it came into his head to set the place on fire, which he did by placing a piece of burning turf close to the thatch. The reason he confessed was, that another person was suspected, and examined about it, and he was unwilling that person should be punished. He was sentenced to be hanged, but afterwards reprieved by the judge.

9th.—Departure of the Princess of Wales.—This afternoon, about four o'clock, numbers assembled on the Steyne, at Worthing, to witness the departure of the Princess of Wales in the Jason frigate, which had lain off Worthing since Saturday last. The princess came to the Steyne hotel at half past four, where the Honourable Captain King, of the Jason, not being quite in readiness to receive her royal highness, she drove to South Lancing, with Lady Charlotte Lindsey, and a young boy, who is said to be patronised by her royal highness. Captain King appeared shortly afterwards on the beach, at Worthing, and went in a boat to his own barge from the Jason, and proceeded to Lancing. The female domestics of the princess went on board at Worthing.

At a little time after six, her royal highness, with her attendants, went into the barge, to which she was driven by her own coachman, in one of the small pony carts; and was conducted to the Jason, on board of which she embarked. Her royal highness wore a dark cloth pelisse, with large gold clasps, and a cap in the Prussian hussar style, of violet and green satin with a green feather. The Jason and the Rosario lay at anchor about three miles from shore with their yards manned; and on her royal highness's going on board, the royal standard was hoisted. From the barge her royal highness repeatedly kissed her hand to the female spectators, who in return waved their handkerchiefs. The Jason sailed about seven o'clock in the evening. Numbers in carriages, on horseback, and on foot, came from Worthing and the vicinity to see the princess depart.

10th.—His Royal Highness the Prince Regent held a chapter of the order of the garter, when his most Catholic Majesty, Ferdinand VII. King of Spain, and his Royal Highness William Frederick, Prince of Orange and Nassau, Prince Sovereign of the Netherlands, were elected knights of the order.

A solemn ceremony took place in a Roman Catholic chapel at Clonmel, in Ireland, which, from the interest of the circumstance, was crowded to excess. It was the acceptance of the white veil, in the Society of the Presentation Convent, by a Miss Fanning, of Waterford, 17 years of age, with a very respectable fortune. All the gentry of the town and neighbourhood came to witness the ceremony.

Edinburgh.—This day the Right Honourable William Dundas, who had vacated his seat on being appointed to the office of Keeper of the Signet, was unanimously re-elected member of parliament for this city.

11th.—This day his Royal Highness the Duke de Berri arrived in

London, in a carriage and six—the carriage dark green, with the royal French arms in gold. His carriage was followed by another of a similar description, and six horses, with his royal highness's suite. These carriages were followed by two Dartford post-chaises, with domestics. There were three out-riders, with liveries, of dark green and gold lace.

The Duke de Berri had an audience of the Prince Regent in the afternoon, about five o'clock, at Carlton-house, on his arrival in England.

In consequence of a meeting of the members of the order of the Bath, at which a warrant was agreed upon, authorising Francis Townsend, Esq., king at arms of the order, to remove the banner of Sir Thomas Cochrane from being a member of the order: Mr Townsend attended with a warrant, signed by Viscount Sidmouth as secretary of state for the home department, a few minutes before eight o'clock, in King Henry VII.'s chapel, Westminster-abbey, and proceeded to remove the banner of Lord Cochrane from its situation. His lordship's arms were afterwards unscrewed from his stall, and the helmet, crest, mantling, and sword, with all his lordship's insignia of the order, were taken down from the top of the stall.—The most degrading part of the ceremony then took place. His lordship's banner was kicked out of the chapel, and down the steps leading to it. Nothing of the kind, as to the removal of a knight from the order of the Bath, has taken place since its establishment in 1725.

12th.—Mermaid.—*Ardsheal, Argyllshire, 14 miles from Fort William.*—Curiosity has been greatly excited by the alleged appearance of a mermaid on this coast. The last time she was seen is nearly a fortnight ago; since that the weather has been very stormy.

It is some time since she was first seen, very early one morning, by a lad lying on the shore at Ardsheal. He was at a considerable distance, and thought it was some person hiding himself in the sea-weed, with an intention of frightening him, but on coming nearer he saw, that though the upper part was like a human being, the lower part was like an immense fish. He was so frightened that he ran off; and, when he mentioned what he had seen, people only laughed at him, and thought no more about it. Near a month afterwards, some children were gathering blae-berries, on the top of a rock immediately above the sea, about a mile further down than Ardsheal; they thought they saw a woman drowning, and trying to get on the rock; some of them ran home to tell, and the rest staid to see what would become of the woman as they thought; but, on looking more attentively, they discovered that it was not a human being: they gave a very distinct account of what they saw. The upper part was exactly like a woman; the skin appeared white and a good deal of colour in the cheeks, and very long dark hair; the arms were well proportioned above, but tapered very much towards the hands, which were no larger than a child's of 8 or 10 years old; the tail was like an immense large cuddy fish or scith, in colour and shape. By the time the people of the farm came, it was about a gun-shot from the shore, sitting quite upright on the water. One of the men proposed to shoot her; but the rest opposed this, so he whistled, on which she turned round, but did not go away; she remained in sight above two hours, at times making a hissing noise, like a goose. When she disappeared she laid herself very gently down on the water, and swam away, the head only appearing above the water. She was seen a little distance from shore twice after this, always early in the morning, and when the sea was calm.

Of this account we shall only remark, that it is worthy insertion in this place as a proof of the credulity of these times, if not as proving the remarkable existence which it asserts. It appeared in almost all the periodical publications of the day.

15th.—This day, at noon, a fire broke out in the wing of the Duke of Atholl's house, at Blair-Atholl. By the great exertions of the collected numbers who came forward with their assistance, the spreading of the flames to the main house was prevented, and the loss sustained was confined to the wing where the fire had commenced. No serious accident happened to any of those who exerted themselves in extinguishing the flames.

On Tuesday morning, about two o'clock, a party of smugglers, from Campbeltown, attempted to land a cargo of whisky at the Broomielaw, Glasgow. On taking hold of a vessel to secure a mooring, they discovered that the custom-house officers, with military, were waiting their approach; and they immediately put off the boat towards the south side of the river. The officers, after repeatedly calling out "Come ashore, in the king's name, or we will fire," ordered the soldiers to discharge their pieces, when a young man, called M'Lean, was dangerously wounded in the belly. The seizure was then effected. There were 15 casks containing 120 gallons of whisky.—The wounded man was afterwards taken to the royal infirmary.

16th.—Commercial Embarrassments.—This day a very numerous meeting of the creditors of the banking-house of Ffrench and Co. of Dublin, was held at their house, on Ormond Quay, in that city, for the purpose of receiving a statement of their debts and property, and adopting such proceedings as the circumstances should require. It appeared that the debts due by the firm amounted, collectively, to 239,616l. 4s. 10d. Their means of discharging these debts exceeded the amount by more than 13,000l.; but for the more ample satisfaction of the creditors, it was proposed to vest 100,000l. more in the hands of the trustees as additional security, and in order to accelerate the payment, and as a further guarantee, Lord Ffrench, who was present, offered to make all his lands liable to any possible arrear or deficiency. The noble lord's offer was much applauded, but his proposition was declined, as being unnecessary, the securities and funds previously exhibited being considered amply sufficient. It was resolved immediately to decline proceeding to a commission of bankruptcy, and to appoint trustees to receive the funds of the firm, and to apply them to the discharge of their debts.

Mr Robins, of Beverstone, near Tetbury, lately lost seven yearling beasts out of eighteen, by putting them into a piece of pasture ground, in part of which the *colchicum autumnale* (meadow saffron, or tube root) grew in great abundance. On their bodies being opened, the food was found clogged together, in a crude and undigested mass, incapable of passing through the proper ducts.

17th.—Splendid provision is making for the establishment of a presbyterian place of worship in Kingston, Jamaica. Before the beginning of February, upwards of 8000l. had been subscribed; since that period large additions have been made by contributions, and it is expected that the annual income of the minister will not be less than 1000l. or 1200l. a year.

About four o'clock in the morning, some villains entered the vestry of Paddington church, and took away two large deal chests containing the parish records, accounts, and plate, &c. As soon as the robbery was discovered, the parish officers gave information at Bow-street, stating that they were anxious to recover the papers, which

consisted of the parish records for the last three hundred years, and which could not be replaced. The magistrate, from the circumstances, suspected the thieves were not persons of experience in their profession, and dispatched an officer to trace them. On going to the spot, he found that they had entered the vestry-room with a skeleton key; he also traced them from place to place till he had discovered the lost treasure in an out-house, near the church. The chests had been opened, and the thieves were deceived by the glittering appearance of the cups and plates, which were only pewter.—The records were restored to the parish officers.

18th.——As Lieut.-Colonel Lamb was on his passage from Southampton to the Sussex coast, in his pleasure-boat, accompanied only by one man, either in shifting the boom, or by a sudden jirk of the sail, he was forced overboard unperceived by the boatman, just opposite the hotel at Bognor, and drowned.

20th.—A most alarming and destructive fire broke out early this morning, in the Ship tavern, Leith, and before it could be extinguished the tenement was destroyed. One man only was hurt. The scene of distress was indescribable—fifteen poor families have lost their whole property.

Mary Ann Adlam was indicted at the late Somerset assizes, for petit treason, in the wilful murder of her husband, Mr Henry Allen Adlam, at Bath, on the 18th ultimo. The prisoner was a straw-hat maker, resident in Bath-street, in that city. It appeared in evidence, that the deceased had used most abusive and provoking language to the prisoner, who in a passion stabbed him with a knife. The jury, after a few minutes deliberation, returned a verdict of *Manslaughter*, and the prisoner was sentenced to six months imprisonment. On the verdict being given, Mrs A. fell into strong convulsions. On her recovering, the judge told her, that seeing the state of her feelings, he should not enlarge on her offence.

22d.—The following extract of a letter relative to Joanna Southcote, said to be from a clergyman of the established church, is taken from a Birmingham newspaper:—

"If, sir, you have seen the letter, and do not mean to insert it, this part of the business I must leave for you and your conscience to reconcile. In addition to the cradle, I can inform you, that such is the strength of faith of the supposed fanatics and deluded people, that the society in Birmingham have sent up to London many presents for the reception of the Prince of Peace; and, in addition to those already sent, we are now going to send up a silver cup and salver, with a lid, on which is place da ball representing the globe, on which is perched a dove, with an olive branch; perhaps, at some future time, I may inform you of the inscriptions thereon. The mission of this woman was to fall in Birmingham in less than six months, and not a vestige be left behind: this was the cry of the ministers of the gospel; but you see, sir, it has not fallen yet. Our motto from the beginning was, "Truth is strong, and will prevail;" and we see the effects of this have been realised. Our society now consists of 500 people: many are flocking to our standard, for when the truth is told them, they find what they heard is only mockery and lies.

"Truth shall win its widening way,
"Ever mighty to persuade."

Your's respectfully,
S. Bradley."

This morning, at a quarter after 8, John Ashton, with five others, were executed before the debtors' door Newgate. This unfortunate man had

been in a state of insanity since the receipt of the awful warrant for his execution. In the press-yard, he distorted his countenance horribly. He was the fifth who mounted the scaffold, and ran up the steps with great rapidity; and having gained the summit of the platform, began to kick and dance, and often exclaimed, "I'm Lord Wellington." The Rev. Mr Cotton, who officiated for the first time as ordinary, enjoined him to prayer, to which he paid little attention, and continued to clap his hands as far as he was permitted by the extent of the cord. All that could be done was ineffectual, and it was necessary to have two men to hold him during the awful ceremony. When they released him for the purpose of the Lord's prayer being said, he turned round, and began to dance, and vociferated, "Look at me, I am Lord Wellington." At 20 minutes past eight o'clock, the signal was given, and the platform fell. Scarcely, however, had the sufferers dropped, before, to the awe and astonishment of every beholder, Ashton rebounded from the rope, and was instantaneously seen dancing near the ordinary, and crying out very loudly and apparently unhurt, "What do ye think of me, am I not Lord Wellington now?" He then danced, clapt his hands, and huzzaed. At length the executioner was compelled to get upon the scaffold, and to push him forcibly from the place on which he stood.

24th.—Paris.–The Duke of Wellington had his first public audience of the French king, as ambassador extraordinary from this country. His Grace was received with great state and ceremony on the occasion: he afterwards paid a visit to Monsieur, who addressed the duke as follows:—"The king and all the royal family see, with the greatest pleasure, the choice which the Prince Regent has made of a hero so worthy to represent him. Our desire and our hope is to see a durable peace established between two nations more formed to esteem than to combat each other."

Mr Sadler, junior, ascended with his balloon from a field called Kettlewell Orchard, adjoining the cathedral, at York. The ascension was a remarkably fine one: the weather, which had been very stormy during the whole of the forenoon, cleared up, and was as calm and favourable as could be wished. The balloon ascended at twenty-one minutes after one, and was seen with the naked eye from the place of ascension for forty-five minutes. From the ascent to the descent was sixty-three miles. His descent was near Craike and Easingwold, where he was received by the Rev. Dr Guise. He was fortunate in alighting near a populous and hospitable neighbourhood: had he passed the black and desolate hills which were before him, he might have spent the night unassisted and in distress.

It appears from returns drawn up from the records of the court of Admiralty, and delivered into the House of Commons, that 124 vessels laden with slaves, have been captured at various times, and on different stations, under the acts for the abolition of the slave trade. Almost all of them were condemned. The maintenance of captured negroes in the colony of Sierra Leone, for the year 1813, cost this country 4039l. Of these negroes, 428 had been enlisted in the Royal African corps.

27th.—A letter received from Captain Williamson, of the brig Mars, communicates the following intelligence:—

"*Cove of Cork.*—This day at two p. m. I arrived here in the Orbit, of Liverpool, Captain Peers, he having picked me and my ship's company up at sea. It is with heartfelt grief I announce the loss of the Mars (by

fire) on Thursday night the 25th instant, Waterford bearing N. N. E. about six leagues distance. While sitting in the cabin with Mr Kelsey (passenger) the mate came down at nine o'clock, and said there was a strong smell of fire; I instantly went on deck, and found the watch that was in the forecastle had come upon deck almost suffocated, and at that time there was no smoke from any other part of the vessel. We immediately began throwing water down the forecastle, and cutting a hole in the deck, to try if we could find where the fire was, when the smoke issued from the steerage in such volumes that we were all likely to be suffocated, and could scarcely see one another on deck. I concluded the fire must be in the main hold, and immediately ordered the boats to be got out, and to break the main hatches open, to see if we could find the fire there, as it was impossible for any person to go below in the steerage or forecastle; and such was the rapidity of the flames, that before we could get the long-boat out, they were issuing six feet high through the main hatchway; and it was with the greatest difficulty we succeeded in getting the boat out over the side, as the vessel was in a few minutes after in flames from the fore hatchway to the cabin doors. It is impossible for me to describe the horrors of the sight of the vessel, and the frantic state of the female passengers. There was no time to get water, provisions, or any thing in the boat; and had not Providence thrown a vessel in our way, we must have been turned on the sea without any sustenance, some without covering, in an open boat. The Orbit, Captain Peers, of Liverpool, hove in sight, and seeing our distressed situation, immediately hove to, and took us on board, it then being about ten o'clock. The attention of Captain Peers and passengers to every individual merits my most sincere thanks. In calling the people by their names before quitting the vessel, I found there was one missing, and judged he might be in the forecastle, trying to get some of his clothes, and not able to get up again on account of the smoke. One of the men, at the risk of his life, went down and found him, made a rope fast round him, and he was hauled up. We succeeded in bringing him to life on board the Orbit. By what means the vessel took fire, God only knows, as there had been no light either in the forecastle or steerage, and no fire in either of those places until after it broke through the main hatchway; and for any person to have communication with the hold was impossible, without being known, as the vessel was bulk-headed up fore and aft."

This evening, shortly after seven o'clock, a fire broke forth in the mustard mills of Messrs Lingard and Jones in Southwark, near the bank of the Thames, and a little to the south-west of St Saviour's, or St Mary Overy's Church, and within a few buildings to the west of St Mary Overy's Dock, which created for some hours a dreadful alarm throughout the neighbourhood. As the dusk of the evening increased, the sky became more and more reddened by the blaze, which was apparent for miles round. It being Sunday, when almost every body was disengaged, the crowds that flocked to all places whence any view of it could be obtained were immense. As the fire raged with great fury, its brightness produced the most strikingly picturesque and magnificent effect. Bankside, Thames-street, the Quays, and more particularly London and Blackfriars bridges, were thronged with spectators. The latter were rendered scarcely passable. Besides the impediments which the multitudes presented, numbers of carriages were station-

ed upon them, filled and covered with people, eager to witness this unfortunate but superb spectacle. The mass of warehouses and other commercial buildings involved in flames, lighted up, in the darkness of the night, the monument, the dome of St Paul's, the spires and towers of the churches of the metropolis, and the bridges, with an effect before which our most brilliant illuminations, or the most splendid scenes of the theatre, are as nothing. On the bank opposite to the burning buildings, the effects of the intense heat were sensibly felt. The appearance of London bridge was extremely peculiar. While hundreds were looking through the balustrades, numbers also seated themselves on the top of them, or on the entablature beneath them, and all seemed to preserve a sort of silent attention to the awful progress of the devouring flames. The extensive premises of Messrs Lingard and Jones were the first which were demolished. The fire, in a few minutes after it got to a considerable head on these warehouses, was seen to extend its horrific approach both ways, and continued to spread each way with equal fury till it reached the flour warehouses of Messrs Thell and Steele, which, fortunately, being a new and very substantial erection, with a very thick party-wall, prevented the flames from extending themselves further eastward, and saved not only those warehouses, which were full of flour, belonging to the company, but a great many others between them and London-Bridge, which, had they caught fire, must have inevitably shared the same fate. Mr Hammock's corn warehouses, in which were immense quantities of various kinds of grain, and a large portion of fine old beans, and those of Mr Resden, which adjoined them, were all burnt to the ground. Messrs Clark and Myers's hop warehouses, and those of Mr Evans (in the same line), followed next. Messrs Ball and Jones's iron-foundry, Mr Ayres's corn warehouses, part of the premises belonging to an eminent dyer, and a great deal of stabling belonging to Thell and Steele, were totally consumed.

On viewing the extensive scene of devastation which this frightful chasm presents, it is a source of consolation to learn, that after the most minute enquiries, it could not be found that a single life had been lost, or even that any material accident had occurred to any one who endeavoured to assist the sufferers.

28th.—About eight o'clock in the evening, a horrid assassination was perpetrated near Springfield, Ireland. As Bryan O'Reilly, Esq., of Ryefield, county of Cavan, was riding into town, for the purpose of receiving rents, as agent to Mrs Talbot, on the following day at the fair, he was murdered by a discharge from a pistol, the ball from which went completely through his body. It appeared on the inquest, which was immediately held on the body, that the assassin was observed, a short time previous to the perpetration of the deed, leading a horse immediately after the deceased, which he mounted on committing the act, and galloped in towards town, announcing to several people whom he met on the way, that "there was a man murdered on the road!" On reaching the canal bridge, he pursued his retreat along the bank of the canal, and thereby effected his escape. The fatal instrument (a dragoon pistol) was found a few yards from the body.

Paris.—The Chevalier Dubos, sub-prefect of St Denis, had the honour to present to the king a tablette, upon which were fixed two teeth of Henry IV. the whole of his mustachio, and some of the linen which had been wrapped round his body. These precious relics were collected at the period of the

profanation of the tombs, by the late Sieur Designy, then messenger of the abbey, who preserved them at the peril of his life. They remained until now in the hands of his widow, who had long hoped for the happiness of restoring them to the family of our sovereigns. Upon the same tablette were fixed three teeth of the Marshal de Turenne.

29th.—A magnificent fête was given to the king by the city of Paris, at the Hotel de Ville, which was continued with unexampled profusion and admirable order till the next morning.

30th.—The Board of Trinity College, Dublin, have received from parliament a loan of 20,000l. for the purpose of completing the north square, commonly called Botany Bay. This sum is to be repaid by instalments of 1200l. per annum. One double and single building are now roofing in, which will complete the east side; the northern side is to consist of four double and two single buildings, with a grand front of cut stone, nearly corresponding in style of architecture with the superb front in College-green, and with a similar railing This side will form a beautiful termination to D'Olier-street. They are already laying the foundation, and expect in two years to have it ready for the reception of students. This highly necessary addition will accommodate 120 students and two fellows. The entire college will then contain but 320 students. The present buildings can accommodate not more than 200; which is far short of one-third of the entire number on the books.

31st.——The following paper has been published at Rome, under the authority of the Papal government:

Rome, Aug. 15, 1814.

"The Holy Father, wishing to reward the conduct of Lucien Buonaparte, and desirous of giving him a new proof of his good will, has raised him to the rank of a Roman prince. His holiness has issued an order to that effect, highly honourable, by which the possession of the Canino, situated upon the frontiers of Etruria, is confirmed and ratified, and the right of possession made hereditary in his male heirs. Lucien Buonaparte had purchased this valuable property eight years ago of the Apostolic Chamber, when he was exiled from France, and sought a refuge in Rome. Every one here has seen this illustrious personage receive this reward of his virtue at the hands of the head of the church, with the liveliest satisfaction. He is frequently admitted at private audiences with the Holy Father, and is occupied with preparing for the press his grand poem of Charlemagne, which will appear in January, 1815. It is dedicated to the Holy Father."

The number of French prisoners who have been sent to France since the conclusion of the peace, already exceeds 67,000 men.

SALE OF THE LATE LORD MONTGOMERIE'S STUD,

At Bogside, during Irvine Races.

STALLIONS.

Stamford to Lord Queensberry for	£210
Caleb Quote'em to George Dawson .	99
HORSES IN TRAINING.	
Bay Horse, 5 years old, by John Bull, out of Miss Whip, to Sir William Maxwell	259
Bay Colt, 3 years old, by Caleb Quote'em, out of Fair Forester, to Mr Baillie	115
Bay Filly, 3 years old, by Caleb Quote'em, out of Daffodil, to George Dawson	47
BROOD MARES.	
Diana and Colt Foal, by Stamford, to Lord Eglinton	111
Grey Mare, by Beningbrough, and Filly Foal, by General Graham, to Mr Hutchinson	28
Fair Forester and Filly Foal, by Caleb Quote'em, to George Dawson .	176
Ayrshire Lass, by John Bull, to Mr Hamilton	71

Chesnut Mare, by Nobleman, out of Butterfly, to Mr Campbell . . £34
Brown Mare (dam of Fair Forester,) by Sir Peter, out of Maid of Ely, to George Dawson 27
Trifle, by King Fergus, to George Dawson 32

TWO YEAR OLDS.

Bay Colt, by Caleb Quote'em, out of Jane Shore, to Mr Baillie . . 137
Bay Colt, by Caleb Quote'em, out of Trifle, to Lord Queensberry . 53

YEARLINGS.

Bay Colt, by Caleb Quote'em, out of Bit of Tartan's dam, by Pipator, to Mr Baillie 115
Chesnut Colt, by John Bull (or Caleb Quote'em,) out of Diana, to Mr Hamilton 24
Chesnut Colt, by Caleb Quote'em, out of the Nobleman mare, to Mr H. Forshaw 12
Brown Filly, by Caleb Quote'em, out of Trifle, to George Dawson . 33

HUNTERS.

Brother to Kilruddery, 4 years old, by John Bull, to Mr Cunningham . 69
Bay Gelding, 6 years old, by Sir Charles, out of a hackney mare . 42

⁎ The three years old Caleb colt, purchased by Mr Baillie, is 16 hands high; the two years old Caleb colt, is 15 hands three inches; and the yearling Caleb colt, out of Bit of Tartan's dam, is 15 hands and half an inch, all with immense power, and probably the finest in their respective years.

Winchester Assizes.—W. H. Souper was charged with the wilful murder of Adjutant Duterich, in a duel which was fought near Lymington on the 13th of April. The evidence was gone through, from which it appeared, that after the adjutant had fired, the prisoner also fired, and his shot took effect, passing through the hip into the spine of the back, of which wound he died. Several gentlemen of respectability gave the prisoner an excellent character for mildness of temper and peaceable disposition. The learned judge, Sir H. Dampier, in addressing the jury, lamented in strong terms, that the recent cases of a similar kind had not deterred gentlemen of the army from the odious practice of duelling; and explained, that all persons concerned in a duel, either as principals or seconds, must, in case of the death of either of the parties, be guilty of wilful murder, both by the laws of God and man, inasmuch as it was not the rash act of a passionate moment, but generally done deliberately in cold blood. The jury found the prisoner guilty, and his lordship proceeded to pass on him the awful sentence of death, when the prisoner fell backwards in a fit, overpowered by his feelings, and some little time elapsed before he could be recovered; after which he addressed the judge in a very pathetic manner, stating, that it was not from the fear of death that he was so overpowered, but at the reflection of being stigmatized as a felon and murderer; and that his family of six children could now only behold him with abhorrence; that he had spent a long time in the service of his country with honour and credit; that he had intended his sons for the same profession; but now his hopes were blasted, his life insupportable, and his future destiny become altogether a matter of indifference to him. The awful sentence of death was then passed upon him, and he was taken from the bar. He was afterwards pardoned.

The trial which excited most interest was that of William Bradley, a rear-admiral on the retired list, for forgery. There were five counts against him for forgery, and one for a fraud. The count upon which he was tried stated, that by the forgery of the instrument laid in the indictment, he had defrauded his majesty's postmaster at Gosport of the sum of 3l. 8s. 6d. Jacob Legge, postmaster of Gosport, deposed, that on the 10th of May last the prisoner produced at his house a paper parcel, saying it contained

" ship-letters, which he brought from the ship Mary and Jane, lying at Cowes, but he did not belong to the ship." The parcel contained about 111 letters, for which witness paid him 3l. 8s. 6d. being twopence for each letter, and took his receipt, prisoner signing Wm. Johnstone. Witness had seen the prisoner at his office several times before; he brought ship-letters to be forwarded to London by post. William Barber deposed, that he went to Southwick and enquired of the prisoner if he was Admiral Bradley? He said, Yes. Witness enquired if he had taken letters to the Gosport post-office, and signed a receipt in the name of Johnstone? He said, No; but he had a friend at Lisbon of that name. Witness then took him into custody. On the 15th of May, witness went to Cowes to enquire if the ship Mary and Jane was there, and found that she was not, nor had been. Prisoner had been in his custody since the 16th of May, and from his general demeanour he thought his conduct rather strange, and at all times he appeared heavy and dull. Lieut. Pritchard deposed, that in 1809 he sailed with him in the Plantagenet, and that the command of the ship was obliged to be given up to the first lieutenant, in consequence of the unsettled state of Mr Bradley's mind; and that soon after he was superseded. He received an excellent character from several officers of the navy, and also from other persons connected with the navy. The jury returned a verdict of guilty.—Death.—Pardoned.

AGRICULTURAL REPORT.

Until the third week of July, the weather, since the date of our last number, was singularly cold and ungenial for the season; and it is only within the last fortnight that we have had either refreshing showers, or the warmth of summer. The extreme drought has been exceedingly favourable to cleaning and pulverizing turnip and summer fallows;—the latter were probably never in finer tilth in any season. But from the same cause, the hay crop is universally light—perhaps not more than half an average one; pastures have kept little stock; and straw, there is reason to fear, will not be nearly so abundant as it was last year.

Of the growing crops, wheat, upon rich deep soils, promises to be the best; but upon thin clays and burning sands, and generally on all sorts of inferior land, it will not be nearly an average crop. The appearance of barley is not unfavourable. But oats, in almost every situation, will be deficient both in corn and straw. Beans and pease look tolerably well. Everywhere, harvest will be later than it was last year by ten days or a fortnight. The late rains have greatly improved the appearance of all the corn crops, as well as of potatoes and turnips; for the last of which they have been peculiarly seasonable. The orchards, which in April gave the promise of abundance, have suffered so much by the subsequent frosts, that in Scotland, their produce will not be equal to half an average crop.

Corn markets have fluctuated but little for these three months. Prices are rather higher; but the stock on hand is so abundant, independent of continued importation, that nothing but a very unfavourable harvest can occasion any material advance. In some places, about a fourth of last crop seems still to be in the stack-yard.

All kinds of live-stock are lower than they were last year;—Cattle not fit for being soon brought to the shambles, about 30 per cent.; the best horses 20 per cent., and all others almost unsaleable. Sheep have not fallen so much, as there has been a con-

siderable advance upon wool, particularly long wool. The grazier has been every way a loser; his pastures have never kept their ordinary stock, and what part he has hitherto brought to market, scarcely replaced the prime cost. The drover has fared no better in the southern markets.

There has been no reduction of wages. Women have got somewhat more than usual in several hiring markets. The present state of things has not continued so long as to produce any fall in rent; but a good many farms, taken since last harvest, are now thought to be much too high rented; and some agreements, we understand, have been recently cancelled.

A bill has passed this session of parliament, permitting the exportation of corn, but the bill for regulating its importation was lost; and indeed, if it had passed also, frittered down as it was, it would have been of little more practical utility than the former.—*Farmer's Magazine.*

SEPTEMBER.

1st.—CHESTER.—The criminal business at the assizes concluded this day. Sir W. Garrow, in passing the awful sentence of the law on Sarah Rockley, Phœbe Price, J. Pollitt, J. Smith, G. Gerrard, J. Lowe, P. Frank, and G. Post, gave hopes of royal clemency to all except G. Post, whom he impressively addressed to the following effect:—

"To you, George Post, I feel it indispensably necessary, in passing upon you the judgment of the law, to caution you against cherishing the slightest hope that your sentence will be remitted. Your guilt is of a magnitude next to murder, precluding even the shadow of mercy; and the evidence on which you were convicted such as to leave not a shadow of doubt of the fact. Waylaying an innocent, artless, unsuspecting young female returning to her employment after a sabbath day's visit to her aged grandmother; robbing her of her bundle, which contained the little property which she had acquired; brutally assaulting her person, and indecently exposing that person for a considerable time; you wind up the horrible catalogue of your turpitude, by throwing your innocent victim into the canal; and when with tears and cries she prays you to rescue her from the impending danger, with brutal ferocity you exclaimed, 'Drown then and be d—d.' This case, with all its shocking circumstances, was proved against you by evidence which admitted not of a doubt. Employ, I conjure you, the residue of your time seriously and piously. Attend to the religious directions of those who will visit you in your confinement, and soothe you with holy consolation. Invoke, with sincerity, the assistance of that God, who, while he is all-powerful, is all-merciful; and prepare to present yourself before that heavenly tribunal, at which in a short time you will have to appear."

2d.—The quantity of fish caught on the coasts, and in the rivers of Northumberland, last week, has exceeded all precedent in the memory of man. On the morning of the 25th ultimo, there were above 10,000 salmon in Berwick market, which had been caught in the Tweed, some of which brought 2s. each. At the same time the finest herrings were sold for 2s. the hundred, of six score. On the same day, the best salmon was sold in Newcastle market at 6d. per lb. and some of the inferior kinds as low as 4d.

INVERNESS.—The herring fishing on the coast of Caithness commenced this season on the north side of the country, and considerable quantities were cured at Thurso, whilst there was but little prospect of fishing on

Wick coast; but, latterly, the shoals of herrings, all along the south shores, have been immense, and the fishing has been abundant, so much so, that, in the course of last week, nearly all the stock of salt and casks on hand has been expended; but we regret to say, that, in consequence of the sudden variations from moderate to stormy weather, several lives have been lost. Early in the season, a boat belonging to Wick, with four men, was driven off the coast, to the Moray side, where, within a few yards of the shore, the boat upset, and the crew perished. Several more would have shared the same fate, but for the humane exertions of Captain Oliver, of the Prince of Wales excise cutter, by whom they were picked up at sea. On the morning of Tuesday the 23d ultimo, some hundreds of the boats, which went out to the fishing from Wick bay the evening before, appeared in the bay, but the wind being easterly, and the sea running high, they found it unsafe to approach the shore. Two of them, however, made the attempt; one with six men, and the other with five, but, when coming over the bar, close to the entry of Pulteney harbour, they were upset by the surf, and, melancholy to relate, nine men were drowned. One of these boats was from Holy Island, and the other from Berwick.

"*Windsor Castle, Sept.* 3.

"His majesty remains tranquil and in good health.

"H. HALFORD.
"M. BAILLIE.
"J. WILLIS.
"R. WILLIS."

4th.—As Dr Saunders, of Blundeston, Suffolk, was shooting on the premises of Thomas Fowler, Esq. a dog which he was caressing for bringing him a bird, touched his gun, which was on the full cock, and shot him under the arm: He was carried home, and amputation was the consequence, but without good effect, for he died immediately.

6th.—EDINBURGH.—Soon after the restoration of the House of Bourbon to the throne of France, the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of this city, sent a congratulatory address to the Count d'Artois, brother of the king, who was so long a resident in Holyroodhouse, and who, by the suavity of his manners, and the propriety of his conduct, in the very depressing circumstances of his situation, gained the esteem of all ranks. The following answer, transmitted by the Duke of Wellington, has just been received:

REPONSE DE MONSIEUR COMTE D'ARTOIS, FRERE DU ROI DE FRANCE.
à Monsieur le Lord Prevôt et à Messieurs les Magistrats et Membres du Conseil de la ville d'Edimbourg.

MESSIEURS—J'ai reçu, avec la plus vive sensibilité, l'expression, si flatteuse et si agréable pour moi, des sentimens que les Magistrats de la capitale de l'Ecosse veulent bien me temoigner, dans leur adresse du 2nde Mai, qui vient de m'être remise par le Ministre de sa Majesté Britannique.

Le retablissement du Roi mon frere, sur le Trône de ses Ancêtres, est trés surement le plus grand bienfait que la Divine Providence put accorder à notre famille, puisqu'il nous donne le droit et les moyens de consacrer notre existence à rendre le bonheur à nos concitoyens, et de contribuer en même tems à faire jouir tous les etats de l'Europe, et particulierement la Grande Bretagne, de tous les avantages d'une paix solide et durable.

Soyez certains, Messieurs, que les aneés que j'ai passées à Edimbourg ne sortirent jamais de ma mémoire, et que je conserverai, toute ma vie, le plus doux souvenir des preuves de véritable interêt et de sincere affection que j'ai reçue constamment de toutes les classes de la société, pendant mon sejour en Ecosse.

Je vous prie, Messieurs, d'être auprès de vos excellens compatriotes l'organe de la vive et juste reconnoissance qui est gravée dans mon cœur en caracteres inef-

façables, et de reçevoir l'assurance personelle de tous mes sentimens d'estime et d'affection. CHARLES PHILIPPE.

Au Chateau des Tuileries, le
20me Aout, 1814.

A party which visited the Bell Rock light-house lately, were highly gratified with its novel and majestic appearance, and with the singular ingenuity and perfect order of the mechanism, by which the revolution of the lamps and the striking of the bell are produced; nor were they less pleased on observing how much the comfort of the isolated inhabitants had been consulted, in the neatness and convenience of the different apartments of this sea-girt prison, in one of which the party breakfasted, and experienced much civility and attention from the watchmen. In the small library the strangers found the appropriate volume of Robinson Crusoe; and in the album, which is presented to all visitors for the insertion of their names, remarks, &c. they distinguished the following lines, inscribed by the hand of the popular author of the Lady of the Lake:—

"PHAROS LOQUITUR.

"Far in the bosom of the deep,
O'er these wild shelves my watch I keep;
A ruddy gem of changeful light,
Bound on the dusky brow of night:
The seaman bids my lustre hail,
And scorns to strike his timorous sail."

"*Walter Scott, July* 30, 1814.

The number of visitors, since the erection of the fabric, it appeared, was 1376.

8th.—As a poor woman of Uppingham was, with her son, gathering nuts in a small wood, called Holyoak Spenney, about four miles from that place, the boy perceived part of an earthen vessel emerging from the bed of a small stream, which, on examination, proved to be a Roman vase, filled with silver coins of the Emperor Valentinian, Valens, Gratian, Theodosius, and Maximinus. The coins are, consequently, from 1430 to 1450 years old, and the whole are in most excellent preservation.

9th.—GLASGOW.—This night, at half past seven o'clock, the large machinery work of Mr Dunn, of John-street, Glasgow, was discovered to be on fire. The flames originated in the second story, and in a few minutes the whole building was in a state of conflagration. Before ten scarcely any part of the house was standing. The progress of the fire was so quick, that there never was any hope of its extinction. The premises were insured. This work was burnt down in 1805: there were employed in it nearly 100 men and boys.

10th.—Colonel Thornton entered Rouen with his famous pack of hounds. He was attended by a number of English gentlemen on hunters, and the novelty of the sight attracted much notice, and drew thousands out to witness it.

Sir H. Wellesley, our ambassador in Spain, has concluded a general treaty of alliance with the Spanish government, which engages not to renew the family compact with France. There is, however, no stipulation for the abolition of the slave trade.

The conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace between France and Spain has been made public at Madrid: it was signed on the 20th July. The property of Spaniards in France, or Frenchmen in Spain, is to be respectively restored.

Ferdinand the VIIth has evinced his enmity to the liberty of the press, and to the diffusion of knowledgeamong his subjects, by the suppression of not fewer than fourteen journals. Some of these had acquired reputation, during the regency, by their political strictures and the liberality of their opinions. In this number may be enumerated the Concisco, the Tribune, the Redacteur of Cadiz, and the Friend of the Laws.

11th.—NOTTINGHAM.—The practice of frame-breaking still continues here. This day, Sunday, the 11th, about 12 o'clock at night, a party of frame-breakers, supposed about 20, made a forcible entrance into the house of Thomas Ford, of Basford, and demolished five valuable frames; from Ford's the depredators proceeded to the house of James Smith, in the same parish, where they also demolished five cotton-frames. After this, they proceeded to the house of Thomas Garton, of New Basford, where six frames were broken. One person only has as yet been apprehended, supposed to be concerned in the above transaction. The magistrates of Nottingham have ordered a nightly parade of the military, headed by police-officers, as preventive of the crime.

12th.—The Princess of Wales has met a most cordial and flattering reception in her native country. Her royal highness arrived at Brunswick on the night of the 19th ultimo. She was received at Wolfenbuttel by the city guard, and at the palace by the public authorities; and in the evening there was a general illumination.

A treaty of peace has been concluded in London between Denmark and Spain.

Accounts from St Petersburg of the 18th ultimo, notice the appointment of Count Nesselrode to the office of minister for foreign affairs, in the place of Count Romanzoff, who had been permitted to resign on account of ill health.

The Emperor Alexander, in a ukase addressed to the holy synod and council of state, has declined the appellation they had bestowed on him of "Blessed."—"My whole efforts (he observes) are directed to the imploring of the blessing of God upon me and my faithful people, and in order to be blessed by my beloved subjects, and generally by all the nations of the earth. This is my warmest wish and my highest happiness. But after all my efforts to attain that object, I cannot, as a man, allow myself the boldness to accept of that appellation, or presume that I have already attained that felicity. I deem it so much the less compatible with my principles, inasmuch as I have at all times, and on every occasion, exhorted my faithful subjects to moderation and humility of spirit; and I will not now set an example which would contradict those sentiments."

13th.—NEWCASTLE.—On Monday se'ennight a melancholy accident happened on the Kenton waggon-way, near this town. A young woman named Margaret Dobson, in service at Shields, daughter of a waggonman at Coxlodge colliery, had leave to visit her parents, and returning, she and another woman seated themselves on a board, behind her father's loaded coal waggon, to ride to the Shields turnpike, over which the waggon-way passes. Near East Benton, a waggon which followed them at some distance, ran amain, and they supposing it might be stopped before it reached them, did not move till it came too near, when M. Dobson, in endeavouring to escape, unfortunately slipped and fell with her neck across the cast-metal rail, and the sharp metal wheels severed her head from her body. The other had her foot severely crushed.

14th.—MELANCHOLY ACCIDENT.—This afternoon, between four and five o'clock, being the great fair day at the Moss of Balloch, a melancholy accident happened to the ferry-boat at the Balloch, over the river Leven, the full particulars of which are not yet known. It is stated, however, on authority, that the boat, though every way calculated to give security to the passengers, was, contrary to the advice

of the ferryman, completely overloaded, there being in it nearly 100 persons, besides several horses; and it is supposed some of the horses, owing to the great pressure, having unavoidably been touched by the spurs of their riders, pushed themselves among the people, who flew in a crowd to the one side in order to save themselves from being trampled upon, in consequence of which the boat was overset in about twelve feet water, where the stream runs with great impetuosity. Every exertion was used by the numerous spectators to save the passengers from their impending fate, and a great number were safely got out. It is impossible to state the number of persons who lost their lives by this melancholy accident; the bodies, however, of Mr William Graham, flesher in Port-Glasgow; and of Mr M'Farlane, ferryman at Portincaple on Loch-Long, were found on Friday morning. Soon after the accident it was feared that two persons at least had been drowned, as a horse came on shore and was not claimed, which afterwards proved to be Mr M'Farlane's; and a dog, known by some persons to belong to Mr Graham, was seen howling repeatedly up and down the whole fair. This faithful animal swam different times across the Leven in search of his master, and, on Thursday night, having gone over the hills about six miles, he was heard howling at Craigend Ferry, opposite to Port-Glasgow, where he had crossed on his way to the fair, and returned on Friday morning to the Balloch Ferry-house, near which place his master was found.

15th.—About thirty-five minutes past one o'clock, Mr Sadler, jun. ascended with the grand balloon from Pontefract, accompanied by Miss Thompson. The aeronauts took a direction due north for about ten minutes, and afterwards moved north-east for about half an hour, when they gradually descended near Grinstead-hall. They returned to Pontefract in the evening.

17th.—A most melancholy accident occurred on the turnpike-road between Faringdon and Wantage, Berks. Mr Spicer, a farmer, residing at Goosey, had loaded a waggon with cheese for Wantage, and his wife embraced the opportunity of riding on the waggon to that place: Having arrived opposite the farm, called Garlands, they were overtaken by some men, with a number of loose colts, returning from Leachlade fair; these, in passing, divided on each side of the waggon, and thereby frightened the horses which were drawing it; in endeavouring to stop them, the driver, John Combly, was beaten down, and both wheels passed over his loins—he expired in a few minutes afterwards. The horses set off at a full gallop; the waggon was overturned, and the cheese falling on Mrs Spicer, she was killed on the spot. The boy who led the fore horse had a narrow escape, having been knocked down by it, but he fortunately succeeded in rolling out of the way of the wheels before they passed.

An inquest was held on the body of a female servant in the family of a clergyman, residing near Billericay, who expired suddenly in the night under the following circumstances:—The family was absent from home, and the deceased was left in care of the house. She had requested the daughter of a neighbouring cottager to sleep with her; but on the night on which she died she complained of illness, and said she would sleep by herself, desiring the girl to sleep in an adjoining room. In the course of the night, the girl was disturbed by the crying of a child, and called out to her companion, who said it was only fancy. She went to sleep again, and was soon after disturbed by the deceased coming into

bed to her, and she, at the same time, again thought she heard the crying of an infant. The deceased, however, said it was merely the bleating of sheep under the window, aud that she had heard it several times. She desired the girl would go down stairs and make her something warm, as she felt herself extremely unwell. The girl went down stairs to do as she was desired, and on returning found her companion expiring. She immediately called for assistance from a neighbouring cottage; a doctor was sent for, and on his arrival it was found that she had delivered herself of an infant: She lived but a few minutes after the discovery. On searching the room where she slept, a dead infant was found in a foul clothes bag, and on examining it marks of violence were discovered on its throat. It is conjectured the unhappy woman had got out of bed whilst the girl was gone down stairs, and fearful of the child's discovering itself by its cries, had destroyed it. The jury returned a verdict of *Wilful Murder*, as related to the child; and, *Died by the Visitation of God*, as respected the woman.

18th.—This day being what is called Dutch Sunday, was observed at Yarmouth, by the arrival of schuyts from Holland, previous to their going a fishing. It being 20 years since the day was last kept for this occasion, it attracted a numerous assemblage of visitors from the neighbourhood.

19th.—A shocking accident happened near the Gobowen, Oswestry: Robert Jones, a labourer, having gone down into a well for the purpose of cleaning it, when he reached the bottom, the brick-work gave way, and he was buried under a mass of brick and rubbish, about seven yards deep. In expectation that he was suffocated, no active and continued endeavours were made for the recovery of the corpse. The work, therefore, of getting the rubbish out of the well, went on but slowly, until Wednesday, when some experienced colliers came from Chirk, and worked till night. On Thursday morning, about ten o'clock, they were astonished by the voice of the unhappy sufferer, from the bottom of the well. Immediately the greatest exertions were made to get him taken out. At three in the afternoon, they had so far cleared the well as to be able to reach the man's face, and to administer, under a surgeon's direction, a small quantity of warm water gruel:—but it was not till about three o'clock on Friday, that they could clear all the rubbish from about his head; nor until the poor man had expired about half an hour; so that twelve hours had elapsed from the time that they gave food to the unfortunate sufferer before they could clear the rubbish from his head.

20th.—An inquest was held last week, at Stonehouse, on the body of Thomas Cowans, a seaman on board the Salvador, who had made a bet he would go up and stand on the truck at the main-top-royal mast-head, which he had effected about half-past seven o'clock in the evening; but on attempting to come down, by holding only with his hands on a rope called the top-gallant back-stay, he came down so swiftly that he could not keep his hold, and fell from just under the main-top on the larboard side of the deck, on his face, quite insensible; the blood gushed out from his mouth and ears, and one of his thighs was fractured: He languished till about one o'clock in the morning, when he died.—Verdict, *Accidental Death*.

Interesting Occurrence.—The captain of the Don schooner, from Gottenburg, while delivering a cargo of deals and iron to Messrs Head and Co. of Newcastle, a few days ago, was accosted by a miserable-looking young man, just returned from a French

prison, beseeching a little employment. The captain, in reply, said he was sorry that he was not in want of any additional hands, as his crew was fully adequate to discharge the cargo. The young man, in return, expressed his regret, but urged the captain to suffer him to work only for his meat, as he was literally starving for want of food. Commiserating his unhappy situation, the captain complied with the condition, and the young man went cheerfully to work in the hold among the crew. Observing, on the second day, the assiduity of the stranger to discharge his duty, the captain asked him of what place he was a native; "Lerwick," he replied. "Lerwick—Lerwick!" rejoined the captain, "and what is your name?" "James Work," replied the youth. Palpitating with eager anxiety, and afraid he might be mistaken, the captain immediately enquired if he had a brother. "I had (said he) but it is a long time since I saw him." "What is his name—his name?" almost breathlessly enquired the master. "Laurence Work," replied the youth. "Then you must have had letters from your brother?" says the captain. "Oh yes, sir." "Come, come, come along with me," said the captain, hastily, and immediately hurried him into the cabin. "Have you any objections to shew me those letters from your brother?" asked the captain. "Certainly not," said he, and immediately produced them. The captain, assured then almost to a certainty who the young man was, produced corresponding letters to himself, and upon the mutual correspondence being laid upon the table, each exclaimed "brother!" and they instantaneously rushed into each other's arms, and for several minutes their feelings were so overpowered, with the warmth of their affections, that neither of them could speak till tears came to their relief. To explain the cause of the brothers being unacquainted with each other's countenance at first sight, it is only necessary to state, that the younger brother, when a perfect youth, was captured in the early part of the war, by a French privateer, and had grown into manhood in a French prison.

22d.—An information was exhibited by Patrick Fitzsimmons and another custom-house officer, against two dress-makers, in the neighbourhood of St James's-street, for knowingly having in possession two pieces of silk crape Bandanna handkerchiefs, being foreign manufacture, and prohibited within this kingdom, and seized on the 13th instant. The facts being proved, the solicitor for the ladies stated, that the articles had been sent them to make up by ladies of the *first distinction*, and that they had neither the power nor opportunity at all times to refuse receiving them. The magistrate said, he must convict in treble the value of the goods, besides the forfeiture; but he advised the young ladies to place the penalty to the account of those foolish women of the "first distinction," to whom the things seized belonged; and he would undertake to answer for the account being paid without any further question.—Conviction entered accordingly.

24th.—Great Storm.—This evening a storm of thunder, accompanied by very vivid lightning, passed over Gloucester; and the tempest was felt in its extreme rage at no very remote distance. Between Northleach and Burford, the mail-coach thence to London was literally enveloped in flame. The coachman lost all command of the horses, the leaders were twice on the very brink of the stone quarries by the side of the road; and the coach was only prevented from upsetting by the extraordinary attention and exertions of the guard, who

led the horses several miles to keep them in the track. The awful flashes of lightning affected the passengers, driver, and guard, as well as the horses, almost to blindness; and it was a considerable time before they recovered the perfect use of vision. On reaching Burford, the inhabitants implored them to stop till the tempest should subside; but not having to change horses there, the coachman sacrificed safety to duty, and went on. After ascending the hill beyond that town, they were alarmed by the cries of a number of persons in distress; and, on approaching nearer, found the Gloucester heavy coach upset, with eighteen passengers, men, women, and children, imploring help in the most piteous terms. A man was in consequence sent back on horseback to Burford for assistance; and chaises came from thence very soon, with a surgeon and other persons, who rendered every aid in their power; but happily no material personal injury had been sustained by any of these distressed people, who were quickly enabled to pursue their journey. After the mail again proceeded, a ball of fire fell in the road, within a few yards of the coach, but providentially without occasioning any damage. It was half past twelve before they reached Oxford, at which time the tempest had abated; and they finally got to London three hours after their usual period. The same storm seems to have taken a very extensive range. The leaders of one of the Exeter coaches were struck down by the lightning between Bridport and Blandford, when the coachman, leaping from the box to endeavour to prevent ill consequences, broke his leg. And a fire-ball fell upon a barley-mow at Compton, near Sherborne, which it destroyed. The lightning also set fire to a barn at Hellingsley, Sussex, containing three loads of wheat and 50 quarters of oats, the whole of which, together with two lodges and a stable, were consumed.

25th.—On Monday, James George Semple Lisle, better known by the name of Major Semple, was brought up to the police-office, Hatton-Garden, charged with defrauding Henry Grammar, who keeps a cheese-monger's shop in Devonshire-street, Queen-square, of two pieces of bacon and a lump of butter.

Henry Grammar, a boy, was in his father's shop when the prisoner came in; he was positive that the prisoner at the bar was the man; after the prisoner bought the butter and bacon, he left the shop, and witness's mother tied it up and sent him with it. As witness was carrying the parcel home, he met the prisoner waiting for him in Cross-street; the prisoner walked before witness to No. 42, and when he came to the door he pulled the first-floor bell, and gave a double knock at the door, which was opened by the lady of the house. The prisoner walked in, and taking the parcel out of witness's hand, who was standing outside, he bid him go home and bring six-penny worth of eggs, and on his return he should be paid for all, and immediately the door was shut.—Witness went home, and returned again with the eggs; he knocked at the door, which was opened by the lady of the house; he enquired for the gentleman, to whom he delivered the bacon and butter, and she informed him that he did not live there, neither did she know him; that after he came in he enquired for a gentleman, saying, Is not this King-street? She informed him it was not; on which the prisoner begged pardon, saying he had made a mistake, and immediately went off. The prisoner regretted that the lady of the house was not present, and also that he was unfortunate in being taken for some

other person who bore a strong resemblance to him in every respect; for the truth of which he appealed to one of the officers, Read, senior, saying, that he was sworn to by several respectable persons at the public office in Bow-street, to have committed an offence, when at the same time he lay in an hospital on the Upper Rhine. Other charges have since been brought against the unfortunate major, which have not yet been determined.

28th.—Capt. Barclay's Court-Martial.—A court-martial was lately held at Portsmouth, on board the Gladiator, for the trial of Captain R. H. Barclay, his remaining officers and men, for the loss of the squadron of British gun-boats on Lake Erie. It appeared from the evidence that Captain Barclay joined his command with a lieutenant, a surgeon, and nineteen rejected seamen of the Lake Ontario squadron; that he dispatched to Sir James Yeo an account of the deplorable state of the vessels; and that they were then all blockaded in Amherstburg, where General Proctor's army was stationed, by the American flotilla. He subsequently received reinforcements which increased his force to 150 British seamen, the remainder being Canadians and soldiers. The enemy's force doubled his. Being compelled to sail from Amherstburg to endeavour to open a communication with Long Point, an engagement took place, the result of which is well known, the whole squadron having been taken. Sir James Yeo, in his letter to Admiral Warren, states that, in his opinion, Captain Barclay was wrong to sail from Amherstburg; in consequence of which this court-martial took place. The court pronounced the following sentence:—"That the capture of his majesty's late squadron was caused by the very defective means Captain Barclay possessed to equip them on Lake Erie; the want of a sufficient number of able seamen, whom he had repeatedly and earnestly requested of Sir James Yeo to be sent to him; the very great superiority of force of the enemy to the British squadron; and the unfortunate early fall of the superior officers in the action." The court, after great praise of the skill and gallantry displayed by Captain Barclay, his officers and men, adjudged them to be honourably acquitted. Captain Barclay appeared with one arm amputated; the other so dangerously wounded as to be suspended in bandages; part of his thigh cut away by a cannon-shot; and five other wounds.

A letter from Porto Ferrajo gives some details relative to Buonaparte. His residence consists of two adjoining houses two stories high. Two sentinels are at the gate. The interior is elegant. The saloon can hold 100 persons. He sleeps little, rises early, tires out two or three horses, and is engaged in his cabinet till late at night. He is in good health, but neglects his dress sometimes so as to have the air of a private soldier. To give a proof of his feelings towards the Bourbons, he had crosses enamelled in white and blue, with this legend —*Pledge of Peace. Live the King!!* This decoration is given to those who quit his service to return to France.

30th.—Mr Sadler ascended in a balloon from the Parsonage-ground, at Doncaster, at 35 minutes past one. The day was fine and the assemblage numerous. The balloon took a westerly direction, and frequently disappeared behind the clouds. He descended at Billingley-green, near Barnsley, and returned to Doncaster at half past nine at night.

There died at Constantinople, in this month, of the plague, Solomon Lipman Begemder, supposed to be one of the most wealthy Jews in the Turkish dominions. He was a great

favourite with the late and present sovereign, to both of whom he acted as banker and farmer of the revenue. During the vizership of Mustapha Bairactar, he made him a present of gold and jewels equal to 150,000l. for his protection. The Ottoman Porte has seized his wealth for its own use.

The splendid library of Mr Robert Thornton, who lately failed in his gambling speculations in the funds, was not at Clapham Common, as has been stated in some of the papers, but was recently built at his house in Grafton-street; and it is not easy to describe the extensive *foppery* with which his books were ornamented. The present is the age for *illustrating* books, by fitting in all manner of prints and drawings analogous to the subject. Mr Thornton bestowed this embellishment in a way the most expensive. His *Suetonius*, for example, he illustrated by having *miniature portraits*, in oil, by the best masters, of the Twelve Cæsars, framed and glazed, inlaid in the one cover, while twelve of the principal Roman ladies, painted to match, were in the other, both guarded with crimson velvet. His bindings were all in the most sumptuous style, and many of them curious by their devices. His Johnston's *History of Highwaymen*, for instance, was ornamented by the Count de Chaumont (an emigrant, who did not disdain to employ his talent, creditably for himself, in book-binding, during the exile of the Noblesse) with emblems of the fate that robbers ought to come to, viz. *the gallows*, on the four corners!

Lately, in the upper end of Peebles-shire, a young man, a shepherd, being dissatisfied with the quantity of milk which some of his cows yielded, shrewdly suspected they were bewitched by an old woman who lived about 15 miles from the spot, whose great age excited the boor's suspicions. *Scoring aboon the breath* being the only remedy prescribed by the superstition which yet remains in that part of the country, for an evil of such a desperate nature, the owner of the cattle determined to try the cure, set out for the residence of the supposed delinquent, and finding the poor old woman at home, cut her severely on the brow. The fellow was immediately brought before the justices, who very properly inflicted on him a heavy pecuniary penalty, and dismissed him with a suitable admonition.

Mr Whitbread, in his address to the proprietors of Drury-lane theatre, stated, that no less than two hundred and seventy-six tragedies, comedies, operas, and farces, had been submitted to the committee of management during their short period of duty. He gave the following account of these pieces:—

Dramas, considered upon the whole as unfit for representation, and which had been returned to the writers, though in nearly one-fourth of the instances they had found difficulty in discovering the address, ...	241
Dramas disapproved of, and yet to be delivered, ...	2
Dramas disapproved of, but sent in without any address, and which they could not return, . .	11
Dramas approved of, partly brought out and to be brought out, .	14
Dramas still under consideration, .	8
In all, .	276

Copyrights.—The copyright bill underwent various alterations before it passed from the Commons to the Lords. No option about the copyright remains as a condition of entry, and no proportion of the price is to be paid for the copies. The time, too, in which the copies may be demanded by the public libraries, is enlarged from six months to twelve months, and, to give them the opportunity of making

their demand, all books must be entered at Stationers' Hall within three months, and a copy, on the best paper, must be given to the British Museum, under forfeiture of five pounds, and the value of eleven copies, with full costs, but without injury to the copyright. The only advantage derived by literature, therefore, from this act, is, the extension of the copyright from 28 years contingent to 28 years absolute.

OCTOBER.

THE KING.

"*Windsor Castle, October* 1.

"His Majesty continues tranquil, but his disorder is unabated.

"H. Halford.
"M. Baillie.
"J. Willis.
"R. Willis."

The following circumstance took place this day:—On the arrival of the Dover mail-coach at Rochester, on its way to town, the guard was unexpectedly and peremptorily called upon by Sharp, the custom-house officer, to deliver up an official parcel in his care, addressed to the right honourable Lord Castlereagh, purporting to be from his Grace the Duke of Wellington. This the guard, with much fear and reluctance, complied with: it was instantly opened, and found, instead of important dispatches, to contain many small valuable packages of contraband articles, addressed to distinguished persons in this country. Sharp's seizure, of course, was made, but he allowed the mail to continue its journey.—The ladies of many of our "distinguished persons" are said to have of late cultivated a peculiar taste for these prohibited articles. There has been for some time a story abroad, of the seizure, on the coast, of a carriage and horses belonging to the lady of a high legal character, upon some charge of this description.

We insert the following as a caution to travellers in gigs:—Mr and Mrs Smith, Darnley, upon a late excursion to Loch Lomond and Loch Tay, in a gig, halted at Balnaguard, between y Bridge and Dunkeld, to give th orse meal and water. Mr S. alighted: Mrs S. keeping her seat, the bridle was incautiously taken out of the horse's mouth, when, finding himself at liberty, he moved forward a step and overset the pail, which had been set down before the wheel, which startling him, he set out at full speed. Mr S. for a considerable distance, hung by the reins on the horse's neck, attempting to stop him, till knocked down between the gig and the battlement of a bridge, his arm and hand much cut and sprained, and his body greatly bruised. Mrs S. with the greatest resolution, kept her seat for two miles, the horse going at full gallop, a precipice on one side nearly the whole way, when he was providentially stopped.

Swindling.—The Journal de Paris contains a ludicrous account of the trial of a swindler, before the Court of Assizes of Paris, on the 21st of September. Joseph Wallerstein, a young man, about 18 years of age, serjeant-major of tirailleurs, in a regiment of the old imperial guard, miraculously escaped the total destruction of his corps, which was cut to pieces at the battle of Brienne. Not wishing to run the chance of a second prodigy, he returned to his father at Paris, who did not choose to furnish him with money, to support his expensive idleness. He was soon tired, therefore, of being the son of an economical citizen, and wished to enter into a richer and more distinguished family: accordingly, he assumed the title of nephew of the Emperor Alexander. From knowing a little Ger-

man, and having made the campaign of Russia, his audacity enabled him to impose on the credulous. He first took lodgings at an hotel, under the name of Baron, Count Komburuski, Kandurouski, Padoroski, Colonel of regular Cossacks, Commander of the Chasseurs of Frieldberg, Aid-de-Camp to the Emperor of Russia and of Prince Schwartzenberg; but the title to which he was most attached, and which he never abandoned, was that of nephew to the emperor. In this character he visited the hospital of invalids, and perfectly astounded some of the officers with his condescension. To one he gave a decoration, which he took from his coat; the officer at first hesitated to adorn himself with it; but the prince insisted, and the officer obeyed. He then intimated to the general, that he wished to leave those respectable warriors some marks of his liberality; but being informed that they were expressly prohibited from receiving any thing, he said that he wished to make some purchases; and having nothing but Russian paper, requested the general to recommend him to a banker. The general replied, that he did not know one, and requested the prince to accept of his purse, which he very condescendingly put into his pocket. Afterwards he went to Versailles, where he presented an old officer with a blue ribbon, and created him great commander of the order of Malta. The honour of receiving a prince and a ribbon made the Chevalier de Belmare forget that the cordon of Malta is black, and that there is not, in that order, the title of great commander. Madame de Belmare, who at the request of the young prince was preparing to go to Paris, to be presented to the Emperor of Russia, offered, at the same time apologizing for the smallness of the loan, a purse containing 100 francs to the illustrious stranger, who never had any thing but Russian paper; and her husband conducted him to a watchmaker's, where he chose a watch and chain worth 800 francs, telling the watchmaker to call on him the next day at Meudon, of which he was governor, and desired him to bring some more watches, which he would assist him in disposing of; but the watchmaker meeting with the prince at a coffeehouse in the evening, and suspecting him to be an impostor, insisted on having his watch or the money: the prince was glad to return the former, and decamped. Some days afterwards, he went to Saint Maur, and enquired for the mayor, who was absent; but the mayor of the neighbouring town being sent for, he told him that the Emperor of Russia would arrive at ten o'clock at night with 800 of his guards, and desired him to supply entertainment for them. The mayor asked for a written requisition, which the colonel of cossacks immediately gave. He then dined with the mayor, and borrowed his watch; and afterwards went to the Sieur Mallet, who was to furnish 60 rations, and lodge 60 men. The illustrious cossack pretended that his watch had stopped; M. Mallet offered him his, which he accepted. But the inhabitants found it impossible, at so short a notice, to supply the quantity of articles required. They could, perhaps, at Vincennes. His imperial highness condescended to write a most gracious letter to General D'Aumesnil, governor of Vincennes; but the arrival of the mayor of Saint Maur finished the comedy. He considered the circumstances, called the colonel an impostor, arrested and carried him to Paris. The court condemned him to five years imprisonment, and to pay a fine of 300 francs and expences. Wallerstein is a Jew; and it is not one of the least whimsical circumstances of the process, to see a professor of the

Hebrew religion making commanders of Malta.

2d.—Vienna.—The day of the so-long-wished-for congress having at last arrived, it was thought that a solemn service would have taken place in the church of St Stephen; but no order to that effect has yet been given, and nothing indicates the precise day when the congress will open.

It is impossible to convey an idea of the bustle which prevails in and about the palace. Multitudes are collected to see the sovereigns, who are coming and going every moment; the drums beat, the troops are under arms; the people, on foot, on horseback, and in carriages, jostle each other in all directions. The ministers hitherto most conspicuous are, MM. Metternich, Nesselrode, Hardenberg, and Castlereagh.

The imperial palace is at present inhabited by two emperors, two empresses, four kings, and a queen; two hereditary princes, the one imperial, the other royal; two grand duchesses, and two princes. The whole of the building forms a rectangled parallelogram: on one of the great sides is the palace, properly so called, and on the other opposite to it are the buildings for the council of state, &c.; the Amelia and Swiss palaces form the wings. The Emperor and Empress of Russia inhabit the second story of the Amelia palace, and the King of Wurtemberg the first; the King and Queen of Bavaria, with the princes their sons, and the Grand Duchess of Weymar, occupy the council buildings; the King of Denmark inhabits that part of the Swiss palace which looks towards the bastions, and the King of Prussia that which faces the city; the Hereditary Prince of Prussia lodges with him; the Emperor and Empress of Austria, with the Grand Duchess of Oldenburgh, and the Hereditary Prince of Austria, occupy what is properly called the palace. The young archdukes and archduchesses are at Schoenbrunn.

4th.—John, the son of John Eilbeck of Harrington, mariner, aged about three years, found means to climb up a ladder, which had been reared against the side of a house at Harrington harbour, 3 stories high, and had nearly reached the top of it before he was discovered by some people at a little distance. Amongst others, whom the alarm brought together, was the father of the boy!—who, with equal intrepidity and presence of mind, slowly and silently ascended the ladder, and was almost at the top of it, when the child perceiving him approach, probably apprehensive of a rebuke or chastisement, and certainly insensible of any danger from his situation, actually quitted the ladder, and crawled up the house, and had nearly attained the summit, when the father seized him, and, with great caution and difficulty, brought him safe down!

5th.—Yesterday afternoon a most atrocious murder was committed on Elizabeth Dobbins, a poor washerwoman residing at Millfield Farm, Millfield-lane, Kentish-town.

About three o'clock, James Dobbins, the husband of the deceased, and a turncock of St Pancras, returned home from his work. On entering a room on the ground floor, he discovered his wife lying on the floor; at a short distance from her he perceived a kitchen poker, which was considerably bent, and covered with blood, having evidently been the instrument with which the wound on his wife had been inflicted. The wretched man immediately lifted up his wife, and placed her on a chair. On examining her head, he found it laid open from her right eye to the back: the skull fractured dreadfully. Life was still remaining, but little hopes of reco-

very could be entertained. He went out to procure assistance, and found a man in the custody of James Ceel, from whom he learnt they had taken him in a field near the spot, belonging to Mr Thomas Greenwood, on suspicion of having stolen two bundles which he had in his possession. Dobbins communicated the horrid scene he had discovered in his own house, and it was concluded that the prisoner was the murderer. They conveyed him before Mr Ivers, magistrate, in Kentish-town, who having investigated the circumstances, committed him to prison.

This man, named Thomas Sharpe, was tried for the murder at the next Old Bailey sessions, convicted, and executed in the following week.

8th.——ROTTERDAM.——The river Maase presented this day again a very interesting scene for the inhabitants of this city, which they have not enjoyed for many years, and which filled the heart of each true Hollander with inexpressible joy and gratitude. The beautiful Dutch-built frigate Maase Rotten Stroom, commanded by Capt. Frans. Bremer, lying ready to sail to Batavia, and anchored before this city, according to the ancient custom of this country, a dinner was given on board of her this day; but this being the first ship since we became a nation again, under the reign of a long-wished-for prince, and the ship being on the eve of her departure on such an interesting expedition, the owners, of course, wished the entertainment to be suitable to the occasion. Amongst those invited were the Admiral Kikkert, the commissary of the department, one of the burgomasters, some of the members of the chamber of commerce and navigation, and other respectable merchants. At two o'clock this highly respectable company was conveyed on board the frigate by the sloops belonging to her, and a fine yacht; and were received on board (Orange and Dutch colours flying, a discharge of the cannon, and a band playing,) by the principal owner and book-keeper, A. Van Hoboken, Esq. At the dinner some toasts were drank; amongst which the following were given by Vice-Admiral Kikkert:—

"Our beloved Sovereign."—"The Princely Family."—"All our august Allies."—"All those in high authority in our State."—"Municipality of Rotterdam."

The president of commerce gave the following:—

"May the English Government shew their friendship for our beloved Sovereign by a speedy restoration of our colonies; and may the esteem which the Dutch have always felt for this old Ally rise to the highest pitch."

9th.—A boat, containing nine unfortunate people, was swamped between Ramsgate and Calais, when every soul perished: The individuals consisted of four women, the rest men (the whole French,) who had brought over, about three weeks since, fruit and vegetables. Soon after their arrival, the officer of the customs proceeded to examine the vessel, and discovered, under the gunwale, a quantity of Valenciennes lace; the boat (a remarkably fine yawl) was confiscated. Since that period, they have been wandering about the island. On Sunday morning, a Flemish fisherman, taking pity on their situation, undertook to carry them over in a small boat, which would not live in any sea. They all embarked, in a fresh gale, and were ingulfed before they had got half way over.

10th.—A fire broke out this morning at two o'clock, in High-street, Shadwell, opposite the police-office. It commenced in the house of Mr Andrews, a haberdasher, and communicated to the adjoining houses, from

whence it spread with irresistible fury to others, until twenty dwellings were consumed; and from the rapidity of the flames, a very small part of the property, which principally belonged to poor persons, could be saved. The servant lad of Mr Andrews, but for the providential aid of a ladder, must have perished. Two hours elapsed before water could be obtained. The houses on the opposite side of the street were preserved with difficulty. Many of them were considerably injured; and but for the extraordinary activity of the watermen, the police-office must have been burnt to the ground. Mr Andrews, whose stock was extensive, is said to be insured to the amount of 2000l. Many of the other sufferers were not so fortunate.

11th.—This morning the family of the Hon. Mr Herbert, at Mitcham, were alarmed by the report of a spring-gun, which had been placed in the garden, (and of which the regular notice had been given): The servants, on repairing to the spot, found a man lying a few yards distant, lifeless; he was discovered to be an old offender, who, only a few days before, had been detected, by a similar report, in another gentleman's garden, and then only a few shot being lodged in his legs, he was, under the idea of this circumstance being a sufficient caution, set at liberty.

13th.—The gardener of Mr Sherbrook, Leighton Buzzard, Bedfordshire, suffered a melancholy death. Mr S had frequently previous had his pinery robbed, and on Thursday night the gardener determined to sit up and watch; he accordingly posted himself in the green-house, with a loaded fowling-piece, where it is supposed he fell asleep, and in the morning was found dead on the ground, with all the appearance of suffocation, evidently occasioned by the discharge of mephitic gas from the plants during the night.

14th.—On Monday, C. Pianca, of Exeter 'Change, was summoned on an information laid against him, for selling to Lavender, the officer, six fire-balls, called "fulminating pease," which being thrown on the ground with force, or pressed by the foot, explode with a great noise. The information was under the act of William, which makes it 5l. penalty "to sell, or expose to sale, serpents, rockets, or other fire-works."

Mr Fielding premised, that the act was to prevent the mischief which resulted from fire-works, the preamble stating, that people had lost their lives by "serpents, rockets, and other fire-works." As far as the mischievous quality went, these fulminating pease came within the meaning of the act; but it was a question deserving consideration, whether these balls could be called fire-works.

Mr Bankes, optician, Strand, stated, that although unacquainted with Mr Pianca, he felt interested for an ingenious foreigner, who was at present abroad. He would undertake to prove that these balls or pease could not be called fire-works; and to demonstrate this, the opinions of three counsel had been taken, who stated that the articles did not come within the meaning of the act of William. There was nothing like fire in them, for their explosion would not ignite gunpowder. He would prove this by an experiment. [Here one of the pease was thrown with violence on the ground, which exploded with a flash.]

The magistrate interrupted the experiments, observing, that the flame which they had seen must sufficiently have satisfied their minds. They required no terrible experiments.

Mr Bankes said that there were various sorts of fire or flame, galvanic, electric, &c.; and according to the present doctrine, the sun itself, which looked like flame and imparted heat, was not fire.

Mr Fielding observed, that the act did not restrict itself to articles made of gunpowder, for it never mentioned gunpowder, it spoke of "fire-works." It contemplated the *genus generalissimum* of fire—every species of fire that the chemist's power could produce. If these pease produced fire, they came within the act. But how was fire defined? Johnson called it "the igneous element;" and in the present instance the igneous element had been elicited—there had been produced an ignited spark. The proof of that fact was enough.

Mr Colquhoun asked to what use these balls could be turned?

Mr Bankes replied, that they could be of no use. But to demonstrate the fact that they did not produce an ignited spark, as the magistrates imagined, he wished to try the experiment which he was before going to make, namely, to explode one of the balls surrounded with gun-powder, which explosion would not ignite. The experiment had been successfully tried over and over again, at the royal institution, in the presence of Sir H. Davy. [Mr B. then pulled out of his pocket a canister of gunpowder, for the purpose of exploding a ball in the centre of it, to show that its explosion would not ignite powder! but the magistrates would not allow the experiment. Mr B. however tried it on a smaller scale, by folding about half an ounce of powder in a paper, inclosing at the same time a pea, and then pressed the paper with the foot, when the ball exploded, at the same time igniting the gunpowder, and burning the paper! !]—Mr Bankes, after having thus refuted himself, stated, that he must give up the defence of the balls; but assured the magistrates, that he felt so convinced of the truth of what he had asserted, that he would willingly have exploded one of the balls in the centre of a barrel of gunpowder!

The magistrates thinking further proof could not be desired, pronounced the party convicted—Penalty, 5l.

15th.—An anniversary service was performed in the chapel of the Thuilleries for her late majesty Maria Antoinette, Queen of France. The king, the royal family, and the whole court attended. The king was in his pew, with a crape round his arm. The Duke of Angouleme was on the right of his majesty, and the Duke of Berry on his left. The Duchess of Angouleme, dressed in mourning, went down into the interior of the chapel, and placed herself in the choir opposite the officiating clergyman. Among the persons present were remarked eight or ten bishops, almost all of whom have lately returned to France, and several of the king's almoners. All the persons belonging to the court were in full mourning. Mass was performed by M. de Vintimille, bishop of Carcassonne.

17th.—The neighbourhood of St Giles's was thrown into the utmost consternation, by one of the most extraordinary accidents ever remembered. About six o'clock in the evening, one of the vats in the extensive premises of Messrs Henry Meux and Co., in Banbury-street, St Giles's, burst, and in a moment New-street, George-street, and several others in the vicinity, were deluged with the contents, amounting to 3500 barrels of strong beer. The fluid, in its course, swept every thing before it. Two houses in New-street, adjoining the brew-house, were totally demolished. The inhabitants, who were of the poorer class, were all at home. In the first floor of one of them, a mother and daughter were at tea: The mother was killed on the spot; the daughter was swept away by the current through a partition, and dashed to pieces. The back parts of the houses of Mr Goodwin, poulterer, of Mr Hawse, Tavistock Arms, and Nos. 24 and 25, in

Great Russel-street, were nearly destroyed. The female servant of the Tavistock Arms was suffocated. Three of Mr Meux's men, employed in the brewery, were rescued with great difficulty, by the people collected to afford relief, who had to wade up to their middle through the beer.

The site of the place is low and flat, and there being no declivity to carry off the fluid, in its fall it spread and sunk into the neighbouring cellars, all of which were inhabited. The bursting of the brew-house walls, and the fall of heavy timber, materially contributed to aggravate the mischief, by forcing the roofs and walls of the adjoining houses. The crowd collected from the time of the accident to a late hour was immense. It presented many distressing scenes of children and others enquiring for and lamenting their parents, relatives, and friends.

A great number of workmen were employed the whole of yesterday in clearing away the rubbish, and the following dead bodies have been found:

Ann Saville, about 35 years of age.

Eleanor Cooper, between 15 and 16 years of age, servant to Mr Hawse, the Tavistock Arms.

Hannah Bamfield, a child, four years and a half old.

Mrs Butler, a poor Irish woman, her daughter, and grand-daughter, and three others, whose names have not been ascertained.

One person has been dug out alive. Two brothers, of the name of Creek, store-house clerks, in attempting to save some of the property, were severely hurt. Two other persons are missing from the neighbourhood, whose bodies have not yet been found. Many of the cellars on the south side of Russell-street are completely inundated with beer; and in some houses the inhabitants had to save themselves from drowning by mounting their highest pieces of furniture.

18th.—Information having for some time been received that it was in contemplation of a gang of thieves to rob the General Post-Office, and carry off the contents of the iron-chest in the receiver-general's office, which frequently contained notes to the amount of from twelve to eighteen thousand pounds, Lavender and Vickery discovered the plan; but the officers of the post-office treated it as impracticable, and even chimerical, every door, place, and lock, being deemed so thoroughly secure, the locks being the best that can be made. There appears to be no doubt, however, that the post-office has been entered, several locks, and even that of the iron-chest, opened, the contents examined, but nothing taken out, the booty not being deemed sufficiently large to take away, and that this was all done without the least suspicion or discovery by the officers of the post-office. Friday was the day appointed to convince Mr Freeling, Mr Parkin, and other gentlemen belonging to the post-office, of the possibility as well as the practicability of passing all the locks, including the iron-chest, without using any violence. Lavender and Vickery attended at the office for that purpose; and having discovered the gang of thieves who were to have effected the robbery in a quiet manner, they produced the implements that were to have effected the purpose, which they had procured after great exertion and perseverance. The doors being all locked in the most secure manner possible, by and in the presence of the principal officers belonging to the post-office, Lavender and Vickery produced a master key, which passed all the locks leading to the place where the iron-chest is deposited in the receiver-general's office, with the greatest possible ease, and they produced another key, which opened the iron chest without any noise or difficulty. This was thought the most extraordi-

nary, as the key of the chest is never out of the possession of the person who has the care of it, and who is accountable for its contents.

Vienna.—The fete given to-day on the occasion of the anniversary of the battle of Leipsic, was the finest that has been yet seen. Twenty thousand men were assembled in the morning on the Prater. At eleven in the forenoon the emperors, the kings, and allied sovereigns, the empresses and queens, came upon the ground with a very numerous and brilliant suite. The troops having formed an immense square, *Te Deum* was chaunted; after which the troops defiled in presence of their majesties. The Archduke Constantine was at the head of the regiment of cuirassiers which bears his name. Dinner was served up at the same time to the sovereigns, the officers, and the troops. The repast even of the troops was sumptuous: The sovereigns dined in the Villa, at one end of the prater, and the troops on the field, while more than 100,000 spectators were moving about in every direction. Their majesties several times appeared at the balcony which commands the plain, as well as the islands of the Danube, and were saluted by uninterrupted acclamations. The Emperor of Russia twice drank to the health of the troops and the spectators. The soldiers in the garrison of Vienna receive double pay, and the officers a present of 200 florins a month. The expences of the kitchen and cellars of the palace are about one hundred thousand florins a day.

24th.—A horrid murder was committed near Altagh Wood, in the barony of West Muskerry, Cork. A farmer named Gallavan, and his son, returning from the wood, where they had purchased a horse-load of timber, were attacked by five persons who crossed them in the high road, and who appeared to have lain in waiting for them, three of whom were armed with scythes, set in handles, like swords: Two of them knocked the old man down, and gave him several severe wounds with these murderous weapons, and also with large stones; and the other three most barbarously butchered the son, who died on the following day. An inquest was held on the body, and one Hogan, a carpenter, has been identified by old Gallagan, as one of the perpetrators, and is in custody.

A singular accident took place at Sutton Bonnington, Notts. It being wake time, a number of young people had assembled at the Tailors' Arms public-house, to make merry by dancing, &c. when on a sudden the floor fell through, and the whole company disappeared, with the exception of the fiddler, who kept his station in one corner of the room, with a foundation under him, just sufficient to contain the space of the chair he sat upon. Several of the party got broken legs, fractured sculls, or other injuries.

25th.—This afternoon, between four and five o'clock, a murder was committed on the body of Mr William Belsham, cow-keeper, at Maldon, Essex, in his own cow-house, about half a mile out of the town. He had gone as usual to milk his cows. A boy, about twelve years of age, went to him to get some milk; and as he was returning from the cow-house, he met a man getting over a gate, who went towards the cow-house. In a short time after another boy heard a violent noise, and a man's voice calling for help proceeding from the cow-house; and soon after, he saw a man come out of the cow-house, and walk deliberately away. No more noise was heard from the cow-house. A few minutes after, the boy went into the cow-house to ascertain the cause of the noise, when he found the deceased had been murdered, his brains being beat out; the boy ran for help,

and a number of persons came, but the deceased was quite dead, and, there was no doubt, by a bludgeon which the man had in his hand who was seen to enter and come out of the cow-house, and which was found by the side of the deceased. It was ascertained that he had been robbed of his watch, a one pound bank of England note, and some silver. From the description of the man, it is believed he is a seaman named William Seymour, a native of Maldon, who had returned within these few days, having been discharged from the San Juan. He was detected in a robbery about two years since, when he was sent on board the Reasonable, where he was discovered to be a deserter from the San Juan, and was sent on board of her. The inhabitants of Maldon dispatched persons in all directions in pursuit of the murderer, who traced him toward the river; but it being night, all farther search ceased. They have offered a reward of 100l. for his apprehension.

26th.—As Miss Nicholas was riding a few days ago, on the bank of the Rhymny, in Wales, her horse took fright, and galloped furiously along the road over-hanging the river; her servant endeavoured to come up with her in vain: perceiving that her own horse exerted himself to keep the head when he heard the other coming up, she made a signal to the servant to check his pace; her own horse, however, continued his course with desperate speed, till she arrived at a place where a rock fallen from the cliff occupied half the road; here the animal had scarcely room to pass between the rock and the precipice; in the attempt to pass, his hind legs and body slipped down the precipice, while his fore legs only retained hold of the road: in this awful situation, without assistance, or any prospect but destruction, the young lady did not delay a moment to attempt her deliverance from the dangers that surrounded her: she sprang from her seat to a twig that overhung, and regained the road in safety. The horse fell (a depth of 200 feet!) into the waters below, and swam to the opposite shore without material injury.

29th.—The ravages of the plague this year at Smyrna have been unusually dreadful. It is stated, that in June, frequently upwards of a thousand have been buried in one day; one-third of the inhabitants had left their dwellings and the town. Some compute the number of deaths this year at 50,000; the least computation is 30,000. Smyrna is said to contain from 160 to 180,000 inhabitants. All Asia Minor, Syria, the islands, &c. experienced this year a similar loss of about one-quarter or one-fifth of the whole population. The crops of corn, &c. remain ungathered in the fields in many places in the interior, for want of hands; and several towns and villages have been entirely abandoned. In Smyrna the keys of 800 houses have been delivered to the governor, as many families have been altogether extirpated, and the government is heir where there is no very near relation.

The following melancholy accident occurred in Cambridge: as the Rev. Mr Brathwaite, fellow of St John's College, was entering into the Blue Boar Inn, Trinity-street, on the roof of the Ipswich coach, he was so much crushed (owing to the lowness of the gateway) as to cause his death in a few hours.

31st.—A shocking accident occurred at the gig-mill of Mr John Carr, at Armley. One of the straps by which motion is communicated to the gig-engine having started, a young man of the name of Lee attempted to replace it, but in the effort his arm unfortunately became entangled in the

strap, and he was drawn among the machinery, and instantly killed; his body was mangled in a manner too horrible for description.

AGRICULTURAL REPORT.

From the end of August to the second week of this month, the weather has been remarkably favourable for harvest operations, and at the same time brought the late crops to maturity much earlier than was to be expected. With very trifling exceptions, all sorts of grain are now secured everywhere in the very best order. The season has been equally propitious to wheat-sowing; and the late rains, and continued mild weather, promise such a regular and vigorous plant from what has been recently deposited, as already appears on the early-sown fields.

There has been very little alteration in the prices of grain during the last quarter, or indeed for these twelve months past. In some instances—we suspect in but a few—the abundance of crop 1813, may have compensated for the diminution of price; but from all that can yet be known of the late crop, it is impossible to indulge any such expectation. Prices are now kept down chiefly by an immense importation, though partly by the large reversion of the former crop; and in some degree, also, the present low prices may be owing to the excellent condition in which the new crop has been secured.

There has been a better demand of late for sheep and cattle than there was reason to expect from the appearance of the stack-yards, and the state of the turnip crop in Scotland. Cattle in particular have, within these few weeks, been taken off at prices a good deal higher than they were in August. Turnips, it would therefore appear, have suffered less in the south than they have done here, where they cannot be rated at much more than the half of an average crop. Potatoes, though the quality is generally good, are not nearly so abundant as they were last year; and are understood to be rather below an average crop.—*Farmer's Magazine.*

NOVEMBER.

1st.—Atrocities in Ireland.—This evening was committed a most audacious robbery. Immediately after Robert Prendergast, Esq of Greenmount, an dhis family, had dined, and as the servants were going to dinner, the house was surrounded by a gang of plunderers, of whom six entered, and hustled the domestics into the dining parlour with their master and mistress, and their children, and Mrs Hefferman (Mrs P.'s sister.) They placed a guard on the door, and the rest went to the kitchen, where they regaled themselves, taking care to relieve the sentries, and give them their share of refreshment. The whole then re-entered the parlour, and one of them putting a pistol to Mr P.'s head, demanded his keys and property, promising, if he would give them up fairly, that they would not injure any one. Mr P. gave them his keys, and the villains continued ransacking his house for about five hours, not departing until nearly one o'clock on Wednesday morning. Many of the jewels were valuable, and a great quantity of wearing apparel of every description was taken, every thing moveable and wearable that they could convey away. The property lost cannot well be estimated much short of a thousand pounds. They offered no further violence. On rummaging the drawers, they deliberately rejected several bank receipts of Mr P., but took the government debentures and bank-notes;

and, upon guess, took also some documents of government stock. One of them left in guard of the family below, while the ransack was making, indulged his taste for music, and trying a couple of flutes, on one of which he played a tune or two, not at all in the style of a vulgar musician, he gave the preference to that which had four silver keys to it. Complaining of being fatigued, and wishing for some liquor, they declined doing any mischief in the cellar, and were satisfied with a glass of good old whiskey. Three only of them were disguised. The memory of Brennan's gang is pretty recent: and many are living who remember Ferney's.

CASHEL.—A daring outrage has been committed upon the mail-coach which left this city yesterday for Dublin. At about twelve o'clock, as the coach was proceeding up a slight ascent, leading to a place called Rockwell, in the barony of Middlethird, and within about three miles of Cashel, it was discovered that the road was blocked up, cars being placed at each side, and a large tree resting upon both. The coach had scarcely arrived at this spot, when two shots were fired, both of which unhappily took effect; one upon the coachman, who received the ball in his breast; and the other on a gentleman, the assistant-surgeon of the 38th regiment, who sat immediately behind him, and who was shot in the head. Notwithstanding the wounded state of the coachman, he, with great presence of mind, held his horses in hand, and though the road was very narrow, dexterously turned them round, and drove back to the last stage he had left. In the mean time one of the guards descended from his seat, and ran to the place whence the shots proceeded, but the miscreants could not be discerned, and all that remained for him was to fire in that direction, which he did.

29th.—This evening, about six o'clock, a violent outrage and robbery was committed at the house of Gabriel Fisher, Cherry Mount, in the county of Waterford, within 4 miles of Youghal. As Dennis Fisher, son of the above-mentioned, was returning into his father's house by the back door, he was seized by three men, each armed with two pistols slung in a belt, and a short gun: they, with two more armed in like manner, who now joined the former men, immediately wrested a gun from Fisher, which he was then taking into his father's house, and into which they forced themselves with him. When in the kitchen they asked Fisher where was his father? who replied, he was in the parlour with his family; on which they rushed into the parlour, where Mr and Mrs Fisher, with two young ladies, their daughters, and two of their grand-children, were. These miscreants, on entering the parlour, asked the elder Fisher for his arms; he replied he had none; one of the villains then advanced, and, presenting a cocked pistol to the head of this aged gentleman, in the presence of his wife, daughters, and grand-children, desired him to kneel down. This Mr Fisher refused, adding in a determined tone, "If you mean to shoot me, I shall receive it standing;" the villain then turned the pistol from the direction in which Mr Fisher stood, and discharged it against the wall. The villains at this period were observed in the act of relieving their sentinel, of whom, as it afterwards appeared, numbers were regularly posted for a considerable distance about the house, and especially on the road to Youghal. They all appeared to have equal commands, and asked which of the young ladies would

make tea; the father replied, neither of them; upon which one of the gang very deliberately took up the kettle, and made tea, to which the whole party sat down, ate a large hot cake, then at the fire, besides all the bread and butter at table. They then commanded Mr Fisher to shew them the house, in order to see whether there were any more arms, exclusive of the gun which they had previously taken from Mr Fisher's son; this Mr Fisher complied with. They then asked for spirits, when they were informed by Mr Fisher that he had none, except a little rum, which was contained in a decanter; this they divided among themselves, and, wishing the family good night, departed. They then went to the house of Mr Power, which they plundered of arms, and set the house on fire, but it was happily extinguished.

A few days after, the house of the Rev. Mr Averill, of Mothill, in the county of Waterford, was attacked by a gang of armed ruffians, who had the almost universally combined objects in view, of obtaining money and arms. It was not ascertained of how many they consisted; but two of them entered the parlour, one of whom presented a pistol at Mr Averill, and demanded his arms and powder. When he assured them that he had neither arms nor powder, he was compelled to attend them over the house, and to open for their inspection every drawer, desk, and cupboard. Disappointed in their primary, though not exclusive design, they demanded the price of powder which they thought they ought to have found, and robbed Mr A. of a small sum of money he had in his pocket-book.

1st.—The trial of Colonel Quintin, on the following charges, closed this day:—1. For neglecting and abandoning his duty as commanding officer, and leaving some of the divisions without support, while foraging in the valley of Macoy. 2. For not making such effectual attempts at the battle of Orthes as he ought to have done, by his presence and personal exertions, to co-operate with and support the divisions of his regiment, the 10th hussars. 3. For similar misconduct after the battle of Thoulouse. 4. For general neglect, and allowing a relaxed state of discipline in his regiment.

In support of these charges much evidence was adduced; but as it was of a description from which none but military men, and those too on the spot, or possessing the best information, could arrive at a just conclusion, we forbear to detail it. Lieutenant Henry Fitzclarence, Captain Howard, Captain Stewart, Capt. Fitzclarence, Captain Harding, Major Jones, Colonel Palmer, (the prosecutor,) Colonel Elley, Lieut. Eversfield, Lord Combermere, Lord Edw. Somerset, and others, gave evidence in support of the charges; a part of which went to shew that Colonel Quintin not only held back his men in action, but also retired himself into the rear; and the rest to prove that he suffered the men to commit various excesses with impunity.

In his defence, Colonel Quintin urged, that he had joined his regiment though in a state of ill health; that he had received the thanks of the commander of the cavalry for his conduct on the very day to which the second charge referred; that it was not his duty to engage with the skirmishers, or to charge with the first file; that there was much youthful eagerness for command in some of the officers; and that he was desirous of diminishing the frequency of corporal punishment in the regiment, as well in furtherance of his own ideas, as in com-

pliance with the desire of the illustrious personage who commanded the regiment, who had ordered that a rigid attention on the part of the officers should be tried as a substitute for corporal punishment.

Several officers gave their opinion in favour of Colonel Quintin's general conduct; among them were General Cartwright, General Grant, and the Earl of Uxbridge. The latter said, that he considered his behaviour equally exemplary in the presence of the enemy and in the general conduct of his regiment; and mentioned two instances in which Colonel Quintin had charged and defeated the enemy with very inferior numbers.

Colonel Palmer replied to Colonel Quintin's defence, that such was his manifest want of energy, that Lord Combermere had observed that he was unfit to command such a regiment, and attributed it to the colonel's ill health; that his former good conduct could not establish his character for ever; that though he did not charge Colonel Quintin with misbehaviour in the presence of the enemy, yet in effect his conduct was much the same, for it was of little consequence whether it originated in want of courage or want of officer-like feeling; that when the French were advancing upon them, they were left by Colonel Quintin without orders or support; that he quitted the front the moment the firing began, and did not afterwards return; that the discipline of the regiment was notoriously relaxed; and that without corporal punishment when in the field, an army would be utterly ruined.

As soon as Colonel Palmer had concluded, the court was cleared.

19th.——SENTENCE ON COLONEL QUINTIN.——On Thursday the 10th regiment of hussars was paraded at Rumford, when the sentence of the court-martial, as approved by the Prince Regent, was read.

It states in substance that the court has found part of the first charge proved; in which it is said, that on the 10th of January, when the regiment was foraging, the colonel did not make proper and timely arrangements to secure the success of the regiment, but neglected and abandoned his duty as commanding officer, leaving some of the divisions without support or orders when attacked by the enemy.—They honourably acquit him of the second and third charges.—They find the fact stated in the fourth, of a relaxed discipline existing in the regiment when engaged on foreign service, proved; but in consideration of the letter of the Duke of Wellington conveying a censure on him for the same, and also in finding from the evidence that there was a want of co-operation on the part of the officers in maintaining the discipline of the corps, the court-martial do not think it necessary to reprimand the colonel on this part of the charges; but they think it their duty to reprimand him on the part of the first charge, which they find to be proved.

The pleasure of the Prince Regent was then pronounced, which will be seen at length in the following official communication:—

"I am to acquaint you, that his royal highness the Prince Regent has been pleased, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, to approve and confirm the finding and sentence of the court.

"His royal highness has further been pleased to consider, that, when the officers of a corps prefer accusations affecting the honour and professional character of their commander, nothing but the most conclusive proof of their charges before a court-martial can justify a proceeding which must

otherwise be so pregnant with mischief to the discipline of the army; and that a regard due to the subordination of the service must ever attach a severe responsibility to subordinate officers who become the accusers of their superior. His royal highness, therefore, could not but regret that the officers of the 10th hussars should have been so unmindful of what they owe to the first principles of their profession, as to assume an opinion of their commander's personal conduct, which neither their general experience of the service, nor their knowledge of the alleged facts (as appears from their own evidence), could sanction or justify,—and which opinion would appear, from the proceedings, to have been utterly void of foundation, in every instance of implied attack or insinuation upon that officer's courage and conduct before the enemy, as conveyed by the tenour of the second and third charges.

"In allusion to the letter signed by the chief part of the officers, and in which the present proceedings originated, the Prince Regent has specially observed that, exclusive of the doubt which may be entertained of their capability to form a judgment so much beyond the scope of their experience in the service, it was worthy of remark, that some who have affixed their names to that paper had never been with the regiment during the period in question, and others had never joined any military body beyond the depôt of their corps; and it might thus be deduced, that although the officers have manifested, according to the appropriate remark of the court-martial, a want of co-operation in support of their commander's authority, yet those who have assumed a personal observance of Col. Quintin's conduct, and those who, though absent, appear to have acted under a mischievous influence, by joining in an opinion to his prejudice, have all co-operated in a compact against their commanding officer, fraught with evils of the most injurious tendency to the discipline of the service: nor did it escape the notice of his royal highness, that this accusation has not been the momentary offspring of irritated feelings, but the deliberate issue of a long and extraordinary delay, for which no sufficient reasons, or explanation, have been assigned.

"In this view of the case, (which is not palliated by the very slight censure passed on Colonel Quintin upon the 1st charge) his royal highness has considered that a mark of his displeasure towards those officers is essential to the vital interests of the army; and that the nature of the combination against Colonel Quintin would call for the removal from the service of those who have joined in it: but as his royal highness would willingly be guided by a lenient disposition towards a corps of officers who have hitherto merited his approbation, and would willingly believe that inadvertency in some, and inexperience in others, had left them unaware of the mischievous tendency of their conduct upon this occasion, his royal highness is averse to adopt such severe measures as the custom of the service in support of its discipline usually sanctions, upon the failure of charges against a commanding officer. Still it is essential that conduct so injurious in its nature should be held forth to the army as a warning in support of subordination; and his royal highness has therefore commanded, that the officers who signed the letter of the 9th of August shall no longer act together as a corps, but that they shall be distributed by exchange throughout the different regiments of cavalry in the service, where

it is trusted that they will learn and confine themselves to their subordinate duties, until their services and experience shall sanction their being placed in ranks and situations where they may be allowed to judge of the general and higher duties of the profession.

"The Prince Regent has been further pleased to observe, that though Colonel Palmer did not sign the letter of the 9th of August, he is, nevertheless, by his declared sentiments on the prosecution, and his general concurrence in the opinion of the officers, to be considered in the same light as if he had put his name to that paper, and his royal highness has therefore commanded that he shall also be removed to another corps.—I am, &c.

(Signed) "FREDERICK,
Commander-in-chief.

"To the adjutant-general, &c."

2d.—EDINBURGH.—SINGULAR CASE.—There is at present confined as a prisoner in the Canongate jail, upon a writ at the instance of George Canning, Esq., of Bolton-street, Piccadilly, county of Middlesex, M. P. a person of the name of William Ogilvie, designing himself Earl of Findlater and Baron Banff. The debt is constituted by bond, in the English form, amounting to 3000l.; the bond is signed Findlater and Banff; it is followed up by a decreet before the Court of Session, as against William, Earl of Findlater; but the honourable plaintiff has, in the writ of caption, altered the designation to "William Ogilvie, calling himself Earl of Findlater;" and upon that, this *soi-disant* peer of the realm has been committed to prison. Being in a state of great poverty, his Lordship of Findlater applied to the magistrates of Canongate for the benefit of the Scots act, 1696, commonly called the "Act of Grace." This application was strenuously opposed by Mr Canning, on the ground that the petitioner was an impostor, and that he had no right to the title of Earl of Findlater; that he had obtained the money from him on false pretences, &c. In answer to this, it was stated by the noble defendant, that his title to the earldom of Findlater was undoubted; that he had been regularly served heir by a jury before the sheriff of Banff; that he had been countenanced and written to as earl by several persons high in rank, and who had promised him every assistance, with money and otherwise, to procure his title to be recognised by the House of Lords, when in an evil hour he became acquainted with the plaintiff, Mr Canning, who besieged him most closely, offering him any sum of money, even to the extent of 20,000l. if he would use his influence to get him returned for a Scottish borough. That he accordingly received 3000l. for this purpose, and his friends finding he had joined with Mr Canning, withdrew their countenance and support from him; in consequence of which he and his family came to poverty; he could not get his title recognised by the House of Lords, and his friend Mr Canning lost his Scottish borough, and is now also minus his 3000l. thus lent for electioneering purposes. The magistrates, in consideration of the whole circumstances of the case, and in respect it is alleged by the petitioner, and not denied by the other party, that he granted a bond for the debt as Earl of Findlater, and subscribed the same by that signature, and not as William Ogilvie designed in the letters of caption, modified an aliment of five shillings per day, to be paid and consigned to him by the creditor incarcerator, and which he is at present receiving.

An interesting female presented herself for relief to the German com-

mittee at Baker's Coffee-house, in consequence of wounds she received in the late battles fought in the cause of Europe against France. She gave undoubted proofs of her having fought in the ranks in the hard-contested actions in the vicinity of Leipsic, where she received several wounds. She was taken to the hospital at Leipsic, where her sex was discovered. This Amazonian warrior is a German of about 25 years of age: she served five years in the army.

4th.—Mail Coaches.—A coroner's inquest was held before G. Hodgson, Esq., at Hammersmith-road, on the body of John Southcombe, of Brattenfleming, Devonshire. The deceased was travelling in a chaise cart, accompanied by his brother, towards London They were met by three mail coaches, and notwithstanding the hollaing of the deceased, he was run foul of, the shafts broken, and he thrown into the road, and killed by one of the mails passing over his body. The accident happened on the 22d ultimo, but the inquest was deferred in order to procure witnesses from Bath, &c.—There was a wound on the right side of his forehead, about an inch in length, quite to the bone, but there was no fracture; the right collar bone was broken, as were the three first ribs.—The evidence being gone through, Mr Hodgson then summed up for the jury. The evidence was of the most conflicting character; but unless they would believe the guard and coachman, and chose to disbelieve all the mass of unquestionable evidence that had been adduced on the other side, there could not be any doubt. One party must have been guilty of the grossest perjury; but he thought it was beyond dispute that the mail coaches were on the wrong side of the road—that they had disdained to attend to any caution, and that they had further violated the law by driving at an unmerciful rate, regardless of the lives and comforts of every body on the road. But such conduct in the drivers of the mail coaches, on that road in particular, had become a crying evil, and was the general complaint of every traveller on the road. He had occasion to go that road very often, and he never met these mails but he was filled with terror. They totally neglected to observe the side established by law, and scorned to listen to cautions; indeed, because they were employed by government, and were occupied by government business, they acted as if they deemed themselves licensed to do what they pleased. The abuse, and a great one it was, would not be corrected till the public took up the business; and he was sure the jury would do their duty. There were three courses for them to pursue: if they disbelieved the guard and coachman, to make a deodand of the horses, &c the property of Messrs Waterhouse and Co.; to return a verdict of murder, or of manslaughter. The widow would have her action against the proprietors. He would not allow the Bath mail coachman, Joseph Akerman, to be examined, because, as he might be affected by the verdict, he ought not to be called on to criminate himself.—The jury almost immediately returned a verdict of Manslaughter against Joseph Akerman, driver of the Bath mail. The deceased, a most respectable farmer, has left a wife, six children, and an infirm mother, to mourn his loss.

The coachman was indicted for manslaughter, and acquitted!

5th.—While one of the large passage boats was crossing from the North to the South Queensferry, a very fine salmon grilse leaped on board, from the windward side, and was immediately secured. It was from the cir-

cumstance of a herring leaping on board a boat, that the shoals of that species of fish were first discovered to exist in the Forth.

This day, Mr Harrison, the secretary, and one of the directors of the African Institution, stated, at Bow-street office, that he had received information that a black boy was confined in chains and otherwise ill treated, and solicited assistance from the office, which was readily granted. Limberick was sent to a house in Long-Acre, where he was informed that the boy was an apprentice to a Mr Denham. Mr Denham told Limberick that he would shortly bring the boy to the office,—which he did,—and there stated that the boy was his apprentice; that he had brought him from the West Indies; and that he had detected him in several pilfering acts, and he suspected him to have stolen three bottles of wine; and instead of punishing him with charging him with the felony, he had determined on sending him back to the West Indies; but to prevent him from running away he had chained him to a table.—The magistrate told him, a charge against a boy of robbing him would come with a very ill grace, as he had taken the punishment of him into his own hands, and especially the mode of punishment he had adopted of putting the boy in chains; and he must know that as soon as the boy landed in this country he had no power over him as a slave; which Mr Denham acknowledged.—Mr Harrison then, as Mr Denham had stated the boy to be his apprentice, called upon him to produce the indentures, which Denham did not do.—Mr Harrison then said, he should take him into the institution; and gave Mr Denham his card, saying the boy should always be forthcoming to answer any charge whenever he chose to call upon him. Denham declared he should prosecute him for robbing him, and Mr Harrison took the boy away with him.

8th.—The Prince Regent went in state to open the session of parliament. At a quarter past one, his royal highness proceeded to St James's Palace, dressed in purple and gold, with various orders. The procession moved through the state rooms, and the prince entered the state coach at half past one, accompanied by the master of the horse and the lord in waiting. The attendants went in four carriages with six horses, preceded by six trumpeters and a kettle drum. The procession was followed by the foreign ambassadors. His royal highness's entrance into the House of Peers was announced by a discharge of cannon from the Lambeth shore.

The Prince Regent has fulfilled the promise made by him to the university of Gottingen: he has sent to it a copy of every English work of importance that has appeared during the last ten years. The fine library of Gottingen is now in possession of this rich present.

11th.—At night a fire broke out at the house of Mr Tewson, dealer in marine stores, in Narrow-street, Limehouse, which for four hours raged with great fury. The fire caught the opposite side of the way, and both sides enveloped in flames, continued burning at the same time. It being low water, more than two hours elapsed after the arrival of the engines, before one of them could play. In the whole, sixteen houses, besides several warehouses, were burnt down, among which were the Crown and Rodney's Head public houses. The flames were not completely got under till nine in the morning. Fortunately no lives were lost. The fire is supposed to have been occasioned by an apprentice of Mr Tewson's going into the rope-loft with a lighted candle.

12th.—An inquest was held at the Garrick's Head, Bow-street, on the body of Mr Andrew Signey, who died in the passage to the pit of Covent Garden theatre, on the preceding evening. Mr Dakin accompanied the deceased, on Wednesday evening, to the theatre. The deceased had been afflicted with an asthmatic complaint some years, and was pressed much by the crowd in passing to the pit. Witness and deceased were separated in the crowd, and as soon as witness saw him after their separation, he was lying on his side apparently lifeless. Witness raised him, put him into a chair, and procured medical aid, but it was ineffectual. His temples were lanced, but life was gone. A surgeon deposed, that deceased died in consequence of a spasmodic affection, increased by the pressure of the crowd. Verdict—*Died by the Visitation of God.*

13th.—Early this morning, the hon. Miss Broderick's house was entered by thieves, by means of a lamplighter's ladder, at the window of the first floor; but their movements in the house having awakened the butler, who slept in his pantry, he got up, having partly dressed himself, loaded a pistol with shot, and proceeded very resolutely up the kitchen stairs. On opening the door leading into the hall he saw a tall man coming out of the front dining-room, with a wax-candle lighted in his hand; he observed him examining the clock-case in the hall, and while in the act of stooping, the butler discharged the pistol at him. There is no doubt that he shot him on the right side of the face, as he saw the robber instantly put his hand to that part. He escaped with all possible speed by the street-door, which he must have previously unfastened. On examining the premises, a quantity of blood was discovered in different parts, particularly near the door. The butler pursued him for some distance, calling for assistance, but received none; it was then about five o'clock. The butler had a full view of the robber, and supposed him to be about five feet ten inches high, thinly made, near thirty years of age. He wore a short dark coat or jacket, and had the appearance of a lamp-lighter. The ladder by which the robber got in was left in front of the house. Information was sent to Bow-street, and Adkins the officer went and examined the premises; he found a hat and shoe, which had been left in the house by the robber in making his escape.

[The man was taken in the hospital at Birmingham, brought to London, convicted, and hanged.]

14th.—Rome.—This day will be a memorable one with the society of Jesuits. The reception of novices commenced, when forty were admitted. Among these was the eldest son of Marquis Patriza, a new senator of Rome; the son of Marquis Azelio, minister extraordinary for Sardinia in this city; and twenty priests, the most of whom are public professors at the university.

Police.—Hatton-Garden.—Monday, a genteel-looking man, of the name of John Barnes, was brought up on the following charge:—Joseph Daniel, a baker, of Marchmont-street, Brunswick-square, deposed, that on Sunday, about one o'clock, the prisoner came to his shop, and under pretence of having a dish at the oven, obtained one containing a shoulder of mutton and potatoes; but witness, having some suspicion that it did not belong to him, followed and took him into custody. The prisoner lived at No. 22, in Pindar-street, Lucas-street, New Road. Several gentlemen came forward, and gave the prisoner the best of characters, saying that he was of a most respectable family, and that they knew him in his own house when

he was in very opulent circumstances—that he had an amiable wife, and a family of six or seven children. The prisoner acknowledged that he was guilty; but said that he was compelled to commit the crime through the greatest distress, having a sick wife and six helpless children, himself reduced to the lowest distress, being broken down in the world, out of employment, and in a bad state of health; that he had not a bed to lie on, but himself and family were obliged to stretch on the boards, covered with an old torn blanket, nor had he even a stove in the room; that neither he nor his family had broken their fasts since the Thursday before, and this act was his only resource to keep them from starving. The worthy magistrate felt for him, but was obliged to commit him for another examination.

A subscription was made for Barnes, and a considerable sum collected.

Court of King's Bench.—George Houston was tried for a libel on the Christian religion. The attorney-general prayed the judgment of the court upon this defendant, who had suffered it to pass against him by default, on a criminal information, which charged him to be the composer, writer, printer, and publisher of a blasphemous and profane libel on our Saviour and the Christian religion, and then set out several passages from a pamphlet called "*Ecce Homo.*" These extracts consisted of arguments against and in ridicule of the established religion.

Houston's affidavit was then read. He also put in another, stating that the pamphlet had been very little circulated, and that its arguments were not new, but might be bought in every bookseller's shop, in the works of Voltaire and others, for 13s. which was the price of *Ecce Homo.*

The defendant also put in the affidavit of Mr Joseph Webb, which stated that the pamphlet was printed here in 1797, &c.

The attorney-general.—As long as the judges were sworn to execute their office upon that gospel which the defendant had libelled, as long as our legal and other proceedings required the sanction of an oath, as long as the Christian religion was that on the belief of which we built all our consolations here and our hopes hereafter, it would be unnecessary to urge the justice of the present prosecution. The question for the court was, What is the character and quality of the defendant's offence? And if the attorney-general were disposed to present it in the most unfavourable light, he should make use of the defendant's own affidavits. It appeared by the affidavit on the part of the prosecution, that the defendant was in possession of the only copy of this pamphlet, and was applied to by Eaton to furnish him with the instrument of mischief, and to prepare it for the press, by making it as little objectionable as possible, without altering its character, and to incorporate with it new materials furnished by himself; and for the loan of Eaton's name as publisher, the defendant and the printer were to give him 60l. per cent. and afterwards divide the profits between them; and that the defendant had acknowledged himself to the printer as the author of the work, had sent in an introduction to it in his own handwriting, had paid the printer money for executing his task, and had said that he had before published the work in Scotland. It also appeared, that for the loan of Eaton's name the defendant had agreed to give 60l. per cent. As to the statement which the defendant had made, that the work had been but little advertised, there was a very good reason for that, for the proprietors of newspapers had had notice, that if they published adver-

tisements of such publication they would be liable to prosecution. But part after part of the work was in fact advertised, although the proprietors of newspapers knew that Eaton was in prison; and the attorney-general warned all those who might be in possession of copies of this work now, that if they disposed of them, he should file as many informations as there might be such depositions made.

Mr Brougham attempted a defence in mitigation of Houston's punishment, who had admitted the criminality of his conduct, by allowing judgment to pass by default. The sentence of the court was, that the defendant should pay to the king a fine of 200l. and be imprisoned in Newgate two years.

17th.—Two officers of the excise, Haynes and Racey, were sentenced to be transported beyond the seas for seven years, for having taken larger sums of money from several victuallers than they had a right to by the law.

Alexander M'Rae, well known for the share he had in De Berenger's stock exchange fraud, was brought up, and sentenced to be imprisoned one year in the King's Bench.

18th.—Edinburgh.—A smart frost having set in on Sunday, a number of boys from Leith school assembled at Lochend this day, to enjoy the diversion of sliding. They chiefly kept by the margin of the loch, as the ice had not attained sufficient strength, but one of them, more adventurous than his companions, rashly rushed towards its centre, when, as his velocity diminished, he instantly went down—fortunately the water was only up to his shoulders. Another boy, proceeding to his assistance, also fell in, but into deeper water, although only a few feet from him. An alarm having by this time been given, several workmen, employed at the water-house, launched the boat, and a gentleman, with a fine Newfoundland dog, being also most fortunately present, they lost not a moment in repairing to the spot. The sagacious animal, eager to help, made towards the boy who was in the most imminent danger, and seizing him, would have instantly carried him out, but was impeded by the surrounding ice. Here he sustained him, however, and the boat having made its way through, they were all rescued, and taken on board. The meritorious conduct of the workmen is deserving of every commendation, for had it not been for their aid, so promptly and praiseworthily rendered, a few minutes more would have determined the fate of the boy and his canine deliverer.

Circular letter respecting hackney-coaches:—

Hackney-coach-office, Nov. 18, 1814.

Sir,—I am directed by the commissioners of hackney-coaches to inform you, that in consequence of the numerous complaints which have been made to them by their inspectors, and also by communications from other quarters, of the very dirty, ruinous, and disgraceful state of many of the hackney-coaches now in use in this metropolis, they have been under the necessity of coming to the following resolutions, viz.:—That, in future, if any complaint shall be made and proved against an owner for suffering his coach to appear in the streets in the condition above described, after the expiration of one month from the date of this letter, he will either have his license revoked, or be deprived of it till he shall have procured a coach fit, in every respect, for the accommodation of the public. This resolution will apply not only to the internal but also to the external state and appearance of your coach. With respect to the horses, no excuse can hereafter be admitted, should they be found

not to be of a proper size and strength to perform their work. So many complaints have been made to the commissioners of cruelty having been exercised towards these animals, and of their miserable and half-starved appearance, which so frequently excite the pity and indignation of the public, that any owner against whom a complaint of this kind shall be made and proved, will be considered an unfit person to have a license, and will be deprived of it accordingly:—And if any owner shall employ a person to drive his coach after he has been convicted of wanton cruelty to his horses, he will be considered as countenancing such cruelty, and will have his license taken from him. I have further to add, that these measures, relating to the bad state of your coach and horses, would have been adopted before, had not the commissioners been aware, that some degree of indulgence was necessary to enable the owners to work their coaches during the late extreme pressure of the times, in consequence of the high price of horse provender; but as this reason does not at present exist, I am directed to acquaint you that the resolutions above-mentioned will be strictly enforced.

By order of the commissioners,
M. Gent, Registrar.

21st.—Glasgow.—On Thursday night, about seven o'clock, a coachman, of intemperate habits, was found strangled in one of the stalls of the Buck's Head inn stables, Glasgow. This is as singular a case of suicide as ever was recorded. Having taken the horses band, and added to it a piece of rope to make it suit his neck, he must have lain deliberately down, at length, in the stall, with his head under the crib, and pulled the rope until he was suffocated. What is singular, his wife, about a twelvemonth ago, also committed suicide, by hanging herself from a bed-post, which was not high enough to admit of her taking her feet from the ground.

25th.—Hawick.—Last night a most alarming fire took place in this town. It broke out in a back house, opposite the Cross, belonging to Mr James Scott, tobacconist. The fire was accidental, but it is not known in what part of the house it originated. It was first observed about nine o'clock, at which time it had made considerable progress. Volumes of flame were bursting from every part of the building, and the fire had every appearance of communicating with the adjoining houses; but by the great exertions of the inhabitants, and by means of the fire-engine, which was wrought with great effect, it was confined to the building in which it originated. The flames were got under about 12 o'clock, but not till the house was entirely consumed; and that two fine children, belonging to Charles Scott, labourer in Hawick, perished in the flames. By this fire, several industrious people have sustained great loss.

30th.—In consequence of numerous robberies in the town and neighbourhood, the Glasgow Board of Police have ordered their patrole to be increased to 48, their present number being 24. They enter on their duty at four o'clock afternoon.

On Sunday last, between the hours of three and four o'clock in the afternoon, as a young girl was returning from her mother's house, in Anderston, near Glasgow, to her service in Rutherglen, about Little Govan, she was attacked by a man and a woman. The woman held her by the hands, and the man stripped her to the shift, with the expectation of getting some money, but they were happily disappointed. However, they carried off her clothes, and the poor girl immediately returned home, a strange spec-

tacle to the people coming out of the church, having nothing on but her shift and under-petticoat.

Monday night, about seven o'clock, a woman, belonging to Rutherglen, was attacked by two men, near Nelson's monument, Glasgow, and robbed of five shillings, and a basket, containing some yarn. They afterwards took off her petticoat and duffle cloak; and as she was crying out, they said they would soon make her quiet, and immediately took her to the river and threw her in. Fortunately the noise she made drew people to her assistance; and she was taken out without any other injury than what she had sustained from the blows of the robbers. She remained in great distress all night in the Humane Society lodge.

On Friday evening, an elderly man, walking leisurely along the Gallowgate, Glasgow, was suddenly made up to by four young lads, one of whom took him about the neck, and turned him twice round, to the great apparent amusement of the other three, who crowded about them; after which the whole went off, without hurry, and seemingly much pleased with their fun. The gentleman, whose hat had fallen off, and who was considerably offended at this rudeness, did not for a short time discover, that, during the frolic, his watch had been carried off. Having announced his loss to three young men who happened to be standing by, and had seen the affair, they immediately gave chase to the robbers, who were still in sight, and overtook and secured the person who had played the principal part in the affair. He was taken to the police office, where he was recognised as John M'Neil, *alias* Teapot, an old offender, well known in Glasgow about two years ago, since then imprisoned at Edinburgh for theft. Teapot denied all acquaintance with the other three, who escaped into the Calton, and one of whom must be possessed of the watch, as it was not found upon the prisoner.

A swindler, of more than usual pretensions, was detected at Glasgow last week. On Thursday the 24th ultimo, a letter, purporting to be from her husband, then at Greenock, was received by Mrs John Robertson, York-street, directing her to give the bearer, John Wright, Esq., linens, his great coat, and whatever he might stand in need of, to assist him on his way to England. A few minutes afterwards, Mr Wright called personally (for he had sent the letter by a porter) on Mrs R. when she gave him two shirts, six neckcloths, two handkerchiefs, and a superfine brown great coat. At two o'clock he called at Mr Smith's vintner Broomielaw, dressed with the coat, and carrying a bundle, and requested Mrs Smith to give him 10l. for Mr Robertson; which sum was refused, as she did not know him. He had just left Mr S.'s when Mr Robertson, who had returned from Greenock, entered, and stated the fraud respecting his great coat, shirts, &c. In consequence of which a search was immediately set on foot to apprehend the swindler; and, about nine o'clock, he was discovered in a house at the foot of the quay, undressing for bed. He was taken to the police office.

AGRICULTURAL REPORT.

The general tenor of the month of November has been mild and open, and hence agricultural operations are well advanced. A good deal of rain has fallen during the month, and the pasture fields afford a fuller bite for cattle than during the summer drought. The season has, however, been rather unfavourable for committing to the ground a few patches of wheat, which remained to be sown after the green crop, and we are happy to remark,

that this bad practice is generally given up.

The forebodings of a few interested reporters have completely failed, and the crop, upon trial, the surest of all tests, has been found abundant.—Hence the prices of all kinds of grain have considerably declined during the month. Grain has already come to market with greater alacrity than for several years past. Farmers appear now convinced, that the late exorbitant prices have vanished with the causes that produced them, and that the price of grain will adapt itself to the peace establishment, and it would be an act of imperious justice, as well as of sound policy, were proprietors of land to reduce their rents to the same level. Without this indulgence, many respectable individuals, who took farms at an extravagant rent, when grain fetched double its present price, must be completely ruined, and the deluded and impolitic proprietor must take the farms into his own hand, or let them at what they will bring. It is self-evident, that no tenant can pay more than his farm produces, and, when the struggle has evidently become ruinous and impossible, certainly the tenant, who has sacrificed his capital, his enterprise, and the vigour of his life, is, in justice and equity, clearly entitled to the first, as well as the greatest indulgence.

Fat cattle are in demand, and bring a fair price; but lean stock, of all kinds, are low in price, and little sought after. Indeed, it is not unlikely but fat cattle may keep high through the season, as we have by no means the quantity of this description as in ordinary seasons, owing to the loss of the turnip crop in winter 1813, and the last summer's severe drought. No apprehension of a scarcity of winter-keep is entertained.

November 30, 1814.

DECEMBER.

1st.—This day, (Sunday,) in the evening, an immense congregation assembled in the methodist chapel, in Oldham-street, Manchester, to hear the sermon about to be delivered in commemoration of the late Dr Coke, who some time since died on his passage to India, for the purpose of propagating the gospel. While the assemblage was awaiting the commencement of the service, a false alarm was spread by some mischievous person, that the gallery was giving way. The entire crowd rushed immediately towards the outlets with such violence, that several persons were thrown down and trodden upon; among whom were two women, who died a few minutes after. Several persons were severely bruised. The alarm was entirely without foundation, the gallery being perfectly safe.

This day the lunatic asylum of Glasgow was opened for patients. After hearing a most excellent and very appropriate discourse by the Rev. Dr Balfour, the magistrates and council, accompanied by the directors, proceeded to the asylum for lunatics, with which, after a minute examination, they expressed their highest satisfaction. The collection amounted to the very liberal sum of 141l. 17s.

3d.—John Hinckley, Esq. F.A.S. a gentleman 50 years of age, of a most eccentric character, keeping a set of chambers in Gray's Inn, where he resided, and who had been missing since August last, was found dead on Friday evening, under circumstances similar to the late Mr Elwes. Mr Hinckley was well known in the neighbourhood for his penurious habits. If he heard that bread was to rise the next day, he went the preceding evening for a loaf, in order to save a farthing. He

rose every morning in summer about three o'clock, and put on his plaid cloak, and walked round the square, in order to pick up any thing lying there. He had three sets of chambers in the Temple, and was supposed to be in very opulent circumstances, having a brother residing at No. 32, Guildford-street; but being of so reserved and penurious a disposition, no person was acquainted with his manner of living. He provided every necessary he wanted, and never permitted any one to enter his chambers. Not having been seen for nearly four months, it was supposed he had gone on a visit to some friends in Scotland; but time passing, and no account being heard of him, the porters of the inn proposed on Friday evening to enter his chamber. Four of them, by means of a ladder, accordingly entered at the window. The curtains of his bed were close drawn, but, on throwing them back, the deceased was found without life in the bed; the body putrid and dried up. On the windows were large carrion flies. Such was the state of the body that it could not be identified, and there is no doubt he died in August last, at the time he was first missed.—A coroner's inquest was held on Saturday. There was no suspicion of the deceased having been murdered, the fore doors being all locked, and the keys in his bed-room. It was supposed, from the recluse life he led, that he was taken ill, and having no person to attend on him, he lost his life. After a considerable time the jury returned a verdict of—Died by the visitation of God.

4th.—Last week, one Hasson was attacked near Lyng, on his way from Ballymullans fair, near Londonderry, Ireland, in open day, and within view of several persons digging potatoes, and not twenty yards from houses, and was deliberately murdered by ruffians. One of them knocked him down with some heavy weapon, and others beat him with bludgeons until life was extinct, while the potatoe-diggers stood aloof with their spades in their hands, regardless of his cries for assistance. Those who witnessed the shocking scene deny all knowledge of the murderers; and notwithstanding the exertions of the magistrates, they had not been identified, in a neighbourhood where every individual is almost universally known. Hasson was reputed to have been an Orangeman.

5th.—Three merchants in African slave-trading have been brought from Sierra Leone in the Ariel, and lodged in Portsmouth gaol, in order to their being sent to New South Wales for fourteen years, that being the sentence of punishment passed upon them after their trial at Sierra Leone. Their names are, James Dunbar, a Spaniard; Malcolm Brodie, a native of Manchester; and Geo. Cooke, an American.

Court of King's Bench.—Dyott, Esq. *v.* Dunn.—This was an action for criminal conversation, to which there was no defence. The plaintiff is a major-general, stationed at Lichfield; and the defendant was once an attorney, but since set up as a surgeon at Bath, where he visited the plaintiff's wife professionally. She is a woman of family, and has three children by the plaintiff, with whom it was proved she had always lived very happily till her meeting with the defendant at Bath. She has a settlement of more than 800l. per annum, and 10,000l. at her own disposal; and the defendant, being a man of broken fortune, ran away with her; he had been in the habit of riding out with her in her carriage, and in this manner they left Bath together, and came up to London, where the defendant was soon arrested for debt, and is now in prison, the plaintiff's wife being proved to have lived with him ever since in

adultery, and to have been let out of the prison by the turnkey at 8 o'clock this morning.

The jury, being charged by Lord Ellenborough as to the indefensible nature of this case, and the magnitude of the plaintiff's loss, found their verdict for him—Damages 5000l.

6th.—The house of Michael M'Nichol of Glack, within four miles of Newtownlimavady, Ireland, was lately broken open by a body of armed men. M'Nichol having been a short time before robbed of his arms, was incapable of making any defence, and the merciless banditti, after breaking his wife's arm, and cruelly wounding several of his children, murdered himself, and afterwards mangled his body in a shocking manner. Two causes are assigned for this barbarous act: M'Nichol having refused to become a member of a treasonable association, and his having taken the farm he occupied after another man had been dispossessed of it.

7th.—A transport which sailed from Cork, and was supposed to have been lost in her passage to Quebec, with 487 soldiers, and 248 women and children on board, has been heard of. The Crocodile frigate, on approaching the desolate island of Anticosta, observed a part of the crew of the transport on shore, where she had been wrecked, and succeeded in bringing away the survivors, who had been on the island thirty-seven days.

An inquisition was held last week at Ashton-upon-Mersey, upon the bodies of a young woman and her infant child, found drowned in the Mersey. The deceased had been courted by a young man, by whom she had the child, and was afterwards slighted by him, and resolved to drown herself and the infant. The jury brought in a verdict—*Lunacy.*

8th.—An inquest was held at the Crown, Westminster Bridge, on the body of John Stevenson, late a saddler in Westminster Road, who was killed on Tuesday by Zephyr, the stag at Astley's theatre. Mr Parker, one of the proprietors of the theatre, stated, that he had the care of the stag, which belongs to a foreigner named Garnier, now in France. Garnier had been applied to several times to take the animal away, but neglected to do so: it was kept in a stall near the stables. On Tuesday last witness was preparing to feed it with turnips, when he saw the deceased, who had been employed last summer to make a collar or halter for the stag. Finding it was tight, the animal having grown fat, he called to Stevenson, and asked if it could not be altered. Deceased said it could. After a few minutes conversation, they went towards the stall, and on the approach of Mr Stevenson, the stag made a dart at him, fixed him with his horns against the wall, and gored him. The witness having a stick, beat the stag, and forced him to quit the deceased. Stevenson then appeared with his body bent to the ground, a profusion of blood issued from the wound, and in a short time after the accident he expired. Witness had, previous to the accident, told him the animal was dangerous. Mr Cook, surgeon, Westminster Road, deposed, that he was required by a messenger, about one o'clock on Tuesday, to go to Astley's, a serious accident having taken place. He found Mr Stevenson lying on a shutter; he had received a wound on the superior and anterior part of the thigh, in the direction of the femoral artery two inches and a half in depth, and no doubt there was a division of the femoral artery and femoral vein. Arterial action had ceased, and, from the nature of the injury, he considered the wound mortal; deceased was placed in a warm bath, but not by the direction of Mr Cook. Verdict, *Accidental death.*

The stag is forfeited to the archbishop of Canterbury as a *deodand.* Ten pounds are to be given as an equivalent.

An inquest was held at the Kettle and Gridiron, Harrow Road, on the bodies of Mr and Mrs Eaton, who kept a shop there for twenty years, and were found murdered in their shop. Mr Eaton was suspended from a scale beam with his throat cut, and Mrs Eaton on her bed with her throat cut from ear to ear. Some sand was found on the soles of Eaton's shoes, and it is supposed he went backwards after murdering Mrs Eaton. They had been married fifty-two years, and were above seventy years old. They had lived happy, but his behaviour of late was rather insane.—Verdict, *Insanity.*

Court of Chancery.—On Wednesday Mr Shadwell moved, on the petition of the nearest friend of Miss Ann Wade, heiress and a ward of chancery, 17 years of age, but possessed of an income of 5000l. a year in her own right, for process of contempt against Charles H. Baseley, son of the Rev. Mr Baseley, and his associates, for breach of an order and injunction issued heretofore to restrain the said C. H. Baseley from prosecuting his illicit courtship with the ward. There were previous and private proceedings before the chancellor, to prevent such unlawful intended union, when the case was discovered approximating to matrimony, and the order prohibited further intercourse, either in person or by letter; but the lover had conveyed a letter through the maid-servant to the lady, and had offered a bribe of one thousand pounds to a Bow-street officer for his assistance in gaining possession of her in violation of the order of court. The letter was produced and read; but an obstacle occurred to the motion, on want of proof of the hand-writing, which induced the chancellor to direct enquiry to be made for the late school-fellows of Mr B. to prove the hand-writing, or among tradesmen supplying him with articles of necessaries, from whom the required evidence could easily be found; and the motion was suspended for a few days for that purpose. His lordship regretted this defect, and added, that he should show many their error respecting the extent of jurisdiction of this court in such cases, since he felt inclined, on the verification of the charges, to hand over the same as sufficient for a criminal prosecution for conspiracy to the attorney-general; the consequence of a conviction on which would subject the principal and accomplices to punishment more afflicting to the feelings of many persons than imprisonment or transportation, and ordered diligence to be used in proving the hand-writing, and the motion to be brought on as quickly as possible.

9th.—This evening, about seven o'clock, Lynn was thrown into alarm by the sudden appearance of the Brunswick hussars, from the horse barracks, under a supposition, from orders they had received, that there was a riot; but it appeared that an express had arrived from the mayor, requesting the assistance of a detachment of dragoons, as a disturbance had broken out amongst the sailors in the merchants' service, and the military were marched off in that direction. It is reported that the merchants signified on Thursday last their intention of reducing the wages of seamen from five pounds to four pounds the voyage, and on the refusal of some of them, and their using strong language, two were committed to gaol. On Friday morning several hundred assembled, and proceeded to the gaol, and, after assaulting the mayor and constables, forced the door with the boom

of a vessel, and released the prisoners. They also stopped all vessels from proceeding to sea, and obliged the crews to leave the ships. On Sunday last two troops of the 5th dragoons marched from Ipswich, through Stowmarket and Thetford, for Lynn; and on Monday last about fifty of the Bedford militia passed through Bury in waggons, from Colchester, to suppress the riot among the sailors, but which has happily subsided without bloodshed.

Sheriff's Court. Before a Jury.

10th.—The Earl of Roseberry v. Sir Henry Mildmay, Bart.—The Earl of Roseberry having brought an action against Sir Henry Mildmay, for criminal conversation with his wife, in which he laid the damages at 30,000l. judgment had been allowed to go by default, whereupon the writ of enquiry into the damages sustained by the plaintiff, in consequence of which they were now assembled, had been issued.

The attorney-general opened the case with great ability, and proved his case by witnesses; after which Mr Brougham said, though he stood there outwardly as the advocate for the defendant, he begged they would dismiss from their minds any suspicion that he was about to offer a captious or a cavilling defence. No such thing: such an intention was the furthest from his purpose. He had the happiness, if at that moment he might call it a happiness, to be acquainted not with one only of the three noble houses whose character and feelings and interests were mingled in the present cause, but with all; he might boast the honour of a close intimacy with all of them, and he was proud to acknowledge the profound esteem he felt for all: indeed he now found himself in the distracting predicament, that he knew not for which of them his esteem and his attachment were the greatest. In consequence of that situation, however, in which he stood, and of those feelings which such a situation might naturally be expected to create, he was the more anxious to render what little aid he could give to the gentlemen of the jury, in enabling them to deliver a verdict which might assuage, as far as any verdict could assuage, the affliction and sorrow which had been produced by the melancholy transaction then before them. But if they guided themselves by all that had fallen from his learned friend, if they simply trusted to his inflamed and exaggerated statements, heightened by all those powers of eloquence which he so well knew how to employ, they would not satisfy the justice of the case, they would not render that service to all the branches of the three noble houses which was sought for, nor would they render that service to the noble client of his learned friend, which he knew he was alone desirous to obtain. Sir H. Mildmay entered so completely into the feelings of the noble plaintiff, that he desired they would give him no ambiguous compensation. While, however, they dealt out to the plaintiff those just but moderate damages which the nature of the case required, they were to guard against such heavy and excessive ones as would carry misery and ruin into one branch of that great house, which would cut off its capital member, and drive him into hopeless exile from his country during the rest of his life. That was a proportion of punishment which he was sure the case itself did not demand, which no one could wish, and which he firmly believed not even the noble plaintiff himself desired. With regard to that noble plaintiff, his instructions bound up his hands, and he was forbidden to utter a word, to breathe a single syllable which might be construed into the slightest allusion to the conduct of Lord Roseberry. An advocate knew no feelings but those of his client, and therefore he was silent. Overcharged comments

weakened more than they benefited a cause, though nothing was more common than for an advocate to fall into the error of pourtraying a present case, merely because it was a present one, as the most atrocious, the most dreadful, the most horrible, the most abominable, that had ever before been known. Such indiscriminate appeals were most injurious, not only to the general, but even to the individual interests of justice; and in the present case the exaggeration was most obvious. They had frequently heard, and those walls had frequently witnessed, cases of atrocity to which the present bore no resemblance. They had seen instances where an individual had devoted his whole life to the undoing of some unwary female, incapable at the same time of love, incapable of any passion but lust, gazing with libidinous eyes round the ornaments of society, and, satiated with indulgence, stinging into activity appetites dull from torpor; real spoilers of female innocence, who added to the zest of guilt the savage delight of triumphing with unmanly exultation over their victims. The records of that court testified to another case, of a man who, for a wager, undertook to accomplish the ruin of a matron; he succeeded, and met the punishment he deserved. Thank God, such cases were indeed rare; but others were not, where the husband was related to the seducer by ties of blood, where the seducer himself was a married man, and thus guilty of a double adultery. Here there was no plighted faith, no blood-relationship, no attempt to palm upon the husband a spurious bastard issue. He begged he might not be misunderstood. He did not mean to deny, because there were none of those aggravations, that therefore there was no guilt; he did not mean to deny that a crime was committed; the record proved the contrary; and if it did not, he should be ashamed if he attempted to delude their common sense by arguing that no criminality existed. But he would say, that when his learned friend extended to the offence of the defendant that extremity of censure which he had applied, and called for that severity of punishment, he performed the very worst service he could to the general cause of justice and morality. He appealed to the jury, whether the attorney-general could have depicted the defendant's conduct in more vivid colours, whether he could have called down ampler damages, if he (Sir H. Mildmay) had stood before them a hoary-headed adulterer, practising upon the senses of his victim, allied to the husband by ties of blood, himself a married man, seeking to impose upon the injured party a spurious progeny, and not making the deluded woman even his mistress, but only the minister of his own unnatural and impotent lust. Was that, however, the case of the defendant? Was it not, on the contrary, the very reverse, and without one lineament of resemblance?—He wished, however, that the jury would consider what damages such a case, if it came before them, would deserve, and, deducting the difference from the damages now asked, assign it as an adequate compensation for the one then before them. They had heard the connection which subsisted between the parties; it was one, not of blood, but merely of marriage. The attorney-general, however, characterized the crime of the defendant by the epithet of "multiplied incest," because Sir Henry Mildmay had been married to a sister of Lady Roseberry, while another sister was married to a brother of the defendant. How his learned friend, with his accustomed accuracy, came to make such an assertion, he knew not; but it did so happen there was no multiplied incest

at all. Had Sir Henry Mildmay married one sister, and his brother another, and the defendant had seduced the wife of his brother, then, indeed, there would have been some room for such a phrase. But as to the question of incest itself, his learned friend could not but know, that if a man married his wife's sister after the death of his wife, no incest was committed. Men's feelings were not so repugnant to that species of relationship as to justify his learned friend's expressions, whatever technical and precise distinctions prevailed in the law with respect to it, by which marriages so contracted became null and void, if challenged. The very connection, however, that subsisted between the defendant and Lady Roseberry, became the snare into which they both unhappily fell. When he lost his wife, an amiable and lovely woman, he sought consolation in the company of her sister, who bore a strong resemblance to his departed lady; and it was not very unnatural, though much to be lamented, that love should have arisen out of such a case. It happened that Lady Roseberry loved her sister as ardently as her husband had done, and to console him for his loss became a melancholy satisfaction to her. Thus those two young persons, in the height of blood, had by degrees their feelings so excited, their fancies so exalted, that their judgment was laid asleep, and they knew not the awful precipice upon which they stood. He had a right to say their judgment was lulled asleep, for it was even so with Lord Roseberry himself, who was free from that greatest of all deluders, self-delusion, and confided in that relationship which had betrayed the defendant, and the unhappy lady, his partner in the offence. They awoke at last from their trance; and if he were permitted, he could produce numberless letters and numerous witnesses, which would prove the agony, the sorrow, the wretchedness which the conviction of their transgression had excited in their minds. He should be asked, perhaps, why, when they discovered their error, they did not at once come to the resolution of abandoning it. But that very remedy pre-supposed the offence. Happy had it been for them if any strong ne[illegible]sity, any over-ruling power, had [illegible]ped in to check their mad, their [illegible]tuated career. He knew but o[illegible]son in the world who could [illegible]ly have done so: but his ha[illegible]s were [illegible]ied up, and he could not tell the jury who that person was, because he was enjoined not to breathe even a whisper which might affect the conduct of the plaintiff. He could not tell them what effects might have followed from that interposition, if it had been exerted in 1813; what beneficial result might have ensued, if, instead of a conditional veto, a positive prohibition of intercourse between the defendant and Lady Roseberry had been pronounced. He deplored, without blaming, that such was not done; he was sorry that some such precautionary measures as were so wisely resorted to between the Tuesday and the Saturday had not been earlier employed; and they would have ensured success. He should not detain them, however, any longer; but only entreat them once more, as men of plain and ordinary understandings, not to separate without looking at the case calmly, dispassionately, and impartially. They would then be prepared to give such damages as would amply vindicate the character of Lord Roseberry, and that was all they had to consider; as men were in the habit of saying, or pretending to say, that in such cases it was not pecuniary damages they required, it was not their wife's dishonour which they wished to coin into money, but their own honour, which they sought to justify.

Mr Birchall, the under sheriff, then proceeded to sum up the charge to the jury, which he did very summarily; when the court was cleared of strangers, and the jury, after deliberating for nearly two hours, delivered a verdict, through their foreman, Sir Nathaniel Conant, for the plaintiff—Damages, 15,000l.

An inquest was held in Dublin, on the body of the late Lord Ffrench, at which Alderman Bloxam presided. The body was found stretched on the floor, with a pistol in each hand, the fore fingers of which were applied to the triggers. It would appear that the unhappy nobleman was standing in the middle of the floor when he shot himself, and that he fell against a table, upon one of the corners of which some blood was discovered. It was the left-hand pistol that he used. He applied it to the left temple, and the ball passed through the head. The right-hand pistol was discharged in the fall, and its contents, after passing through a chair, lodged in a wooden partition under the middle window of the chamber. Both instruments were small, but must have been strongly charged, as the reports were extremely loud. In the pockets of his lordship some silver and a few immaterial papers were found.

Surgeon Ireland having examined the body, declared himself of opinion, that "the deceased came by his death in consequence of a ball having passed through the head above the right ear."

A number of persons then gave evidence as to the conduct and behaviour of the deceased a short time previous to the fatal event, who all agreed in stating particulars which denoted a change in his usual manner, and symptoms of derangement.

After the evidence closed, Mr O'Dwyer addressed the jury with much feeling. He could not conceive how it was possible to mistake the state of the ill-fated nobleman's mind, after the clear, circumstantial, and concurrent testimony which had been given by so many respectable witnesses.—Verdict "That the late Lord Ffrench came by his death by discharging a pistol loaded with ball through his head, being at the time in a state of insanity."

11th.—This evening, about seven o'clock, as Mr Nathaniel Crossland, Sutton-street, Clerkenwell, was coming down Highgate-hill, he heard most distressing cries. It was a very dark and rainy night. He followed the cries to a lane leading to a farm, up which he went about twenty yards, where he found a man lying on the ground, apparently in a very distressed state; he asked him several questions as to the cause of his lying there, and of his cries. It was some time before he could obtain an answer that he could understand, but at length learned, that he had been robbed and wounded, and left in that helpless state; when just as he was about to raise the man up, and give him assistance, a man rushed out from behind the hedge, knocked him down with a bludgeon upon the man on the ground, who instantly got up, and no doubt had been lying there voluntarily, and making a noise to excite the attention of passengers. They stopped his mouth with a woollen cloth, and held him down while they robbed him of bank-notes to the amount of 13l., a watch, and other property. They then endeavoured to murder him by cutting his throat with a knife; but Mr Crossland struggled hard, and having a very thick neckcloth, they were prevented from effecting their bloody purpose. He tried to wrest the knife from the robbers, and eventually succeeded, but not without cutting his right hand dreadfully: the villains then escaped. Mr Crossland return-

ed to the public road, and found the patrole within about thirty yards from the spot where the daring act had taken place, who denied having heard him call patrole or murder, and made no attempt to pursue the robbers. Mr Crossland procured assistance, and was conducted back to Highgate, when he was supposed to be in a dying state, from his throat having been cut, and the profusion of blood that had flowed; but on Mr Wetherell, a surgeon, being called in, he found it unnecessary to sew up the wound, as the wind-pipe had not been completely separated. Mr Crossland is now in a fair way of doing well.

12th.—Twelve cattle, belonging to Richard Owen, tenant of a farm belonging to Mr C. W. Wynn, at Myfod, Montgomeryshire, broke from their pasture, and strayed into a neighbouring farm, where some branches of a yew-tree had been cut on the 3d instant. On the 6th, in the evening, they were safe in their pasture; and early on the 7th, six of them were found dead near the the place where the branches lay.

13th.—King of Hayti.—This sable sovereign seems resolved to be behind with no monarch, Oriental or European, in the external magnificence of exalted rank. The ceremonies of his court,—his princes and princesses,—the gradations of his nobility in dukes, and counts, and barons, have already been before the public. A crown, a sceptre, robes, and other attributes of the regalia, have already been sent out to his majesty from this country. Articles for the completion of his public equipage, manufactured by eminent saddlers in the city, are now ready to be shipped for Hayti. In their quality, design, and execution, they are perhaps unequalled in their kind in the display of any potentate of Europe, on the proudest occasions. They consist of a state saddle and state harness for eight horses. The saddle is of a very large size, the seat part much curved; with pistol holsters, and a large saddle-cloth. The whole is made of crin[illegible]son Genoa velvet; the seat [illegible]ked in devices, with yellow silk, and studded with gold. The holster covers and saddle-cloth are most splendidly embroidered with broad varieg[illegible]d and vandyked gold borderin[illegible]d trimmed with rich fringes of gold [illegible]lion, headed with roses, and d[illegible]co[illegible]d with tassels of the same de[illegible]ript[illegible]t the corners. On each side of the cloth is represented in gold embroidery his majesty's coat of arms, with stars and sprigs of oak. The heraldic bearings are a shield; on the field gules, a phœnix issuing from flames, with a motto on a curved ribband underneath, "*Je renais de mes cendres.*" The field is dotted with nine mullets. The supporters are two lions rampant and crowned. The motto underneath is, "*Dieu, ma cause, et mon epée.*" The shield is surmounted by a crown, not exactly like the regal crowns of England or France, nor opening like the imperial crown; but of large dimensions, and spreading more than the European crowns. It is surrounded by the collar of the new order of Hayti, with the cross pendant. The double holster covers have similar decorations. The stirrups are of silver, curiously chased and gilt. The bridle and stirrup holders are of black japanned leather, embossed with silver, gilt phœnixes, and military trophies. The state harness for eight horses is magnificent without heaviness. It is of japanned black leather, and is enriched with a splendid profusion of ornaments, all of solid silver, but not gilt. Winkers, bosses, face-pieces, neckbands, territs, traces, &c. are all adorned with crowns, or phœnixes, or full coats of arms, &c. the reins are of crimson silk, adorned with gold

bullion tassels. On the whole, we believe, that nothing so costly has yet been executed, and the general effect of it, glittering under a tropical sun, must form a most beautiful and superb feature in the pageantry of King Henry.

14th.—The town of St Ives, Huntingdonshire, was thrown into a very serious ferment, by the commissioners of the property-tax (yielding to the suggestion of the inspector) notifying a considerable intended advance in the usual assessment on property. When it became generally known for what purpose this meeting of the commissioners was held at the Crown Inn, more than 300 persons assembled, who forcing themselves into the commissioners' room, seized the inspector, and forced him out through the glass window into the yard, by which he was considerably cut and bruised. The tumult increased so much without side, that the officer only effected his escape from popular resentment, by privately passing through several neighbouring houses; the people then proceeded to the inspector's house, the windows of which they instantly destroyed. The commissioners, we understand, at length appeased their fury, by a declaration, that no rise of the tax should take place for the present.

16th.——As some workmen were digging a road from Burford, in Oxfordshire, to Barrington, they discovered, near the surface of the earth, a stone coffin of an immense size, and extremely irregular, weighing nearly three tons, which, on examination, was found to contain the perfect skeleton of a man, of middle stature, having his teeth entire; also a great number of short nails, completely oxydated and matted together in pieces of hide, of which materials it is probable a shield was formed. From the size and appearance of this coffin, and from the circumstance of its being found near to a place known by the name of Battle-edge, it may be presumed to have been deposited there after the battle recorded by many of our early historians to have been fought near Burford, about the middle of the eighth century, between Ethelwald king of Mercia, and the West Saxon king Cuthred, or Cuthbert. This curious relic is deposited in an aisle, called Sylvester's, in Burford church, for the inspection of the curious.

PARIS.—The dry weather had continued so long this season, as to reduce the river in an extraordinary degree, in so much that fears were for some time entertained of an enormous increase in the price of necessaries conveyed by the Seine for the consumption of Paris. Wood and ordinary wine had already risen—the boats were therefore embargoed here, and not suffered to proceed farther down the stream, until the metropolis should be fully supplied with these articles. The late rains having raised the water above five feet, all is quiet again, and matters have taken their usual course.

A letter, dated from Mow, in the province of Bundelcund, March 21, 1814, states,—"For some time past, accounts had been daily brought to us by the natives, of their cattle having been carried off by leopards, upon which one of our cadets determined upon going out in quest of the depredators on foot, no elephant being to be had. He was shewn the place of ambush of these supposed leopards by the villagers, and had not proceeded far up the side of the mountain, which was covered entirely with thick underwood, when, to his astonishment, he perceived a large tiger, in a sleeping posture, within fifteen yards of him. He had just time to order his unarmed attendants to retire, when

the monster rousing, perceived him. There was more danger in retiring than in standing fast, and this gentleman had the courage to do so. With a coolness, rarely equalled, he steadily awaited his opportunity, when, by the greatest piece of good luck, he struck the monster in the large artery of the neck. Feeling himself wounded, he made a violent spring to the place where the cadet was standing; but being stupified by the shot, and a precipice being in his way, he tumbled, bellowing, into a ravine, where, on receiving a second shot from this intrepid son of Mars, he retired about a hundred yards, and yielded up his existence. He was brought in last night upon a camel. His measurement was, from the tip of the tail to the nose, nine feet. The oldest tiger hunters here say, that his make is the most perfect they ever saw. The enormous strength of his neck, shoulders, and fore legs is indescribable.—The night before his death he had carried off an unfortunate villager."

Accounts of tremendous Storms in several Parts of the Kingdom.

18th.—GREENOCK.—The wind last night greatly increased, from a previous gale, and has continued to blow with unremitting violence. In the morning there was a considerable deal of thunder and lightning, accompanied by excessive falls of rain. Shortly after mid-day the quays overflowed, and the tide continuing to rise, the cellars adjacent to the breast of the different harbours have been inundated, and we are truly concerned to add, immense quantities of West India and other produce destroyed; much property has likewise been swept away, or materially injured on the quays.

Those of the outward-bound West India fleet riding at anchor at the tail of he Bank, have drifted considerably; some have parted their cables. The Hercules, which, along with several merchantmen, had anchored in Gourock bay, slipped or parted her cables this forenoon, and fortunately arrived safe in the east harbour, about three o'clock, with no other apparent injury than the loss of her bowsprit. Notwithstanding the hazardous attempt of taking the harbour in such a hurricane, by the [illegible]e manner in which it was performed, the only damage which she occasioned going in was that of running down a herring sloop at the entrance.

Half past Four.—The gale increased a little more to the westward. We have just learned that the following vessels, in Gourock Bay, are on shore, viz.—The Mary, on this side of the Powder-house, and the Jane and Elizabeth, at the New Battery. Only his majesty's ships Tartarus and Amazon remain at anchor in Gourock Bay. The utmost confusion prevails, and great fears are entertained for the ships riding at the tail of the Bank. One is apparently aground at the Hill of Ardmore. Several have drifted up the river past Cardros.

The Jane, from Palermo, has just arrived from quarantine station, Holy Loch, having been blown from thence, with the loss of three anchors and cables.

At Port-Glasgow, the damage has been immense from the overflowing of the tide.

17th.—It blew a tremendous storm yesterday from W. N. W. the effects of which will be severely and generally felt. It began early in the morning, accompanied with a great deal of thunder and lightning, increasing in its fury until about two o'clock in the afternoon, when, during a heavy gust, the tide, which by this time had nearly overflowed the quays, rose suddenly (some say in less than ten minutes) upwards of eighteen inches, rushing

in with great violence, laying parts of the east and west ends of the town completely under water. As the tide had still an hour to flow, the most serious consequences to the warehouses with West India produce were apprehended, but fortunately, soon after this heavy squall, the water began to recede, not without doing some mischief.

During the gale, the following ships of the outward-bound West India fleet drew on shore this side the point White Farland:—Elizabeth and Jane, for Jamaica; and Mary, for Demarara; another of the fleet, name unknown, is on shore near M'Craw's ferry. The Hercules, for St Vincents, having lost her anchors and cables in Gourock Bay, after breaking her windlass, got safe into the new harbour, but ran down a small sloop in coming in. The Montreal, from Quebec, drove from her anchors in the roads, and is on shore at Inch. Green, near Port-Glasgow, which has also suffered from the storm. Several garden walls near the sea, at the west end, have been thrown down; the foot-path and parapet wall along the old bay have been nearly destroyed. A new steam-boat and several pinnaces on the beach, near the castle of Newark, were knocked to pieces. A sloop from Leith, with the remainder of her cargo, foundered at the west side of the new quay, and the master and crew with difficulty saved their lives. So completely were the houses on the west quay inundated, that the gentlemen of the custom-house had to be carried out of their offices on men's backs. I have not heard that any lives were lost.

During the night the weather was moderate, the wind N. W. with a clear sky; but about five this morning, the wind again came round to the S. W. and it now blows a gale again with heavy rain. It has every appearance of being as bad as yesterday, and much fear may be entertained for the ships at anchor. A Liverpool trader was obliged to cut from Holy Loch during the night, and run for this harbour: she pitched her bowsprit under before cutting. There is a sloop on shore below the Lazaretto.

LEEDS.—Friday, during a violent storm of wind with rain, the steam-engine chimney, attached to the manufactory of Whitehead and Pearson, on Bradford-moor, was blown down, and falling upon the building, the roof was forced in with a terrible crash, and a number of the work-people very seriously injured. At the house of John Blayds, Esq. Park-lane, a stack of chimnies at the left wing of the building was blown down, and the rubbish precipitated through the roof into an apartment that had just been quitted by one of the family. The hurricane has also done considerable damage to the new mansion of Mr Goodman, and several other unfinished buildings.

STAFFORD.—-The oldest person living cannot remember more tempestuous and longer continued gales than we experienced on Friday. The damage sustained by many persons in this town and neighbourhood at present cannot be estimated. Innumerable chimnies have been blown down, roofs of houses and ricks of hay removed: and on the north road trees have been forced down, which have interrupted the progress of coaches, &c.

In the dreadful storm of next day, a vessel called the Conception, bound from Dublin to Wexford, was driven ashore, and wrecked at Ballynefear, near Wexford harbour: the crew took to their boat, and, with the exception of one man drowned, reached the shore; but they left behind them, fastened in the weather shrowds, a mother and a daughter, over whom

the sea beat furiously, and every moment threatened to tear them from this their last refuge. A poor fisherman, named William Hanson, saw from the shore their dreadful situation; he collected some of the boldest of his fellows, who, with infinite difficulty, rowed him towards the wreck, now lying on her side, and consequently the mast along on the surface of the sea. On the utmost point of the mast he fastened himself, and from thence clambered to the body of the vessel. Here a new difficulty arose —the contest between the mother and daughter, which should first attempt to land; nor was it ended till their gallant deliverer assured them that he would return for her who should remain. He first brought to the shore the mother, and, scarcely waiting to take breath, returned for the daughter, whom he afterwards, through the tremendous surge, landed in safety.

Cork.—Thursday night a tremendous hurricane, which commenced at 12 o'clock, continued without intermission until late yesterday morning. Many houses are stripped, and chimnies blown down. Some soldiers at the south military hospital have been injured by the destruction of part of that building. Considerable mischief has been also done in the country; many cabins have been unroofed, stacks blown down, and a great number of large trees torn up by the roots. Six vessels have been stranded at Cove.

Dublin.—On Thursday morning a dreadful storm commenced from the westward. The damage throughout the city is very great. Some houses have been blown down, and some unroofed. The chimnies of an immense number of houses have been thrown down, and windows broken. Few houses have entirely escaped damage. Twenty of the largest trees in the College Park were torn up by the roots.

It was unsafe the greater part of yesterday to walk the streets, from the falling of slates and brick-work.

19th.—Dover.—On Saturday last, and the six preceding days, the wind blew very strong from the S.W. with a heavy sea running into the harbour, which created a considerable [illegible] and the last four days prevented any vessel from passing to or coming from France; in consequence of which a large body of passengers were collected at the different inns, eagerly waiting an opportunity of proceeding to the continent. There were also five mails lying on board the packet, several bags of dispatches, and four messengers, which had been detained from day to day by the boisterous state of the weather, which on Saturday, if possible, was worse, the wind blowing a tremendous gale, and the sea running mountains high. However, a small vessel called the Dart, made a signal that she would sail, and the crew set about procuring passengers. The Nancy extra packet, with the mails, did the same. The Dart received her passengers at a guinea each, and all of them, of course unacquainted with the danger attending their going to sea, congratulated each other that they should reach Calais in three hours, having been assured they should. The vessel now having from twenty-five to thirty males and females on board, besides the crew, some little time after high water cast off her moorings and put to sea. At this time there were upwards of six hundred persons collected on the pierheads to witness the sailing of the two vessels, and each trembled at the very imminent danger and risk those on board ran in the Dart getting out of the harbour, it being thought madness for them to attempt it; but by great good fortune the vessel got out safe

and reached the roads, where she lay beating about, the waves breaking over her at every interval. The packet was about to follow the example of the Dart, but the agent of his majesty's packets seeing the danger of her being dashed against the North Pier-head, in which case every soul must have perished, gave the captain an order not to go to sea, for he would not trust the safety of the mails and the lives of the passengers to a mere matter of chance. The Dart continued in the roads until quite dark, when instead of reaching Calais in three hours as had been positively stated, she was beating about all night, and instead of their being on their way to Paris and Ostend, Monday morning found the vessel (by good luck) in Ramsgate harbour.

20th.—At Brighton it has blown a storm from the south-west for some days. Shipping on the coast has sustained considerable damage. Of a number of vessels that attempted to run from the Downs into Ramsgate, five got on shore, some of them much damaged. Several other vessels put into Margate with loss of anchors and cables.

A very strong gale of wind from the west and south-west has prevailed at Portsmouth nearly the whole of last week, in consequence of which some lives have been lost, and much anxiety occasioned. The gale attained its utmost fury on Wednesday: During the greater part of that day it was impracticable to proceed to Spithead, from the port, for even the launch of the Prince, with upwards of fifty seamen in it, in making the attempt, was forced on Southsea beach, and in landing, the officers and men were completely drenched, as well as placed in considerable danger. In the evening, about seven o'clock, signals of distress were fired at Spithead, which created much alarm amongst the people on shore. It proved to be the Olympia cutter, which having drifted her anchors, got ashore on the Spit. Her signals of distress were most promptly answered by all the shipping at Spithead, who hoisted their lights, and about fifteen boats put off from different ships to go to her assistance, in doing which, we are sorry to say, a boat belonging to the Conflict, containing a lieutenant and seven men, upset by running on the Olympia's cable, and two seamen were unfortunately drowned; the others were saved with great difficulty. On shore, the heavy winds have also occasioned much damage. The limbs of large trees have been carried away, and in many instances whole trees blown down. Near King's Terrace, a solid brick wall was blown down on Wednesday night, and during the top of the tide the platform every day of the week has been rendered impassable, by the sea beating over in such large quantities, and with great force. The storm continued on Saturday night, but Spithead being a good anchorage, no danger was apprehended.

From Plymouth we hear, in accounts dated on Friday and Saturday, that for the last two days and nights the wind blew a hurricane from the west and south-west, which caused much confusion amongst the shipping, as they laboured very much at their anchors, and fears were entertained that many wrecks would take place.

At Falmouth the storm raged with great violence.

20th.—NEWCASTLE.—The late hurricane, which commenced in this neighbourhood on Friday morning, has been generally felt throughout the whole country. In the south, the storm commenced on the 11th instant, and the shipping on the south-west coast has suffered most dreadfully from its effects. The gale from that time has moved gradually north-

wards, and has left sufficient evidence of its violence in all the places within its vortex. It is impossible to enumerate the damage that has been done in this town and neighbourhood. Several houses have been totally destroyed, others unroofed and otherwise much damaged (the occupiers in some instances narrowly escaping with their lives). A large portion of the parapet wall which surrounds the roof of All Saints fell with a dreadful crash into Silver-street, and a window of the same church was totally blown out. Much damage has also been done to the windows of St Nicholas' church, and a window of Hanover-square chapel is also totally destroyed. A great part of Jarrow church is unroofed; several trees have been torn up by the roots, stacks blown down, keels and boats sunk on the river, &c. In short, the destruction has been so wide spread, that the consequences will be long and severely felt by many. A garden-wall on the back of Villiers-street, Bishopwearmouth, was blown down by the gale, and Mr Cameron, master mason, passing at that moment, was killed on the spot. At Durham and in the vicinity much damage was done. A stack of chimnies in Lord Barrington's house in the College, were blown down, which forced in the roof, and did a deal of injury in several of the rooms; another stack of chimnies fell from the house of Dr Grey into the college: and in Gilesgate, several houses had the greater part of the tiles and slates blown off. Many corn and hay-stacks in the vicinity were overturned. The hurricane was also severely felt at North Shields, where few houses have escaped damage from its ravages. A house in Church-street was completely unroofed, as was a new one in Bedford-street, and another at the head of the town. Numerous chimnies were blown down; one near the Bull-ring fell with such force as to pass through the roof and floors of an adjoining house. Towards evening the scene became truly awful; most of the shops were shut, bricks and tiles fell in every direction, and the narrowness of the streets greatly added to the danger of passengers; but we do not hear that any person was seriously hurt. The river exhibited a scene still more terrific, and the ships and keels were in the most imminent danger; several of the latter were driven ashore, and some sunk, as was a wherry laden with merchandize near Whitehill Point; and many of the keels which reached Shields had their coals to throw overboard to keep them from sinking. Two boats drifted out to sea, and numbers sunk and were damaged.

Two lads, about thirteen years of age, twin sons of Mr Lloyd, a barge-owner of Stourport, were drowned in the river Avon, at Evesham. They had solicited their father's permission to go on the water in his own boat, which he peremptorily refused, but they rashly got into another, and were carried by the rapidity of the stream towards the bridge, where the river being too high to admit their going through the arch with the mast standing, the boat was upset, and they both perished within sight of their parent. A third boy (apprentice to their father) who was with them, was fortunately saved.

23d.—Weymouth.—This week we have experienced one of the most tremendous gales of wind ever known at this port. A great number of deals and other wreck have been driven on shore at Portland, and being burnt in many parts, plainly indicate to have been part of a cargo in a vessel set fire to by the enemy; the latter with her bottom uppermost, was also descried this morning, in the road of

Portland. Several pilot-boats have put to sea with a view of towing it into port.

On Wednesday evening the gale increased most violently, when at nine o'clock, the French brig L'Amitie, from Havre de Grace to the Isle of Bourbon, of 300 tons burthen, laden with various merchandise, came ashore on Portland Sands, having cut away all her masts. In consequence of firing guns of distress, and hoisting signal lights, the Portland men, at the most imminent danger of their lives, got on board, and the vessel's head was brought towards the shore, and prevented from going to pieces. During this critical period, the captain and crew were preparing a raft for conveying themselves and the passengers to the shore; but by the timely and fortunate arrival of the Dutch consul at this port (who also underwent extreme peril in getting aboard) he with much difficulty persuaded the whole to remain till next morning, when upwards of 20 ladies and children, with other passengers and crew, amounting to upwards of fifty souls, were let down by ropes into the boats, and safely landed (although the sea was running tremendously high), and conducted to the hotel in that island. The vessel and cargo, it is supposed, will be saved.

Swindling.—Thomas Nott, alias John Smith, alias Wm. Cotteril, was further examined on Tuesday, on charges of swindling and robbery preferred against him, on which occasion an office full of new complainants appeared, and many new charges were made. A turner from the Borough said, that while the prisoner was living in the Kent-road, carrying on the trade of dentist, this person also observing that he had understood Nott to have been originally a barber, he had received an order to send in sundry goods, with the bill, as they would be paid for immediately. A boy carried the articles, from whom Nott contrived to get them, on pretence of seeing whether they were right, and he then said that the master must call for the money. He called in vain, never being able to see Nott; and soon after the prisoner left that residence without paying any one. He also traced Nott to Lock's-fields, Walworth, where the business of dentist was changed for that of fortune-telling! The master-magician, however, soon took another flight, and, as usual, assumed another calling; for when he next met the prisoner he was discovered living at the City-road terrace, where he was charged with stealing sheets, having, as was customary with him, three or four women about the house to contribute to his domestic comforts. The prisoner said that he had just triumphed over many difficulties, and that he was now going on most prosperously. He was carrying on business in the city as a money agent, &c. and had an office in the Bury-chambers, St Mary Axe. He then handed a large card, which contained his address and profession on one side, and, on the other, a long notification to the public, nobility, gentry, &c. wanting either to borrow or lend money. Amongst other choice morsels, it is said that Mr Nott, who had been long engaged in such transactions, had established an unquestionable reputation, so that he could now command money to any amount, and had no connection whatever with any other person, especially any of the vile gangs of common advertising money-lenders who were about the town preying upon the public, by defrauding the honest and unwary tradesman who might be in temporary distress. He would undertake to raise money to any amount, at the moderate rate of 5 per cent. but he observed the utmost secrecy, and required

its observance; and the climax was completed by the following conclusion:—"No person, whose views are not strictly honourable, need think of applying to Mr Nott!" The defrauded turner expressed himself delighted with Mr Nott's prosperity, as he would be good enough to pay his little bill, as well as all those small accounts which he had forgotten to pay on precipitately leaving Harpur-street, Kent-road, and thereby refute the rude slanders of the neighbourhood. But he laughed at the idea of paying. Mr Nott had turned land-surveyor in Park-lane, after which the turner lost him till his apprehension. Mr Hoffman, of the Strand, stationer, received an order from the prisoner a few months ago, (he then having a counting-house at No. 19, Rolls-buildings, Chancery-lane, and calling himself a land-surveyor,) for books, stationery, &c. Mr H. sent the goods, to the amount of 8l., but not liking the prisoner's high talk, he desired the boy not to leave the articles without the money. Nott, however, wheedled the boy out of the goods, since which Mr H. could never get a farthing.—A letter was received from a lady by the magistrate, stating that the real name of the prisoner, who had been examined under that of Thomas Nott, was William Cotteril; that he had a mother and sister in Cumberland-row, New-road; and that, previously to turning swindler, which he had now been for a long time, he pursued a very humble calling, (hair-dresser, it was said,) to which he had been originally bred. She declined mentioning her name, being convinced that the consequence would be the robbery of her house within a week by some of the gang.

Mr Colquhoun was astonished at the unparalleled depravity, effrontery, and impudence of the prisoner, who even now evinced not the least feeling when he was trembling on the very edge of the gallows. His scheme of depredation and fraud appeared to have been at work in almost every parish in and about London, and no artifice was thought too low—no trick or mask too degrading—to realize its object. The prompt manner in which gentlemen and tradesmen had come forward to develope the infamous character of the prisoner, when they had no hope of recovering any thing, did them infinite credit.—Committed for further examination.

24th.–Cashel.–This day, at noon, Hardy, a tithe farmer, was murdered at the gate of Monagee, about one mile from this city. Hardy, after enforcing the payment of some tithes, left Cashel on his return to Newport, accompanied by two other proctors, who had been here upon similar errands. They were met by two men, supposed to be from Newport, who produced blunderbusses, ordered the two other proctors to return to Cashel, and detained Hardy, the most obnoxious. They then fired three shots at Hardy, and left him for dead. The surgeon and other persons came out directly from Cashel, and afforded every aid; but the proctor died in three hours. He had sufficient strength to relate the particulars, and name the murderers, who were well known to him. Pursuit was made, but for the present they have escaped.

Ballyshannon.—A few nights back Mr Corry Hurst, a respectable revenue officer, was treacherously shot in the streets of Ballyshannon. He was returning from Mr Donogher's inn to his lodging with a Mr Green, when passing the market-house, where it would seem the assassins lay in wait, a man approached, and after hesitating a little, as if to ascertain his object, discharged a pistol at Mr H. Mr H. not having fallen, another immediately advanced, levelled closer, and

fired a second shot, which passing through his body, he fell on his face, and almost instantly expired. Favoured by the darkness of the night, the villains effected their escape, dropping in their hurry one of the pistols, a ramrod, and a shoe newly soled, which were afterwards found on the road by which they fled. For the commission of this preconcerted assassination, no possible motive can be assigned, but that the deceased was an officer active, honest, and incorruptible in the discharge of his duty. A subscription reward for the discovery of the villains was at once set on foot, and met with a liberal co-operation on the part of the gentlemen of the county, of which Mr Hurst was a native. Such exertions, aided by what further means the excise board feel it their duty to adopt, will, it is hoped, lead to the discovery of the assassins. An inquest was held on the body. Verdict—Wilful murder against some person or persons unknown.

25th.—One of the officers of Haslar hospital being dangerously ill, a medical gentleman who was attending him had occasion, about two o'clock in the morning, to send the nurse from the officer's house to the dispensary: the weather being bad, the nurse wrapped herself round with a piece of red baize, with which she covered, in part, a candle and lantern, to prevent the light from being blown out, as the wind was very high. The rays of light issuing from the red covering, to the imagination of a sentry at a distance she appeared a terrific spectre; and as she approached him his fear so increased, that he ran from his post with haste to the guard-house, where, in about half an hour, he expired!

26th.—Last week, the person who attends the gasometer at the factory of Messrs Benyons and Page, in Shrewsbury, imprudently entered it with a lighted candle; the gas was immediately ignited, and blew up the apparatus, together with the roof of the building in which it was contained; but happily the communication thus made with the atmosphere had the effect of extinguishing the flame without injury to the premises. The author of this misfortune was very much burnt, and was conveyed to the infirmary; another man who was with him at the time of the explosion escaped unhurt, by instantly laying himself at full length with his face towards the ground.

29th.—The termination of the delusion or imposture of Joanna Southcott was announced to the public by the following note in the papers. It is to be added, that if her votaries flattered themselves with any hopes of a revival, they were effectually dispelled by her subsequent dissection:

"*Manchester-street, Thursday, Dec.* 29, 1814.

"Mrs Southcott had been confined to her bed ten weeks last Sunday. In the first three weeks she took very little, almost no solid sustenance; and during the last seven weeks none, except a small quantity of wine and water. She was gradually at last reduced, by pain and sickness, to her present state of death. Almost all that time the writer of this paper was with her, saw her in all her regular approaches to death, sat by her bed-side with a watch in his hand to observe the different changes, and saw her expire, as he has seen many others; and on some future occasion, when more at leisure, may furnish you with more particulars.

"Her friends know her to be dead, but the arm of the Lord is not shortened; and if he is about to do a great work upon the earth, as they firmly believe he is, they know that he can as easily raise the dead to life, as awake a person out of a trance. Mrs

Southcott's words always have been, "that death or life would end the strife;" and on that ground her believers now rest the question."

30th.—Last week, William Coil, and Elizabeth Roberts his wife, stood in the pillory at the Cross of Glasgow, for wilful perjury. During the whole of the exposure they were assailed with filth and stones. The man, who seemed at first to treat his punishment as a joke, was particularly aimed at, and received much hurt. The woman did not wholly escape; she seemed to have been wounded on the head. The stones were thrown chiefly by lads. When the hour elapsed, the disgraceful business did not terminate: the mob thought the sport far too good to be given up so soon. The man was, according to their jargon, "put through the mill." He was cuffed and kicked, and knocked down and raised up, at the pleasure of the bye-standers. In the Candleriggs-street, to which the mob moved, he was thrown into a cart, whose driver for some time drove him along, humouring the amusement; but finding that neither himself nor his horse escaped the punishment meant for the old man, he loosened the back of his cart, and tumbled him out on the street. In the course of the fray he was repeatedly raised shoulder high, and exhibited in his grey hairs, torn garments, and swollen features, a most pitiable spectacle. At length, with disgraceful tardiness, he was rescued by the police.—This is an additional example of the criminal impolicy of this savage mode of punishment, which has, like many others, far too long disgraced our code of criminal law.

The shop of Mr Arlett, the poulterer, of Great Mary-le-bone-street, having been repeatedly robbed, he had lately taken to sleep in a parlour adjoining the shop, to protect his property. On Friday morning, between three and four o'clock, Mr Arlett was awakened by a noise, which induced him to get up, and which he found proceeded from the shop. On examination, he saw that the glass over the shutters had been forced open, and a man then in the act of taking turkeys out of the window. Mr Arlett, being armed with a loaded pistol, presented it at the robber, discharged it, and seeing him suddenly disappear from the window, had no doubt but that he had shot him. The report of the pistol alarmed the neighbourhood. A coachman going home near the spot, found the wounded wretch, who was conveyed to Middlesex hospital, where he died.

31st.—The transport, Quebec Packet, Williams master, from Halifax, put into Falmouth. On the 14th of December, in the Western Ocean, they perceived a boat full of people, and though there was a tremendous sea running, they lay to, in order that it might come alongside. This was effected, and the persons on board, consisting of 18 men, and a child five years old, were got into the vessel. They proved to be the passengers and crew of the Amphitrite, bound from Quebec to London, with a cargo of timber. They state, that when they were nearly two hundred leagues from Quebec, the Amphitrite sprung a leak, which increased upon them, notwithstanding their utmost exertions; that four days before meeting the Quebec Packet, they found the vessel would shortly become water-logged; and on holding a consultation, it was determined to take to the boat; as, even if the decks should not blow up, by the pressure of the timber upwards, they had little prospect of being able to keep on deck, and none of preserving any provisions in the state of the weather. As soon as this resolution was taken, the crews ran below, burst open the lockers, and got completely

drunk. In this state, they got out the boat, which was injured in doing so, and, with some provisions, committed themselves to the mercy of the ocean, with the purpose of steering for the Azores. Whilst in the boat, two persons were constantly employed in bailing, and the captain was forced to suffer a cask full of spirits they had got on board to run out, to keep the men from getting mortal drunk; a propensity which even the near prospect of death could not induce them to resist. It was providential that they fell in with the Quebec Packet on the 14th, as the next day a storm came on, which it would have been impossible for them to survive in a crazy boat.

RIOT IN THE DUBLIN THEATRE.

16th.—A scene of extraordinary disorder and tumult took place at the theatre. *The Forest of Bondi, or the Dog of Montargis,* was the afterpiece which had been given out for representation; but in consequence of some misunderstanding between the patentee and the proprietor of the canine performer in the piece, as to the terms on which the services of the dog were to be had, the afterpiece did not go forward, and *The Miller and his Men* was substituted. The audience had not been sufficiently apprised of the change, and would not submit to the disappointment; and expressed their disapprobation so strongly, as completely to obstruct the performance of the adopted melo-drama. Some of the performers came forward to address the audience while the afterpiece was in progress, but they were obliged to retire, and their appearance became at length a matter of some peril, as they were assailed with every missile thing that the gallery, and ultimately the pit, could seize upon. The stage-manager, Mr Rock, came forward, after a considerable time, and he shared the fate of the others who had attempted to obtain attention. After several efforts to go through with the piece, without a chance of success, the curtain dropped; and from that time until the house was cleared by the interposition of the sheriffs, accompanied by constables and military, every mischief that could be accomplished was inflicted on the property. Some persons were taken into custody by the sheriffs. About a quarter of an hour after the *row* began, the vice-regal party, and that of the commander of the forces, who were present, retired. Neither the lord lieutenant, nor her grace the duchess, bowed to the audience. Mr Beresford, the lord mayor, kept the house for about half an hour after the lord lieutenant had retired. The house, after continuing for upwards of two hours in a state of great tumult, was finally cleared at one o'clock this morning.

17th.—Saturday night, Mr Jones was busy making arrests of rioters in the box lobby. On Monday night some police magistrates ordered a company of soldiers, at the instigation of the patentee, into the house. On Tuesday night the disorders were at their height. The audience was as numerous as that which originated the tumult on Friday night; but it was much more determined and enthusiastic.

The refusal of Mr Jones to make a personal apology continued the source of the uproar. The audience would enter into no compromise. Placards were distributed in all quarters, and handed to all persons, but they proved abortive. One of them was as follows:—

THEATRE ROYAL.

"The proprietors of the theatre royal beg leave to appeal to the public upon the subject of the discontent which has been manifested at the theatre the few last evenings:

"The manager, Mr Rock, being the only and properest channel of communication between the proprietors and the public, having failed in his endeavours to obtain a hearing, the proprietors have but this mode left of stating, that the reason why no verbal apology was made on Friday night, for change of entertainment, was, that when his excellency the lord lieutenant honours the theatre with his presence, it is an established rule that the performance shall, upon no account whatever, be interrupted by extraneous communication from the stage; nor is it even usual, upon those nights, to give the customary announcement of the play for the ensuing evening.

"The proprietors of the theatre anxiously hope that a liberal public will deem this sufficient to acquit them of the slightest intention of any neglect or disrespect towards them; and trust that they may with confidence throw themselves upon their just and good feeling for the protection of their property."

December 20th, 1814.

Besides this, there was a more concise one distributed, offering further explanation, through the instrumentality of Mr Rock, if it was deemed necessary. The expedient of exhibiting on the stage a canvass placard, written in characters sufficiently large to be intelligible to the upper gallery, was even resorted to. It was received with showers of all sorts of missiles. Indeed, it seemed to serve only as a signal for the more active part of the audience to commence their operations. It was immediately followed by the breaking of a quantity of the foot lights, and the chandelier which was suspended over the right-hand stage box. The lord mayor and sheriffs appeared in the front box, and entreated forbearance. The audience, they said, might evince their disapprobation by words as long and as loud as they wished, but they entreated of them to spare the property. There was a loud cheer for the civic authorities, and many persons addressed them. The unanimous cry was for Mr Jones; and most vehement asseverations were uttered, that no performance would be ever permitted if he did not yield. Subscriptions, it was said, would be entered into for the sustenance of the dependent actors, if the public were driven to any extremity.

While the lord mayor and sheriffs were engaged in remonstrating in the centre of the house, some police-men came in contact with a group of young men in one of the stage boxes. To this quarter the attention of the audience was instantly directed. The lord mayor repaired to the spot, and it appeared that one or two gentlemen were taken to the watch-house. On enquiry, there was no authority for committing those persons from the lord mayor or sheriffs; and there was a general burst of indignation. The offending constables were instantly put out of the house, and the lord mayor had the condescension (poor man) to go in person to liberate the captives. He did not think it prudent, however, to let them re-enter the theatre; and he extorted pledges from them, that they should go quietly to their houses. One fulfilled his promise, but the other violated it.

The employment of the peace-makers in one quarter only afforded opportunities for mischief in others.

Before the lord mayor or sheriffs could again obtain any thing like a general hearing, many lights were extinguished, and the orchestra and stage loaded with the ruins of the adjoining boxes. They at length thought it useful to address the house from the stage. There was no man of good

feeling who was not pained at the humiliating expedient to which they were compelled to resort. Three or four words were all that could be uttered in any interval of the uproar. No more could be collected from the lord mayor, than that he "saw the lord lieutenant that morning; that he proposed to wait on his excellency the morning following with a representation of the state of the public feeling; and that he would do any thing for the house, if they but ceased to destroy the proprietors' property." Cheering as loud as thunder followed, but a thousand voices again vociferated, "Jones! Jones! Nothing but Jones!"—"Well, then, gentlemen," said the lord mayor, "I will again *wait* on Mr Jones!" *Bravo! Bravo!* thundered forth from all quarters of the house.

The lord mayor again retired, but he had scarcely departed when an accident, which had very nearly proved fatal to many individuals, created a great uproar, and called him back. It was the bursting of the pannel of the right-hand stage box, and the precipitation, head-foremost, into the orchestra, of at least twenty people who pressed against it. As soon as it was ascertained that no material accident had occurred, and after arrangements had been made to induce a crowd that rushed upon the stage, to withdraw, the lord mayor and sheriffs proceeded on their embassy to Mr Jones.

A considerable interval elapsed before they returned, and it was employed in a most horrible scene of devastation. All the lights were put out, and even the brass work that was employed in suspending them was broken to atoms. The pannels of the lower tier of boxes, which were ornamented by various historical paintings, were next assailed. In less than five minutes the entire of them were torn out and thrown into the pit. The pannels of the second tier shared the same fate, and the pit was literally filled with the wreck before the lord mayor and sheriffs could return.—When they made their appearance there was the usual cheer. "Gentlemen," said the lord mayor, "I can only tell you, that nothing more can be done to night, and that I propose to wait on the lord lieutenant to-morrow. Gentlemen, I have to entreat that you will instantly withdraw from the theatre." Yes! yes! bravo! bravo! was the general cry, and all prepared to depart. The house, however, was not cleared until there was a tremendous addition made to the universal ruin. Even the galleries, which were hitherto neutral, now lent their exertions. So perfect a picture of wreck was never perhaps witnessed.

Mr Jones at length thought fit to announce his resignation, rather than submit to make a personal apology on the stage (which was required), for an offence to the public not intended by him; in so doing, he observes, that he has not forfeited his character as a gentleman. The management was then confided to a committee of the performers, and the theatre re-opened on the 28th.

At the rise of the curtain Mr Rock obtained permission to read documents respecting the resignation of Mr Jones. To the address of Mr Jones he shewed a signature, and testified it was Mr Jones's hand-writing. A declaration was distributed, which he also read, to the following effect:—

"Mr Jones having positively and unequivocally withdrawn from the management of the theatre, the other proprietors think it necessary to state, that all *prosecutions shall cease;* they

pledge themselves that as they had no part in the late transactions, so shall it be their study to remove every reasonable cause of complaint which the public may feel."

This statement was certified by the names of the remaining proprietors, John Crampton, E. T. Dalton, George Gregory.

Thus terminated another of those scenes which we shall always hold as equally discreditable to the character of those concerned in them, and to the laws which tolerate such illegal and cowardly outrages. We boast that we live in a land of freedom, and in an age which has survived most of the unworthy prejudices which degraded the character of less enlightened stages of society. Yet in what are we superior, at the present time, in our treatment of that class of men who administer the most richly of all others to our delight, to the rudest periods of times past? If France, at this day, refuses Christian sepulture to actors, have *we* any right to contemn the deprivation as barbarous, who enact a worse barbarity against them living? And what a lamentable necessity is it—for a necessity we must presume it to be—that those administrators of the laws, who are vigilant to defend the rights of all the other classes of society, should be compelled, wherever those of the actor or manager are invaded, to cast them almost out of the pale of their protection? It belongs not to us, feeble as we are, to redress this injured class of men; but we shall not hesitate to stigmatize the oppression under which they suffer, whenever an opportunity is afforded us.

SUMMARY

OF

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES IN 1814.

JAN. 1. From this date to the 3d, the allies crossed the Rhine, and entered France.

2. The garrison of Dantzic, consisting of 14 generals and 11,800 men, surrendered, as prisoners of war, to the Russians.

3. An intense frost, which continued for several weeks.

5. Gluckstadt surrendered to the Swedish forces, aided by a British squadron.

— La Ceres French frigate, of 44 guns, taken by the Niger and Tagus frigates.

10. A great number of fishing-boats wrecked off the north-west coast of Ireland, and the crew, consisting of upwards of 60 people, drowned.

13. The French defeated at Merxen, in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, by Lord Lynedoch.

14. Peace concluded between Britain, Sweden, and the King of Denmark.

— The Alcmene French frigate, of 44 guns and 319 men, taken by the Venerable, 74, and Cyane sloop of war.

19. The Iphigenia French frigate, of 44 guns and 325 men, likewise taken by the above two vessels.

24. Five mails from London due at Edinburgh, owing to the severity of the weather.

26. Bois-le-Duc taken from the French.

28. Battle of Brienne, in which the French were defeated with the loss of 60 pieces of cannon, &c.

FEB. 1. 10. A dreadful volcanic irruption in the island of Manilla, which destroyed a great tract of country—more than 1200 of the inhabitants lost their lives.

3. The river Thames frozen over, and a number of booths for different kinds of diversion erected on it.

— The Terpsichore French frigate, of 44 guns and 320 men, taken by the Majestic, 74.

— The Uranie, ditto ditto, set fire to by her captain, to prevent her falling into the hands of the British.

5. From this date to the 20th, a number of attacks made by the allies and French, with alternate success.

7. Troyes taken by the allies.

12. The custom-house in Lower Thames-street, London, destroyed by fire, in which three persons lost their lives.

— A great inundation at Perth, occasioned by the breaking up of the ice in the Tay.

15. The French attacked and defeated by part of Lord Wellington's army, at St Palais.

17. Fontainbleau taken by the Russians.

21. Reported death of Buonaparte, a hoax, played off on the Stock Exchange, by De Berenger, &c. which created much speculation.

24. The British army effected a passage across the Adour.

25. The Clorinde French frigate, of 44 guns and 360 men, taken by the Eurotas, of 38, Captain Phillimore. Loss of the British, 60 men killed and wounded; that of the French, 120.

27. The French, under Marshal Soult, defeated near Orthes, by the Marquis of Wellington.

— The French defeated at Bar-sur-Aube, by the allies, with the loss of 3000 men.

MARCH 2. The French defeated by Sir Rowland Hill, near Arie, and their magazines taken.

7. Marshal Blucher attacked and defeated by Buonaparte, at Frere Champenoise, suffers a great loss, and with difficulty effects a retreat.

9. The British troops, in an attempt to take Bergen-op-zoom by storm, defeated with great loss of officers and men.

10. A severe battle between the French and the allies at Laon.

12. Bourdeaux taken possession of by Marshal Beresford, and the white flag hoisted.

14. General St Priest driven out of Rheims by the French, with considerable loss.

44. Ferdinand the Seventh arrived in Spain, after having been long detained a prisoner in France, by order of Buonaparte.

26. La Sultane, French frigate, of 44 guns and 350 men, captured by the Hannibal, 74, Sir Michael Seymour.

27. L'Etoile French frigate, of 44 guns and 320 men, taken by the Hebrus, 38, Captain Palmer, after a close action—British loss, 13 men killed and 25 wounded; French, 40 killed, and 70 wounded.

28. The American frigate Essex, of 38 guns, taken off Valparaiso, in South America, by the Phœbe frigate, and Cherub sloop. The Essex had 72 men killed and 80 wounded; the British five killed and 10 wounded.

29. The Grand Duchess of Oldenburgh, sister to the Emperor of Russia, arrived in England.

30. The French troops driven from the heights before Paris, and, by an armistice concluded afterwards, the city evacuated.

31. The allied armies entered Paris, under the command of the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia.

APRIL 2. The Prince of Orange installed Sovereign of Holland, at Amsterdam.

3. The French senate assembled and dethroned Buonaparte, and declared his dynasty at an end.

5. Buonaparte renounced the government of France for himself and his heirs.

— Louis XVIII. recalled to the throne by the French senate.

6. The French senate adopted a new constitution, which was accepted by Louis.

8. Mr De Berenger apprehended at Leith, and, after examination, sent off to London, in custody, for the fraud on the Stock Exchange.

10. A desperate battle fought in the neighbourhood of Thoulouse, between the Marquis of Wellington and Marshal Soult, in which the latter was defeated. Loss on both sides great.

12. Monsieur, brother to Louis XVIII. made his public entry into Paris.

14. A sortie made by the garrison of Bayonne, in which Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope was wounded and taken prisoner, and General Andrew Hay killed; and many officers and men killed, wounded, or made prisoners.

15. Edinburgh, and its environs, brilliantly illuminated in honour of the success of the Allies, and downfall of Buonaparte.

17. Genoa attacked by the British, and afterwards surrendered by convention. The Brilliant of 74 guns, another ship of the line in frame, and four brigs of war, taken in the harbour.

19. Buonaparte left Fountainbleau for the island of Elba, under a strong escort of the allied troops.

20. The King of France made his public entry into London with great splendour.

23. A suspension of hostilities by sea and land agreed to between Britain and France.

24. Louis XVIII. sailed from Dover for France.

MAY 3. The Marquis of Wellington created Duke, and Sir John Hope, Sir

Thomas Graham, Sir Stapleton Cotton, Sir Rowland Hill, and Sir William Carr Beresford, created Barons.

— Louis XVIII. entered Paris in great triumph.

6. Oswego taken by the British from the Americans.

13. An annuity of 13,000l. per annum voted by the House of Commons to the Duke of Wellington.

14. Lord Keith created a Viscount, and Sir Edward Pellew a Baron.

30. Definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and France signed at Paris, by which the islands of Malta, the Mauritius, Tobago, St Lucie, and the Cape of Good Hope, were ceded to Britain.

JUNE 3. The Irish Catholic Board suppressed by proclamation.

5. St George's church, Charlotte-square, opened for public worship.

6. The Emperor of Russia, King of Prussia, and a number of foreigners of distinction, landed at Dover, from France, and reached London next day.

— Corn Bill thrown out in the House of Commons, by a majority of 10.

7. A great promotion of General Officers took place.

8. Lord Cochrane, De Berenger, &c. tried before the Court of King's Bench, for a fraud on the Stock Exchange, and found guilty.

9. The Emperor of Austria, King of Prussia, Earl of Liverpool, and Lord Viscount Castlereagh, elected Knights of the Garter.

13. The loan contracted for, and the Budget opened in the House of Commons, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

— A great quantity of stores, and 17 vessels destroyed at Warham, New England, by the British.

14. The Prince Regent, Emperor of Russia, King of Prussia, &c. visited the University of Oxford.

18. Viscount Cathcart created an Earl, the Earl of Aberdeen a Viscount, and Sir Charles Stewart a Baron.

— The Prince Regent, the Emperor of Russia, King of Prussia, and all the distinguished strangers in London dined with the Lord Mayor, at Guildhall.

20. Peace proclaimed at London.

21. Lord Cochrane, De Berenger, and Butt, sentenced to 12 months imprisonment, fined 1000l. and to stand in the pillory; J. P. Holloway to pay 500l. and to be imprisoned 12 months; and Henry Light and Ralph Sandon, to be imprisoned 12 months, for the fraud on the Stock Exchange. The pillory was afterwards remitted.

22. The royal strangers left London.

24. Grand naval review at Portsmouth, before the Prince Regent, Emperor of Russia, King of Prussia, &c.

27. The Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia embarked at Dover for France.

— A large powder magazine exploded at Dresden, by which a number of people lost their lives, and much damage was done to the military barracks and city.

28. The Leopard, of 54 guns, lost on the island of Antecosta. The crew, troops, and part of the materials saved.

— The Duke of Wellington took his seat in the House of Lords, when he received the thanks of the House for his gallant conduct abroad.

— The Lords agreed to address the Prince Regent on the treaty of peace with France.

— The Commons did the same.

29. Peace proclaimed at Edinburgh.

JULY 1. A numerous meeting was held of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, when petitions were agreed to, to be presented to parliament against the slave trade.

— The Duke of Wellington received the thanks of the House of Commons in person.

4. The House of Commons agreed to grant the Princess of Wales an annuity of 50,000l. a-year; but she only accepted of 35,000l.

5. Lord Cochrane and the Honourable Andrew Cochrane Johnstone expelled the House of Commons.

— The Duke of Wellington appointed Ambassador to France.

— The Americans repulsed in front of Chippawa, by the British.

7. A day of general thanksgiving for the peace, when the Prince Regent and both Houses of Parliament went to St Paul's, and heard divine service.

9. The city of London gave a grand entertainment in Guildhall to the Duke of Wellington.

11. The islands in Passamaquoddy Bay taken by the British.

— The Royal Edinburgh Volunteers disembodied.

12. The Princess Charlotte of Wales eloped from Carlton-house to her mother's house in Connaught-place, but was brought back the same night by the Lord Chancellor.

— Thomas White, midshipman in the Unicorn frigate, tried before the High Court of Justiciary, for the murder of William Jones, seaman of that ship, at Leith, on the 15th of June, found guilty of culpable homicide, and sentenced to be transported for fourteen years.

16. Lord Cochrane unanimously re-elected member for Westminster.

21. Grand fete at Carlton House in honour of the peace.

22. Admiral William Bradley tried at Winchester, for fabricating letters, in order to defraud the revenue, found guilty, and sentenced to death; but afterwards pardoned, on condition of banishing himself from the kingdom for the remainder of his life.

24. Thirteen people destroyed by fire-damp in a coal-pit near Wigan.

30. Parliament prorogued by the Prince Regent.

AUG. 1. Hyde Park, St James's Park, and the Green Park, opened for the grand national jubilee, which continued for several days, during which the pagoda took fire and was destroyed.

2. The ancient steeple of Kilwinning, Ayrshire, fell, but without doing any damage, except destroying an empty house.

9. The Princess of Wales sailed from England for the continent.

10. Ferdinand King of Spain, and the Prince of Orange, elected Knights of the Garter.

14. A convention concluded between the Swedes and Norwegians, by which hostilities ceased, and Prince Christian resigned all pretensions to the government of Norway.

15. The British repulsed in an attempt to take Fort Erie, with the loss of 900 men killed and wounded.

19. A great fire on the shore of Leith, by which a number of families were burnt out.

22. The Prince of the United Netherlands invested with the Order of the Garter, and the Hereditary Prince with the Order of the Bath.

24. The American army defeated by the British, under Major-General Ross, with considerable loss, after which the city of Washington was taken, when all the public buildings were destroyed, together with a frigate; a great quantity of naval stores, and 206 pieces of cannon, were taken, and 30,000 stand of arms destroyed.

29. Alexandria, on the Potowmac, taken by Captain Gordon, of the Seahorse frigate, accompanied by several other ships, and twenty-one vessels of different kinds carried off.

SEPT. 1. Fort Castine, in the river Penobscot, taken by the British, under Lieutenant-General Sir J. Sherbroke. The Adams, American frigate, blown up, and a number of vessels taken.

6. An ingenious machinery for sawing veneers at Battersea, London, destroyed by fire. Damage upwards of 20,000l.

11. The British fleet attacked the American flotilla, at Plattsburg, on Lake Champlain; but, after a severe contest, were all captured, except some gun-boats.

— An extraordinary lunar rainbow seen at Edinburgh, Glasgow, &c.

12. The American army, in front of Baltimore, attacked and defeated; the British commander, Major-General Ross, was killed. Finding it impracticable to make a successful attack upon Baltimore, the British re-embarked the following day.

15. The ferry-boat over the Leven, at Balloch, upset, being overladen with passengers, when several people were drowned.

17. The American general, Brown, repulsed the British, from before Fort Erie, in a sortie, with some loss.

20. The American Congress opened by a message from President Madison.

21. The Emperor of Austria invested with the Order of the Garter.

OCTOBER 17. A Court-Martial assembled for the trial of Colonel Quintin, of the 10th hussars, on certain charges of cowardice preferred against him by the officers of that corps.

20. The Norwegian Diet decreed an union between Sweden and Norway, which immediately took place.

31. The Court-Martial on Col. Quintin concluded.

[The inhabitants of Edinburgh and its vicinity experienced great inconvenience from a scarcity of water, owing to a long course of dry weather, during the months of August, September, and October.]

NOVEMBER 1. The Plenipotentiaries to the Grand Congress meet at Vienna.

4. Charles XIII. of Sweden proclaimed King of Norway.

5. The Americans blew up Fort Erie, having previously destroyed all the stores, &c. and then retired within their own territories.

7. The first session of the States General of the Netherlands opened by the Prince Sovereign.

8. Parliament opened by the Prince Regent. The addresses in answer to the speech carried unanimously.

— William Adam, Esq. appointed a Baron of Exchequer in Scotland, in room of Baron Hepburn.

— The sentence of the Court-Martial on Colonel Quintin, acquitting him, approved by the Prince Regent, and most of the officers of the 10th hussars dismissed from that regiment, and transferred to other corps.

DECEMBER 1. Parliament adjourned to the 9th of February, 1815.

4. Several people lost their lives at Manchester, in consequence of a false alarm that the Methodist chapel in that place was likely to fall.

10. In the Sheriff Court, London, a jury gave 15,000l. damages to the Earl of Roseberry, against Sir Henry Mildmay, for *crim. con.* with the Countess.

16. A violent gale of wind, and very high tides, over most part of Britain and Ireland, which occasioned the loss of a number of vessels, and very considerable damage, particularly along the south and west coasts.

20. The interior of the Theatre Royal, Crow-street, Dublin, entirely destroyed by the audience, in consequence of a dispute with the manager.

24. Peace concluded between Britain and America, at Ghent, by the British and American Commissioners.

APPENDIX I.—GAZETTES.

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Admiralty-office, Jan. 22.

Copy of a letter from Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Pellew, Bart. to John Wilson Croker, Esq. dated on board his Majesty's ship Caledonia, at Port Mahon, the 24th Dec. 1813.

Sir,—The enclosed narrative will convey to their Lordships the details of a gallant enterprise, very ably directed by Capt. Sir Josias Rowley, and most zealously executed by the force under his command, in co-operation with the battalion of Col. Catanelli, who made a descent on the coast of Italy, under a hope of surprising Leghorn. The loss sustained in this affair has been inconsiderable, when compared with that of the enemy. I am sure their Lordships will do ample justice to the merits of Sir Josias, and the captains, officers, seamen, and marines, engaged in this spirited service.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Edw. Pellew.

His Majesty's ship America, off Leghorn, Dec. 15.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you, that in pursuance of my preceding communication to you from Palermo, I sailed thence on the 29th ult. in company with the Termagant, and anchored at Melazzo on the following night, where, having joined the Edinburgh, Furieuse, and Mermaid, and embarked on board them on the following day the troops of the Italian levy, amounting to about 1000 men, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Catanelli, we sailed the same evening, and arrived on the coast of Italy, off Via Reggio, on the 9th inst.; having fallen in with the Armada and Imperieuse off the north of Corsica, I detained them to assist us getting the troops on shore. Having anchored with the squadron off the town, the troops and field-pieces were immediately landed; a small party of the enemy having evacuated the place on a summons that had been sent in, and possession was taken of two 18 and one 12-pounder guns, which defended the entrance of the river. The Lieutenant-Colonel proceeded immediately to Lucca, which place was surrendered to him at twelve the same night. The following day a detachment of forty royal marines from this ship, under Captain Rea, was sent to a signal station to the northward, which on his threatening to storm, surrendered to him, and eleven men who defended it were made prisoners: he found it to be a castle of considerable size and strength, walled and ditched, and capable of containing near 1000

men. On receiving this report, I sent Mr Bazalgette, senior lieutenant of the America, who with a few barrels of powder completely destroyed it, bringing off a brass nine-pounder gun, which was mounted in the castle. Parties from the Imperieuse and Furieuse also brought off two other brass guns from the beach to the northward and southward of the town, those at the same place having also been embarked.

The Lieutenant-Colonel not judging it advisable to return to Lucca, had given me notice of his intended return to Via Reggio, where he arrived on the morning of the 12, and signified his intention to proceed in another direction.

Not conceiving my stay with this ship any longer necessary, I had made arrangements for leaving the Edinburgh, Furieuse, and Termagant, under the orders of Captain Dundas, to keep up (if practicable) a communication with the troops, and purposed sailing to rejoin your flag as soon as it was dark, when towards sun-set we perceived a firing at the town, and found that the troops were attacked by a force of about six hundred cavalry and infantry, with a howitzer and two field-pieces. They consisted of a detachment from the garrison of Leghorn which had been joined on its march by some troops at Pisa ; the Lieutenant-Colonel completely routed them, with the loss of their guns and howitzer, and a considerable number of killed, wounded, and prisoners ; the remainder retreated in much confuvion towards Pisa. Information hasing been obtained from the prisoners of the weak state of the garrison at Leghorn, the Lieutenant-Colonel proposed to me to intercept the return of the routed troops, by proceeding immediately off Leghorn, in the hopes, that by shewing ourselves in as much force as possible, the inhabitants, who, it was supposed, were inclined to receive us, might make some movement in our favour, and that we might avail ourselves of any practicable opening to force our way into the place.

I acceded to this proposal, and the troops were immediately embarked in a number of country vessels, which were towed off by the boats of the squadron, and the whole being taken in tow by the ships, we proceeded the same night for Leghorn roads, where we anchored about three o'clock on the following day, to the northward of the town. The Imperieuse having previously reconnoitered the best spot for landing, the vessels were immediately towed in shore, and the troops and field-pieces landed without opposition. The boats then proceeded to land the marines; but the weather, which had been hitherto favourable, in the course of the evening became so bad, that only a part could be got on shore; and I regret to state that the pinnace of the America was swamped, and Lieut. Moody (a most valuable officer), and two seamen, were drowned. Early in the morning the remainder were landed, and proceeded to the positions assigned them.

The corps of the enemy, which had been defeated at Via Reggio, was a second time reinforced at Pisa, and at this period made an attack on our marines without the tower. I beg to refer you to Captain Dundas's report, for the particulars of their defeat: the Lieutenant-Colonel suggested, as a proper time after this advantage, to summons the Commandant, which was accordingly done, but an answer returned that he would defend himself. The gates of the town had been closely examined during this day and the preceding night, to ascertain the practicability of forcing an entrance; but that or any other means of immediate attack not being considered practicable against a place so strong and

regularly fortified, and there not appearing any movement of the inhabitants in our favour, the precarious and threatening state of the weather, a change of which would have prevented all communication with the ships, rendered it expedient to re-embark the whole without delay; by very great exertions this was effected in the best order during the night, and early the following morning, in very severe weather, without any molestation from the enemy.

On returning from the shore to the America at sun-set, I found a deputation from the Mayor and inhabitants of the town, who had been permitted by the Commandant to come off with a flag of truce, to petition us to cease our fire from the houses, he having threatened to dislodge us by setting fire to the suburbs. As arrangements were already made for re-embarking, I consented to a cessation of firing on both sides till eight the next morning: a favourable circumstance for us, the troops on their march to the boats being exposed to a fire from the ramparts.

I have very great satisfaction in reporting to you the zeal and good conduct of all the officers, seamen, and marines employed on the above-mentioned services.

To Lieut.-Col. Catanelli every praise is due for his able and indefatigable exertions, and I feel thankful for his cordial co-operation. The conduct of the troops of the Italian levy, both for bravery and discipline in the field, and the cheerfulness with which they endured the constant exposure in boats in the most severe weather, excited our admiration.

I am much indebted to Captain Grant for his able advice and assistance. To the Hon. Captain Dundas, who undertook the direction of the marines and seamen; and to Captain Hamilton, who volunteered his services on shore, my thanks are particularly due, for the gallant manner in which they conducted them; and I feel much indebted to the Hon. Captain Duncan for the ready and useful assistance he afforded me on every occasion. Captain Mounsey, when the landing was effected, had moved with the Furieuse and Termagant to watch the motions of three brigs of war lying in the outer mole, but which afterwards moved into the inner one, the crews having landed to assist in the defence of the place.

Captain Dunn was indefatigable in his exertions at the landing place; and I feel called upon to notice the good conduct of the officers and crews of the boats through a continued and most fatiguing service.

I beg that I may be permitted to mention the assistance I received from Lieutenant Bazalgette, senior of this ship, a most deserving officer; and to notice the conduct of Mr Bromley, the surgeon, who volunteered his services on shore with the troops.

I herewith inclose a list of the killed and wounded, and am happy to say our loss is much smaller than might have been expected. I have no account of that of the Italian levy, but I believe it is not considerable. There have been no correct returns of prisoners, but Captain Dundas informs me, that above three hundred have been taken in the two affairs.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

Jos. Rowley, Captain.

Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Pellew, &c. &c. &c.

His Majesty's ship Edinburgh, off Leghorn, Dec. 15, 1813.

Sir,—In obedience to your directions, Captain Hamilton and myself landed on the evening of the 13th with the marines of his Majesty's ships

11

America, Armada, Edinburgh, Imperieuse, Furieuse, Rainbow, Termagant, and Mermaid, to co-operate with Lieutenant-Col. Catanelli. We pushed on that evening with the advance of the marines and Italian levy, and got possession of the suburbs of the town of Leghorn. The extreme darkness of the night, and the road being nearly impassable, prevented the body of the troops joining until the morning; the moment a sufficient number had come up, in compliance with the Lieut.-Colonel's arrangements, the Italians occupied the suburbs, and buildings close to the ramparts; the marines occupied a position on the Pisa road. As soon after day-light as possible, we reconnoitred the town; just as we had finished, and were returning from the southern part of the town, a firing was heard in the direction of the Pisa road, where we proceeded instantly, and found that the marines were at that moment attacked by a considerable body of the enemy's troops, consisting of at least seven hundred men, cavalry and infantry, supported by two field-pieces; the charge of the cavalry was received with great coolness by the marines; they opened and allowed them to pass, killing all but about fourteen, who, with two officers, succeeded in getting through, but who were all killed or wounded, excepting one officer, by a small detachment of the Italian levy that was formed at the entrance of the suburbs of the town. After the charge of the cavalry, the marines instantly closed and charged the enemy's infantry, and put them entirely to the rout; they lost in this affair the officers commanding their cavalry and infantry, with about from two hundred and fifty to three hundred killed, wounded, and prisoners; the remainder retreated in the greatest disorder to Pisa.

In this affair my most particular thanks are due to Captain Hamilton, who, I am sorry to say, is slightly wounded; as well as to Captain Beale of the Armada, who commanded the marines; as also to Captain Rea and Mitchell, of the America and Edinburgh: to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, all possible credit is due for repelling the attack, and putting to rout the enemy, who were certainly double their force: the marines lost on this occasion, one killed and seven wounded.

The Italian levy, who were on the houses close round the ramparts, as well as those in the advance, were indefatigable in their exertions, and their bravery was truly conspicuous on all occasions. The enemy suffered by the destructive fire they kept up on the ramparts, killing or wounding those who attempted to come near the guns.

It being arranged between you and the Lieutenant-Colonel, that we should re-embark, the wounded and prisoners, with our two field guns and ammunition, were embarked at twelve o'clock last night, marched off in the best possible order, through the bad roads and incessant rain.

I beg to offer my thanks to Lieutenant-Colonel Catanelli, for his attention in pointing out what he wished to be done by us to forward his plan. My thanks are due to Captain Dunn, of the Mermaid, for forwarding every thing from the beach to us in advance; as well as to Lieutenants Mason, of the America, and Mapleton and Leach of this ship, and Travers, of the Imperieuse; and to the midshipmen, and small-arm men, and those stationed to a howitzer, for their steady good conduct.

I have the honour to be, &c.

G. H. L. Dundas, Captain.

Sir J. Rowley, Bart. Captain of H. M. S. America.

The return of loss in the above enterprise is—1 seaman killed, 3 drowned, and 11 wounded.

Downing-street, Jan. 20.

A dispatch has been this day received by Earl Bathurst, addressed to his Lordship by Field Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, dated

St Jean de Luz, Jan. 9, 1814.

The enemy collected a considerable force on the Gave in the beginning of the week, and on the 3d inst. drove in the cavalry piquets between the Joyeuse and Bidouze rivers, and attacked the post of Major General Buchan's Portuguese brigade on the Joyeuse, near La Bastide, and those of the 3d division in Bouloe. They turned the right of Major-Gen. Buchan's brigade on the height of La Costa, and obliged him to retire towards Briscons; and they established two divisions of infantry on the height, and in La Bastide, with the remainder of the army on the Bidouze and the Gave.

Our centre and right were immediately concentrated and prepared to move; and having reconnoitred the enemy on the 4th, I intended to have attacked them on the 5th inst. but was obliged to defer the attack till the 6th, owing to the badness of the weather and the swelling of the rivulets. The attack was made on that day by the 3d and 4th divisions, under the command of Lieut.-Gen. Sir Thomas Picton and Lieut.-General Sir Lowry Cole, supported by Major-General Buchan's Portuguese brigade of Gen. Le Cor's division, and the cavalry under the command of Major-General Fane; and the enemy were forthwith dislodged without loss on our side, and our posts replaced where they had been.

Feb. 8, 1814.

A dispatch has been received by Earl Bathurst, addressed to his Lordship by General Sir Thomas Graham, dated

Head-quarters, Calmhout, Jan. 14, 1814.

My Lord,—Gen. Bulow, Commander in Chief of the third corps of the Prussian army, having signified to me, that in the morning of the 11th inst. he was to carry into execution his intention of driving the enemy from their position at Hoogstraeten and Wortel, on the Merk, in order to make a reconnoissance on Antwerp, and that he wished me to cover the right flank of his corps, I moved such parts of the two divisions under my command as were disposable from Rosendall, and arrived here at day-break on the morning of the 11th. The enemy were driven back with loss, from West Wesel, Hoogstraeten, &c. after an obstinate resistance, by the Prussian troops, to Braeschat, Westmeille, &c.

Dispositions were made to attack them again the following day, but they retired in the night of the 11th, and took up a position near Antwerp, the left resting on Merxem.

General Bulow occupied Breschat in force that evening (the 12th.)

I moved to Capelle, on the great road from Bergen-op-Zoom to Antwerp, to be ready to co-operate in the intended attack yesterday.

Major-General Cooke's division remained in reserve at Capelle, and Major-General M'Kenzie's moved by Ekeren and Done towards Merxem, so as to avoid both great roads occupied by the Prussians. While the Prussians were engaged considerably more to the left, an attack on the village of Merxem was made by Colonel M'Leod's brigade, led by himself, in the most gallant style, and under the immediate direction of Major General M'Kenzie.

The rapid, but orderly advance of the detachment of the third battalion of the rifle corps, under Captain Fullerton's command, and of the second

battalion of the 78th, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Lindsay, supported by the second battalion of the 25th, commanded by Major M'Donnell, and by the 35th, under Lieut.-Colonel Elphinstone, and an immediate charge with the bayonet by the 78th, ordered by Lieutenant-Col. Lindsay, decided the contest much sooner, and with much less loss, than might have been expected, from the strength of the post and numbers of the enemy.

Colonel M'Leod received a severe wound through the arm, in the advance to the attack, but did not quit the command of the brigade till he became faint from loss of blood. I am happy to think that the army will probably not be long deprived of the services of this distinguished officer.

The enemy were driven into Antwerp, with considerable loss, and some prisoners were taken.

I have the greatest satisfaction in expressing my warmest approbation of the conduct of these troops: no veterans ever behaved better than these men, who then met the enemy for the first time.

The discipline and intrepidity of the Highland battalion, which had the good fortune to lead the attack into the village, reflects equal credit on the officers and men.

The same spirit was manifested by the other troops employed.

Two guns of Major Fyer's brigade were advanced in support of the attack, and, by their excellent practice, soon silenced a battery of the enemy.

The 52d regiment, under the command of that experienced officer Lieut.-Colonel Gibbs was afterwards moved into the village of Mercxem, in order to cover the withdrawing of the troops from it, which was ordered as soon as the Prussian column arrived by the great road, the head of which had already driven in the outposts, when our attack began.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gibbs remained with the 52d and 3d battalion 95th till after dark.

This reconnoissance having been satisfactorily accomplished, the Prussian troops are going into cantonments, and this corps will resume nearly those it occupied before.

The severity of the weather has been excessive. The soldiers have borne it with cheerfulness and patience, and I hope will not suffer very materially from it.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

THOMAS GRAHAM.

Admiralty-office, Feb. 26.

Copies of letters received at this office, from Rear-Admiral Durham, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels at the Leeward Islands, addressed to J. W. Croker, Esq.

Venerable, at Sea, Jan. 16, 1814.

Sir,—I have the satisfaction of stating, that this day, at nine a. m. the Cyane made the signal for two strangers in the north-east, which were immediately given chase to, and, owing to the very superior sailing of the Venerable, I was enabled to come up within gun-shot of them at the close of the day, leaving the Cyane far astern. On ranging up with the leeward-most, (the night was too dark to distinguish her colours,) desirous of saving her the consequences of so unequal a contest, I hailed her twice to surrender, but the evasive answer returned, obliged me to order the guns to be opened as they would bear; upon this the enemy immediately put his helm up, and, under all sail, laid us on board, for which temerity he has suffered most severely. The promptitude with which Capt. Worth repelled the attempt to board,

was not less conspicuous than the celerity with which he passed his men into the enemy's frigate, and hauled down her ensign. I have much pleasure in naming the petty officers who distinguished themselves on this occasion, Messrs Maltman, Walker, and Nevil, master's mates, and Mr Grey, midshipman. This ship proves to be the Alcmene, a beautiful French frigate of 44 guns, having a complement, at the commencement of the action, of 319 men, commanded by Captain Ducrest de Villeneuve, an officer of much merit, and who was wounded at the time of boarding. To his determined resistance, aided by the darkness of the night, the other frigate for the present owes her escape; but I have every hope that the Cyane will be enabled to observe her until I have shifted the prisoners, and repaired the trifling injury done to the rigging, during the period of the enemy being on board. Our loss consists of two seamen killed and four wounded: that of the enemy two petty officers and thirty seamen killed, and fifty wounded. Lieutenant G. Luke, whom I have placed in the frigate, is an old and very deserving officer, who has served twenty years under my command.

I have the honour to be, &c.
P. C. Durham,
Rear-Admiral.

Venerable, at Sea, Jan. 20.

Sir,—It affords me much pleasure to communicate to you, for their Lordships' information, the capture of the French frigate that escaped on Sunday night. The vigilance of Captain Forrest enabled him to keep sight of her during the night and two following days, when having run 153 miles in the direction I judged the enemy had taken, the Venerable's superior sailing gave me the opportunity of again discovering the fugitive, and after an anxious chase of 19 hours, to come up with and capture her. She is named the Iphigenie, a frigate of the largest class, commanded by Captain Emerie, having a complement of 325 men, and, like her consort, the Alcmene, perfectly new. Every means to effect her escape were resorted to, the anchors being cut away, and her boats thrown overboard. On our coming up we had run the Cyane out of sight from the mast head.

These frigates sailed in company from Cherbourgh, on the 20th of October last, and were to cruise for six months. It becomes me now to notice the very meritorious conduct of Captain Forrest, not only in assiduously keeping sight, but repeatedly offering battle to a force so superior; nor less deserving of my warmest approbation is Captain Worth, of this ship, whose indefatigable attention during the many manœuvres attempted by the enemy in this long and arduous chase, was equalled only by the exemplary behaviour of every officer and man under his command.

I have the honour to be, &c.
C. P. Durham,
Rear-Admiral.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

Downing-street, Feb. 13, 1814.

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, was last night received at Earl Bathurst's office, addressed to his Lordship by General Sir Thomas Graham, dated Mercxem, Feb. 6, 1814:

Head-quarters, Mercxem, Feb. 6, 1814.

My Lord,—I should have been happy to have had to announce to your Lordship, that the movement on Antwerp, fixed by General Bulow for the 2d inst. had produced a greater

effect; but the want of time, and of greater means, will account to your Lordships for the disappointment of our hopes of a more satisfactory result; for General Bulow received (after we had got the better of all the great obstacles in the way of taking a position near the town) orders to proceed to the southward to act in concert with the grand army; and the state of the weather, for some time back, not only prevented my receiving the supplies of ordnance and ordnance stores from England, but made it impossible to land much of what was on board the transports near Williamstadt, the ice cutting off all communication with them.

I have, however, sincere pleasure in assuring your lordship, that every part of the service was conducted by the officers at the head of the different departments with all the zeal and intelligence possible.

To make up for the want of our own artillery, all the serviceable Dutch mortars, with all the ammunition that could be collected, were prepared at Williamstadt; and on the evening of the 1st, the troops of the first and second divisions, that could be spared from other services, were collected at Braeschat, and next morning this village (fortified with much labour ever since our former attack) was carried in the most gallant style, in a much shorter time, and with much less loss, than I could have believed possible.

Major-General Gibbs, commanding the 2d division (in the absence of Major General M'Kenzie, confined by a dangerous fall from his horse,) ably seconded by Major-General Taylor, and by Lieutenant-Colonel Herries, commanding Major-Gen. Gibbs's brigade, conducted this attack, in which all the troops engaged behaved with the usual spirit and intrepidity of British soldiers.

I feel particularly indebted to the officers already named, and also to Lieutenant-Col. Cameron, commanding the detachments of the three battalions of the 95th; to Lieutenant-Colonel Hompesch, with the 25th regiment; to Major A. Kelly, with the 54th; to Lieut. Colonel Brown, with the 56th; and to Major Kelly, with the 73d, for the distinguished manner in which those corps attacked the left and centre of the village, forcing the enemy from every strong-hold, and storming the mill battery on Ferdinand's Dyke; while Major-General Taylor with the 52d, under Lieutenant Colonel Gibbs, the 35th, under Major Macalister, and the 78th, under Lieut.-Colonel Lindsay, marching to the right, and directly on the mill of Ferdinand's Dyke, threatened the enemy's communication from Mercxem towards Antwerp.

Two pieces of cannon and a considerable number of prisoners fell into our hands.

No time was lost in marking out the batteries, which, by the very great exertions of the artillery, under Lieut.-Colonel Sir G. Wood, and the engineers, under Lieut.-Col. Carmichael Smyth, and the good-will of the working parties, were completed by half past three p. m. of the 3d.

The batteries opened at that hour. During the short trial of the fire that evening, the defective state of the Williamstadt mortars and ammunition was too visible. Our means were thus diminished, and much time was lost, as it was not till twelve at noon the following day (the 4th) that the fire could be opened again.

That day's fire disabled five of the six 24-pounders. Yesterday the fire was kept up all day. The practice was admirable, but there was not a sufficient number of shells falling to prevent the enemy from extinguishing fire whenever it broke out among the ships, and our fire ceased entirely at sun-set yesterday.

It is impossible for me to speak too highly of the indefatigable exertions of the two branches of the ordnance department.

I have much reason to be satisfied with the steadiness of the troops, and the attention of the officers of all ranks, during the continuance of this service. Detachments of the rifle corps did the most advanced duty, under the able direction of Lieutenant-Col. Cameron, in a way that gave security to the batteries on Ferdinand's Dyke; and though this line was enfiladed, and every part of the village under the range of shot and shells from the enemy, I am happy to say the casualties, on the whole, have not been numerous.

As soon as every thing is cleared away, we shall move back into such cantonments as I have concerted with General Bulow.

I cannot conclude this dispatch without expressing my admiration of the manner in which General Bulow formed the disposition of the movement, and supported this attack.

The enemy were in great force on the Deurne and Berchem roads, but were every where driven by the gallant Prussians, though not without considerable loss.

I am, &c. (Signed)
THOMAS GRAHAM.

Admiralty-office, April 26.

Copy of a letter from Capt. Rainer, of his Majesty's ship Niger, transmitted by Vice-Admiral Dixon to John Wilson Croker, Esq.

His Majesty's ship Niger, at sea, Jan. 6, 1814.

Sir,—I acquaint you for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that having made the island of St Antonio yesterday morning, for the purpose of correcting my longitude previous to allowing the shipsparting company who were bound to Maranham, a strange sail was discovered a-head. I immediately gave chase; his majesty's ship Tagus in company.—She was soon made out to be a frigate, and we had the pleasure to find that we were gaining upon her; at daylight this morning we were not more than a mile and a half distant; at half past seven they took in studding sails, and hauled the wind on the starboard tack, finding that we had the advantage before it. The Tagus being to windward, Captain Pipon was enabled to open his first fire, which was briskly returned by the enemy, who had hoisted French colours on the Tagus shewing her's. After exchanging a few broadsides, the French frigate's main topmast was shot away, which rendered her escape impossible; and as his majesty's ship under my command was coming up, any further defence would only have occasioned a useless sacrifice of lives; they fired a broadside, and struck their colours. On taking possession she proved La Ceres, French frigate of 44 guns, and 324 men, commanded by Le Baron de Bouganville, out one month from Brest on her first cruize: she is only two years old, copper fastened, and sails well. I should not do justice to the Baron if I omitted stating, that during the long and anxious chase (in which we ran 238 miles), his ship was manœuvred in a masterly style. I have sent Mr Manton, first of this ship, in charge of the prize, who is a deserving officer.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed)
P. RAINIER, Captain.

To Vice-Adm. Dixon, commander in Chief, &c. Rio Janeiro.

Admiralty-office, April 2.

Extract of a letter from Captain Hayes, of his Majesty's ship Majestic, ad-

dressed to Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren, and a duplicate transmitted to John Wilson Croker, Esq.

Majestic, at sea, Feb. 5.

I have the honour to acquaint you, that, in my way from St Michael to Madeira, in the execution of your orders, at day-light in the morning of the 3d instant, in latitude 37, and longitude 20, being then in chase of a ship in N. E. supposed to be one of the enemy's cruizers, three ships and a brig were discovered about three leagues off, in the S. S. E. of very suspicious appearance, and not answering the private signal, I gave over the pursuit of the ship to the northward and eastward, hoisted my colours, and proceeded to reconnoitre the southern squadron, when two of the ships immediately gave chase to me; on closing within 4 miles, I discovered them to be two 44-gun frigates, a ship mounting 20 guns, and a brig which I could not perceive to be armed. I determined on forcing them to shew their colours (which they appeared to wish to avoid), and for that purpose stood directly for the headmost frigate, when she shortened sail, and brought to, for the other to close. I now made all sail, in the hope of being able to get alongside of her before it could be effected; but in this I was foiled, by her wearing, making sail, and joining the other, and taking a station a-head and a-stern with the 20-gun ship and a brig on the weather bow; they stood to the S. S. E. with laboard studding sails, and all the sail that could be carried; the sternmost hoisting French colours, at a quarter of an hour past two o'clock; she opened a fire from the aftermost guns upon us at 3 o'clock, being in a good position (going ten knots an hour). I commenced firing with considerable effect, the shot going either through, or just over the starboard quarter to the forecastle, over the larboard bow; when at forty-nine minutes past four she struck her colours to his majesty's ship Majestic, under my command. The wind increasing, the prize in a state of great confusion, and night fast approaching, obliged me to stay by her, and to suffer the other frigate, with the ship and brig, to escape; the sea got up very fast, so that only one hundred of the prisoners could be exchanged, and even in effecting that, one boat was lost and two prisoners drowned: this, I hope, sir, will plead my apology for not bringing you the whole of them. The captured ship is the Terpsichore, of 44 guns, eighteen and twenty four pounders, and 320 men, Breton Francois de Sire, Capitaine de Frigate; the other was the Atalantie, sister ship, exactly of the same force; they sailed from the Scheldt on the 20th of October, and went to L'Orient, from whence they sailed again on the 8th of January, in company with La Yade, a similar ship, which parted from them in latitude 45, and longitude 16.40. The enemy had only three men killed, six wounded, and two drowned: the Majestic none.

The officers and men I have the honour to command conducted themselves on this occasion as I expected they would do.

Downing-street, March 11.

A dispatch, of which the following is an extract, has been this day received at Earl Bathurst's office, addressed to his Lordship by Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, dated

St Jean de Luz, Feb. 20.

In conformity with the intention which I communicated to your Lordship in my last dispatch, I moved the right of the army, under Lieutenant-General Sir R. Hill, on the 14th; he drove in the enemy's picquets on the Joyeuse river, and attacked their position at Hellette, from which he obli-

ged General Harispe to retire, with loss, towards St Martin. I made the detachment of General Mina's troops, in the valley of Bastan, advance on the same day upon Baygorey and Biddarray; and the direct communication of the enemy with St Jean Pied de Port being cut off by Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill, that fort has been blockaded by the Spanish troops above-mentioned.

On the following morning, the 15th, the troops under Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill continued the pursuit of the enemy, who had retired to a strong position in front of Garris, where General Harispe was joined by General Paris's division, which had been recalled from the march it had commenced for the interior of France, and by other troops from the enemy's centre.

General Murillo's Spanish division, after driving in the enemy's advanced posts, was ordered to move towards St Palais, by a ridge parallel to that on which was the enemy's position, in order to turn their left, and cut off their retreat by that road; while the 2d division, under Lieutenant-General Sir W. Stewart, should attack in front.—Those troops made a most gallant attack upon the enemy's position, which was remarkably strong, but which was carried without very considerable loss. Much of the day had elapsed before the attack could be commenced, and the action lasted till after dark, the enemy having made repeated attempts to regain the position, particularly in two attacks, which were most gallantly received and repulsed by the 39th regiment, under the command of the Honourable Colonel O'Callaghan, in Major-General Pringle's brigade. The Major-General and Lieutenant-Colonel Bruce, of the 39th, were unfortunately wounded; we took ten officers, and about 200 prisoners.

The right of the centre of the army made a corresponding movement with the right on these days, and our posts were on the Bidouze river on the evening of the 15th. The enemy retired across the river at St Palais in the night, destroying the bridges, which, however, were repaired, so that the troops under Lieutenant-General Sir R. Hill crossed on the 16th; the enemy were driven across the Cave de Mouleon. They attempted to destroy the bridge at Arriverete, but they had not time to complete its destruction; and a ford having been discovered above the bridge, the 92d regiment, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Cameron, supported by the fire of Captain Beane's troop of horse artillery, crossed the ford, and made a most gallant attack upon two battalions of French infantry posted in the village, from which the latter were driven with considerable loss. The enemy retired in the night across the Gave d'Oleron, and took up a strong position in the neighbourhood of Sauveterre, in which they were joined by other troops.

On the 18th, our posts were established on the Gave d'Oleron. In all the actions which I have above detailed to your Lordship, the troops have conducted themselves remarkably well; and I had great satisfaction in observing the good conduct of those under General Murillo, in the attack of Hellete on the 14th, and in driving in the enemy's advanced posts in front of their position, at Garris, on the 15th. Since the 14th, the enemy have considerably weakened their force in Bayonne; and they have withdrawn from the right of the Adour, above the town.

Admiralty-Office, March 5, 1814.

Copy of a letter from Admiral Lord Keith, K. B. to John Wilson Croker, Esq. dated on board his Ma-

jesty's ship York, in Cawsand Bay, the 2d inst.

Sir,—I have the honour to enclose, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, a copy of a letter from Captain Phillimore, reporting the capture of La Clorinde French frigate, after a most severe conflict, on the evening of the 25th ultimo, between her and the Eurotas; an action which reflects the highest honour upon the bravery and professional skill of Capt. Phillimore and his officers, and upon the valour and good conduct of his crew. Captain Phillimore has been severely wounded on the occasion, but I entertain a flattering hope that his majesty's service, and the country at large, will not long be deprived of the services of so valuable an officer.

I have the honour to be, &c.

KEITH, Admiral.

His Majesty's ship Eurotas, Plymouth-sound, March 1.

My Lord,—I have the honour to inform your lordship, that his majesty's ship under my command parted company from the Rippon on Monday night, the 21st ult. in chase of a vessel which proved to be a Swedish merchant ship; and on Friday, the 25th, in endeavouring to rejoin the Rippon, being then in lat. 47. 40. north, and long. 9. 30. west, we perceived a sail upon the lee-beam, to which we gave chase. We soon discovered her to be an enemy's frigate, and that she was endeavouring to outmanœuvre us in bringing her to action; but having much the advantage in sailing, (although the wind had unfortunately died away,) we were enabled at about five o'clock to pass under her stern, hail her, and commence close action. When receiving her broadside, and passing to her bow, our mizen-mast was shot away. I then ordered the helm to be put down to lay her aboard, but the wreck of our mizen lying on our quarter, prevented this desirable object from being accomplished.

The enemy just passed clear of us, and both officers and men of the Eurotas renewed the action with the most determined bravery and resolution, while the enemy returned our fire in a warm and gallant manner. We succeeded in raking her again, and then lay broadside to broadside; at 6. 20. our main-mast fell by the board, the enemy's mizen-mast falling at the same time; at 6. 50. our fore-mast fell, and the enemy's main-mast almost immediately afterwards. At ten minutes after 7 she slackened her fire, but having her fore-mast standing, she succeeded with her fore-sail in getting out of range. During the whole of the action we kept up a heavy and well-directed fire; nor do I know which most to admire, the seamen at the great guns, or the marines with their small arms, they vying with each other who should most annoy the enemy.

I was at this time so much exhausted by the loss of blood, from wounds I had received in the early part of the action from a grape-shot, that I found it impossible for me to remain any longer upon deck. I was therefore under the painful necessity of desiring Lieut. Smith (First Lieut.) to take command of the quarter-deck, and to clear the wreck of the fore-mast and main-mast, which then lay nearly fore and aft the deck, and to make sail after the enemy; but at the same time, I had the satisfaction of reflecting that I had left the command in the hands of a most active and zealous officer.

We kept sight of the enemy during the night by means of boat-sails, and a jigger on the ensign-staff; and before 12 o'clock the next day Lieut. Smith reported to me, that, by the great exertions of every officer and man, jury-courses, top-sails, stay-sails, and spanker, were set in chase of the

enemy, who had not even cleared away his wreck, and that we were coming up with her very fast, going at the rate of six knots and a half; that the decks were perfectly clear, and that the officers and men were as eager to renew the action as they were to commence it; but to the great mortification of every one on board, we perceived two sail on the lee-bow, which proved to be the Dryad and Achates, and they having crossed the enemy (we only four or five miles distant) before we could get up to her, deprived us of the gratification of having her colours hauled down to us.

The enemy's frigate proved to be the Clorinde, Captain Dennis Legard, mounting 44 guns, with four brass swivels in each top, and a complement of 360 picked men.

It is with sincere regret I have to state that our loss is considerable, having twenty killed and forty wounded; and I most sincerely lament the loss of three fine young midshipmen; two of whom had served the whole of their time with me, and who all promised to be ornaments to the service. Among the wounded is Lieutenant Foord, of the Royal Marines, who received a grape-shot in his thigh, while gallantly heading his party.

I learn from Monsieur Gerrard, one of the French officers, that they calculate their loss on board the Clorinde at 120 men. It is therefore unnecessary for me to particularize the exertions of every individual on board this ship, or the promptness with which every order was put into execution by so young a ship's company; but I must beg leave to mention the able assistance which I received from Lieutenants Smith, Graves, Randolph, &c. &c.

I enclose a list of the killed and wounded, and have the honour to be, &c. J. Phillimore, Capt.

Admiral Lord Keith, K. B.

[Here follows a list of 20 killed, including Messrs Jer. Spurking, and C. Greenaway, midshipmen, and Mr J. T. Vaughan, volunteer, and 39 wounded, including Capt. Phillimore and Lieut. Foord, of the marines, severely; and J. R. Brigstocke, midshipman, slightly.]

Downing-street, March 20, 1814.

Major Freemantle has arrived at this office, bringing dispatches from the Marquis of Wellington, addressed to Earl Bathurst, of which the following are copies:—

St Sever, March 1, 1814.

My Lord,—I returned to Garris on the 21st, and ordered the 6th and light divisions to break up from the blockade of Bayonne, and General Don Manuel Freyre to close up the cantonments of his corps towards Irun, and to be prepared to move when the left of the army should cross the Adour.

I found the pontoons collected at Garris, and they were moved forward on the following days to and across the Gave de Mouleon, and the troops of the centre of the army arrived.

On the 24th, Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill passed the Gave d'Oleron at Villenave, with the light, 2d, and Portuguese divisions, under the command of Major-Gen. Charles Baron Alten, Lieutenant-General Sir William Stewart, and Marischal de Campo Don Frederick Lecor; while Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Clinton passed with the 6th division between Montfort and Lass, Lieutenant-Gen. Sir Thomas Picton made demonstrations, with the 3d division, of an intention to attack the enemy's position at the bridge of Sauveterre, which induced the enemy to blow up the bridge.

Marischal de Campo Don Pablo Murillo drove in the enemy's posts near Naverrens, and blockaded that place.

Field-Marshal Sir William Beresford likewise, who, since the movement of Sir Rowland Hill on the 14th and 15th, had remained with the 4th and 7th divisions, and Colonel Vivian's brigade, in observation on the Lower Bidouze, attacked the enemy on the 23d in their fortified posts at Hastingues and Oyergave, on the left of the Gave de Pau, and obliged them to retire within the *tete-de-pont* at Peyrehorade.

Immediately after the passage of the Gave d'Oleron was effected, Sir Rowland Hill and Sir Henry Clinton moved towards Orthes, and the great road leading from Sauveterre to that town; and the enemy retired in the night from Sauveterre across the Gave de Pau, and assembled their army near Orthes on the 25th, having destroyed all the bridges on the river.

The right, and right of the centre of the army, assembled opposite Orthes: Lieutenant-General Sir Stapleton Cotton, with Lord Edward Somerset's brigade of cavalry, and the 3d division, under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton, was near the destroyed bridge of Bereus; and Field-Marshal Sir William Beresford, with the 4th and 7th divisions, under Lieut.-General Sir Lowry Cole, and Major-General Walker, and Colonel Vivian's brigade, towards the junction of the Gave de Pau with the Gave d'Oleron.

The troops opposed to the Marshal having marched on the 25th, he crossed the Gave de Pau below the junction of the Gave d'Oleron, on the morning of the 26th, and moved along the high road from Peyrehorade towards Orthes, on the enemy's right. As he approached, Lieutenant-Gen. Sir Stapleton Cotton crossed with the cavalry, and Lieut.-Gen. Sir Thomas Picton with the 3d division, below the bridge of Bereus; and I moved the 6th and light divisions to the same point, and Lieut.-Gen. Sir Rowland Hill occupied the height opposite Orthes, and the high road leading to Sauveterre.

The 6th and light divisions crossed on the morning of the 27th at daylight, and we found the enemy in a strong position near Orthes, with his right on the heights on the high road to Dax, and occupying the village of St Boes, and his left the heights above Orthes and that town, and opposing the passage of the river by Sir R. Hill.

The course of the heights on which the enemy had placed his army necessarily retired his centre, while the strength of the position gave extraordinary advantages to the flanks.

I ordered Marshal Sir W. Beresford to turn, and attack the enemy's right with the 4th division under Lieutenant-General Sir Lowry Cole, and the 7th division under Major-General Walker and Colonel Vivian's brigade of cavalry; while Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton should move along the great road leading from Peyrehorade to Orthes, and attack the heights on which the enemy's centre and left stood, with the 3d and 6th divisions, supported by Sir Stapleton Cotton with Lord Edward Somerset's brigade of cavalry. Major-Gen. Charles Baron Alten, with the light division, kept up the communication, and was in reserve between these two attacks. I likewise desired Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill to cross the Gave and to turn, and to attack the enemy's left.

Marshal Sir W. Beresford carried the village of St Boes with the fourth division under the command of Lieut.-General Sir Lowry Cole, after an obstinate resistance by the enemy; but the ground was so narrow that the troops could not deploy to attack the heights, notwithstanding the repeated attempts of Major-General Ross and Brigade-General Vasconcello's Portuguese brigade; and it was impossible to turn the enemy by their right, without an excessive extension of our line.

I therefore so far altered the plan of the action as to order the immediate advance of the 3d and 6th divisions, and I moved forward Colonel Barnard's brigade of the light division, to attack the left of the height on which the enemy's right stood.

This attack, led by the 52d regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Colborne, and supported on their right by Major-General Brisbanes and Colonel Kean's brigades of the 3d division, and by simultaneous attacks on the left by Major-General Anson's brigade of the 4th division, and on the right by Lieut.-General Sir T. Picton, with remainder of the 3d division; and the 6th division under Lieut.-General Sir H. Clinton, dislodged the enemy from the heights, and gave us the victory.

In the mean time Lieut.-General Sir Rowland Hill had forced the passage of the Gave above Orthes, and seeing the state of the action, he moved immediately with the second division of infantry under Lieut.- General Sir W. Stewart, and Major-Gen. Fane's brigade of cavalry, direct for the great road from Orthes to St Sever, thus keeping upon the enemy's left.

The enemy retired at first in admirable order, taking every advantage of the numerous good positions which the country afforded. The losses, however, which they sustained in the continued attacks of our troops, and the danger with which they were threatened by Lieut.-Gen. Sir Rowland Hill's movements, soon accelerated their movements, and the retreat at length became a flight, and their troops were in the utmost confusion.

Lieut.-General Sir Stapleton Cotton took advantage of the only opportunity which offered to charge with Major-Gen. Lord Edward Somerset's brigade in the neighbourhood of Sault de Navailles, where the enemy had been driven from the high road by Lieut.-General Sir Rowland Hill. The 7th hussars distinguished themselves upon this occasion, and made many prisoners.

We continued the pursuit till it was dusk, and I halted the army in the neighbourhood of Sault de Navailles.

I cannot estimate the extent of the enemy's loss: we have taken six pieces of cannon, and a great many prisoners; the numbers I cannot at present report. The whole country is covered with their dead. Their army was in the utmost confusion when I saw it passing the heights near Sault de Navailles, and many soldiers had thrown away their arms. The desertion has since been immense.

We followed the enemy the day after to this place; and we this day passed the Adour; Marshal Sir W. Beresford, with the light division, and Colonel Vivian's brigade, upon Mont de Marsan, where he has taken a very large magazine of provisions.

Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill has moved upon Aire, and the advanced posts of the centre are at Casares.

The enemy are apparently retiring upon Agen, and have left open the direct road towards Bordeaux.

Whilst the operations of which I have above given the report were carrying on on the right of the army, Lieut.-General Sir John Hope, in concert with Rear-Admiral Penrose, availed himself of an opportunity which offered on the 23d of February to cross the Adour below Bayonne, and to take possession of both banks of the river at its mouth. The vessels destined to form the bridge could not get in till the 24th, when the difficult, and at this season of the year dangerous operation of bringing them in was effected with a degree of gallantry and skill seldom equalled. Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope particularly mentions Captain O'Reilly and Lieut. Cheshire, Lieutenant Douglas, and Lieutenant Collins, of the royal navy, and also

Lieutenant Debenham, agent of transports; and I am infinitely indebted to Rear-Admiral Penrose, for the cordial assistance I received from him in preparing for this plan, and for that which he gave Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope in carrying it into execution.

The enemy, conceiving that the means of crossing the river, which Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope had at his command, viz. rafts made of pontoons, had not enabled him to cross a large force in the course of the 23d, attacked the corps which he had sent over on that evening. This corps consisted of 600 men of the 2d brigade of guards, under the command of Major-General the Hon. Edward Stopford, who repulsed the enemy immediately. The rocket brigade was of great use upon this occasion.

Three of the enemy's gun-boats were destroyed this day, and a frigate lying in the Adour received considerable damage from the fire of a battery of eighteen pounders, and was obliged to go higher up the river to the neighbourhood of the bridge.

Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope invested the citadel of Bayonne on the 25th, and Lieutenant-General Don Manuel Freyre moved forward with the 4th Spanish army, in consequence of directions which I had left for him. On the 27th the bridge having been completed, Lieut.-Gen. Sir John Hope deemed it expedient to invest the citadel of Bayonne more closely than he had done before; and he attacked the village of St Etienne, which he carried, having taken a gun and some prisoners from the enemy; and his posts are now within 900 yards of the outworks of the place.

The result of the operations which I have detailed to your lordship is, that Bayonne, St Jean Pied de Port, and Navarrens are invested; and the army having passed the Adour, are in possession of all the great communications across the river, after having beaten the enemy and taken their magazines.

Your lordship will have observed with satisfaction the able assistance which I have received in these operations from Marshal Sir W. Beresford, Lieut.-Gen. Sir Rowland Hill, Sir John Hope and Sir Stapleton Cotton, and from all the general officers, officers and troops acting under their orders respectively.

It is impossible for me sufficiently to express my sense of their merits, or of the degree in which the country is indebted to their zeal and ability for the situation in which the army now finds itself.

All the troops, Portuguese as well as British, distinguished themselves: the 4th division, under Lieut.-General Sir Lowry Cole, in the attack of St Boes, and the subsequent endeavours to carry the right of the heights. The 3d, 6th, and light divisions, under the command of Lieut.-Gen. Sir Thomas Picton, Sir H. Clinton, Major-General Charles Baron Alten, in the attack of the enemy's position on the heights; and these and the 7th division under Major-General Walker, in the various operations and attacks during the enemy's retreat.

The charge made by the 7th hussars under Lord Edward Somerset was highly meritorious.

The conduct of the artillery throughout the day deserved my entire approbation. I am likewise much indebted to the Quarter-Master-General Sir George Murray, and the Adjutant-General Sir Edward Pakenham, for the assistance I have received from them, and to Lord Fitzroy Somerset and the officers of my personal staff, and to the Marischal de Campo Don Miguel Alava.

The last accounts which I have received from Catalonia are of the 20th. The French commanders of the garrisons of Lerida, Mequinenza, and Mauzon, had been induced to evacuate

these places, by orders sent them by the Baron D'Eroles, in Marshal Suchet's cypher, of which he had got possession.

The troops composing these garrisons having joined, were afterwards surrounded in the pass of Martorell, on their march towards the French frontier, by a detachment from the Anglo-Sicilian corps, and one from the first Spanish army. Lieut.-General Copons allowed them to capitulate, but I have not yet received from him any report on this subject, nor do I yet know what is the result.

It was expected in Catalonia that Marshal Suchet would immediately evacuate that province; and I hear that he is to join Marshal Soult.

I have not yet received the detailed reports of the capitulation of Juca.

I enclose returns of the killed and wounded during the late operations.

I send this dispatch by my Aide-de-Camp, Major Freemantle, whom I beg leave to recommend to your lordship's protection. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

WELLINGTON.

Total Loss from the 14th to the 17th February, 1814, inclusive.

British—1 lieutenant, 2 serjeants, 22 rank and file, killed; 1 general staff, 1 major, 7 captains, 8 lieutenants, 1 staff, 8 serjeants, 3 drummers, 120 rank and file, wounded; 4 rank and file missing.

Portuguese—1 drummer, 5 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 lieutenant, 2 ensigns, 4 serjeants, 1 drummer, 25 rank and file, wounded; 3 rank and file, missing.

General Total—1 lieutenant, 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 27 rank and file, killed; 1 general staff, 1 lieut.-colonel, 1 major, 7 captains, 9 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 1 staff, 12 serjeants, 4 drummers, 151 rank and file, wounded; 12 rank and file, missing.

Total British and Portuguese Loss, from the 23d to the 26th of February, 1814, inclusive.

2 Captains, 1 ensign, 2 serjeants, 16 rank and file, 1 horse, killed; 1 major, 1 captain, 6 lieutenants, 4 ensigns, 1 staff, 9 serjeants, 3 drummers, 110 rank and file, 4 horses, wounded; 1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 27 rank and file, missing.

Total Loss on the 27th of February.

British—1 major, 6 captains, 7 lieutenants, 1 staff, 21 serjeants, 2 drummers, 169 rank and file, killed; 2 general staff, 2 lieut.-colonels, 7 majors, 30 captains, 49 lieutenants, 14 ensigns, 1 staff, 1 quarter-master, 67 serjeants, 11 drummers, 1203 rank and file, 33 horses, wounded; 1 captain, 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 27 rank and file, 1 horse, missing.

Portuguese—1 lieut.-col., 2 majors, 4 serjeants, 59 rank and file, killed; 2 lieutenant-colonels, 2 majors, 5 captains, 6 lieutenants, 11 ensigns, 20 serjeants, 6 drummers, 452 rank and file, wounded; 3 serjeants, 36 rank and file, missing.

St Sever, March 4, 1814.

My Lord,—The rain which fell in the afternoon of the 1st swelled the Adour, and all the rivulets falling into that river, so considerably as materially to impede our further progress, and to induce me on the next day to halt the army till I could repair the bridges, all of which the enemy had destroyed. The rain continued till last night, and the river is so rapid that the pontoons cannot be laid upon it.

The enemy had collected a corps at Aire, probably to protect the evacuation of a magazine which they had at that place. Sir Rowland Hill attacked this corps on the 2d, and drove them from their post with considerable loss, and took possession of the town and magazine.

I am sorry to have to report, that we lost the Hon. Lieut.-Colonel Hood

on this occasion, an officer of great merit and promise. In other respects our loss was not severe.

I enclose Sir Rowland Hill's report, which affords another instance of the conduct and gallantry of the troops under his command.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WELLINGTON.

The Earl Bathurst.

Aire, March 3, 1814.

My Lord,—In pursuance of your lordship's instructions, I yesterday advanced with the troops under my command upon the road leading to this place on the left bank of the Adour.

Upon the arrival of the advanced guard within two miles of this town, the enemy was discovered occupying a strong ridge of hills, having his right flank upon the Adour, and thus covering the road to this place.

Notwithstanding the strength of his position, I ordered the attack, which was executed by the 2d division under Lieutenant-General the Hon. Sir W. Stewart (which advanced on the road leading to this place, and thus gained possession of the enemy's extreme right,) and by one brigade of the Portuguese division under Brigadier-Gen. La Costa, which ascended the heights occupied by the enemy at about the centre of his position.

The Portuguese brigade succeeded in gaining possession of the ridge, but were thrown into such confusion by the resistance made by the enemy, as would have been of the most serious consequence, had it not been for the timely support given by the 2d division under Lieutenant-Gen. Sir W. Stewart, who having previously beaten back the enemy directly opposed to him, and seeing them returning to charge the Portuguese brigade, ordered forward the first brigade of the 2d division, which, led by Major-General Barnes, charged the enemy in the most gallant style, and beat them back, throwing their column into the greatest confusion.

The enemy made various attempts to regain the ground, but Lieut.-Gen. the Hon. Sir W. Stewart, having now been joined by Major-General Byng's brigade, was enabled to drive them from all their positions, and finally from this town.

By all accounts of prisoners, and from my own observations, at least two divisions of the enemy were engaged. Their loss in killed and wounded has been very great, and we have above one hundred prisoners. The enemy's line of retreat seems to have been by the right bank of the Adour, with the exception of some part of their force, which being cut off from the river by our rapid advance to this town, retired in the greatest confusion in the direction of Pau. These troops have left their arms in every direction.

I cannot omit this opportunity of expressing to your lordship the gallant and unremitting exertions of Lieut.-General the Hon. Sir W. Stewart, and the general and other officers of the 2d division; of Major-General Fane's brigade of cavalry, and Captain Bean's troop of horse artillery, throughout the whole of the late operations; and I must, in justice, mention the gallant charge made yesterday by Maj.-Gen. Barnes, at the head of the 50th regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Col. Harrison, and the 92d, commanded by Lieutenant-Col. Cameron, in which he was ably seconded by his Staff, Brigade-Major Wemyss and Captain Hamilton.

Major-General Byng's brigade supported the movement of Major-Gen. Barnes, and decided the advantage of the day.

Captain Macdonald, of the horse-artillery, distinguished himself much in attempting to rally the Portuguese troops.

I trust our loss, considering the advantageous position occupied by the enemy, has not been severe; but I have to regret the loss of a valuable officer in the death of Lieutenant-Col. Hood, Assist.-Adjut.-General to the 2d division, who was unfortunately killed during the contest of yesterday.

I have, &c.

(Signed) R. HILL, Lieut.-Gen.

Total British Loss from the 28th of February to the 2d of March, 1814, *inclusive.*

1 Lieutenant-colonel, 2 lieutenants, 1 serjeant, 16 rank and file, 5 horses, killed; 1 general staff, 1 major, 4 captains, 7 lieutenants, 9 serjeants, 2 drummers, 112 rank and file, 11 horses, wounded; 2 rank and file missing.

Downing-street, March 11.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, were received last night from General Sir Thomas Graham, K. B.

Head-quarters, Calmhout, March 10, 1814.

My Lord,—It becomes my painful task to report to your lordship, that an attack on Bergen-op-Zoom, which seemed at first to promise complete success, ended in failure, and occasioned a severe loss to the 1st division, and to Brigadier-Gen. Gore's brigade.

It is unnecessary for me to state the reasons which determined me to make the attempt to carry such a place by storm, since the success of two of the columns, in establishing themselves on the ramparts, with very trifling loss, must justify the having incurred the risk for the attainment of so important an object as the capture of such a fortress.

The troops employed were formed in four columns. No. 1, the left column, attacked between the Antwerp and Water Port Gates. No. 2, attacked to the right of the New Gate. No. 3 was destined only to draw attention by a false attack near the Stenbergen Gate, and to be afterwards applicable according to circumstances. No. 4, right column, attacked at the entrance of the harbour, which could be forded at low water, and the hour was fixed accordingly at half past ten p. m. of the 8th instant.

Major-General Cooke accompanied the left column. Major-Gen. Skerrett and Brigadier-Gen. Gore both accompanied the right column; this was the first which forced its way into the body of the place. These two columns were directed to move along the ramparts so as to form a junction as soon as possible, and then to proceed to clear the rampart and assist the centre column, or to force open the Antwerp Gate

An unexpected difficulty about passing the ditch on the ice having obliged Major-Gen. Cooke to change the point of attack, a considerable delay ensued, and that column did not gain the rampart till half-past eleven.

Meanwhile the lamented fall of Brigadier-Gen. Gore, and Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. George Carleton, and the dangerous wounds of Major-General Skerrett, depriving the right column of their able direction, it fell into disorder, and suffered great loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners The centre column having been forced back with considerable loss by the heavy fire of the place (Lieutenant-Col. Morrice, its commander, and Lieutenant-Colonel Elphinstone commanding the 33d regiment, being both wounded), was re-formed under Major Muttlebury, marched round and joined Major-Gen. Cooke, leaving the left wing of the 55th to remove the wounded from the glacis. However, the guards, too, had suffered very severely during the night, by the galling fire from the houses on their position, and by the loss of the detachment of the 1st guards,

which having been sent to endeavour to assist Lieutenant-Colonel Carleton, and to secure the Antwerp gate, was cut off, after the most gallant resistance, which cost the lives of many most valuable officers.

At day-break the enemy having turned the guns of the place, opened their fire against the troops on the unprotected rampart, and the reserve of the 4th column (the Royal Scotch) retired from the Water Port Gate, followed by the 33d. The former regiment getting under a cross fire from the place and Water Port redoubt, soon afterwards laid down their arms.

Major-General Cooke then despairing of success, directed the retreat of the guards, which was conducted in the most orderly manner, protected by the remains of the 69th regiment, and of the right wing of the 55th (which corps repeatedly drove the enemy back with the bayonet) under the Major-General's immediate direction. The general afterwards found it impossible to withdraw these weak battalions, and having thus, with the genuine feelings of a true soldier, devoted himself, he surrendered to save the lives of the gallant men remaining with him.

I should wish to do justice to the great exertions and conspicuous gallantry of those officers who had the opportunities of distinguishing themselves. I have not as yet been able to collect sufficient information.

Major-General Cooke reports to me his highest approbation generally of all the officers and men employed near him, particularly mentioning Colonel Lord Proby, Lieut.-Colonels Rooke commanding the Coldstream Guards, Mercer, of the 3d Guards, commanding the light companies of the brigade (the latter unfortunately among the killed,) Majors Muttlebury and Hog, of the 69th and 55th, as deserving of his warm praise. He laments, in common with the whole corps, the severe loss to the service of those distinguished officers, Lieut-Col. Clifton, commanding the 1st Guards, and Lieutenant-Col. the Hon. James Macdonald, of that regiment. These officers fell, with many others, at the Antwerp gate, all behaving with the greatest intrepidity; and Lieut.-Colonel Jones, with the remainder of the detachment, was forced to surrender.

The service of conducting the columns was ably provided for by Lieut.-Colonel Carmichael Smyth, of the Royal Engineers (he himself accompanied Major-Gen. Cooke, as did also Lieutenant-Colonel Sir George Wood, commanding royal artillery,) who attached officers to lead each column, viz. Captain Sir George Hoste, and Lieutenant Abbey, to the left: and Lieut. Sparling to the right; and Captain Edward Mitchell, royal artillery, who volunteered his services, to the centre column, each having a party of sappers and miners under his command.

Lieutenant Abbey was dangerously wounded, and Captain Mitchell was covered with wounds, in the act of escalading the scarpwall of the place, but I trust there are good hopes of his not being lost to the service.

Your lordship will readily believe, that though it is impossible not to feel the disappointment of our ultimate failure in this attack, I can only think at present with the deepest regret of the loss of so many of my gallant comrades.

I have the honour to be, &c.

THOMAS GRAHAM.

Earl Bathurst, &c. &c. &c.

P. S. Returns will be transmitted as soon as they can possibly be received; meanwhile I send the most correct nominal list that can be obtained, of the officers killed, wounded, and prisoners.

T. G.

Bergen-op-Zoom, March 10, 1814.

Sir,—I have now the honour of reporting to your excellency, that the column which made the attack on the Antwerp side got into the place about eleven o'clock on the night of the 8th, by the clock of this town; but at half-past eleven, by the time we were regulated by, a delay having occurred at Bourgbliet, occasioned by my finding it necessary to change the point of attack, on account of the state of the ice at the first intended spot. Every exertion was made by Lieut.-Colonel Smyth and Captain Sir G. Hoste, of the royal engineers, in getting on the ladders and planks requisite for effecting the enterprise, and in directing the placing them for the descent into the ditch, the passing the feet in the ice, and ascending the ramparts of the body of the place; during which operation several men were lost by a fire from the rampart. After we were established on the rampart, and had occupied some houses, from whence we might have been much annoyed, and had sent a strong patrole towards the point to which Major-Gen. Skerret and Lieutenant-Colonel Carleton had entered, I detached Lieut.-Colonel Clifton with part of the 1st guards, to secure the Antwerp gate, and to see if he could get any information of the column under Lieutenant-Colonel Morrice. Lieutenant-Colonel Clifton reached the gate, but found that it could not be opened by his men, the enemy throwing a very heavy fire upon a street leading to it. It was also found that they occupied an outwork, commanding the bridge, which would effectually render that outlet useless to us. I heard nothing more of this detachment, but considered it as lost, the communication having been interrupted by the enemy.

Lieut.-Colonel Rooke, with a part of the 3d guards, was afterwards sent in that direction, drove the enemy from the intermediate rampart, and reached the gate, when he found it useless to attempt any thing, and ascertained that the outwork was still occupied. We were joined in the course of the night by the 33d, 55th, and 2d battalion of 69th regiment, but the state of uncertainty as to what had passed at other points, determined me not to weaken the force now collected, by attempting to carry points which we could not maintain, or penetrate through the streets with the certain loss of a great number of men, particularly as I heard that the troops at the Water Port gate, under Lieut.-Col. Miller, were very seriously opposed. I sent the 33d to reinforce him.

The enemy continued a galling fire upon us, and at one time held the adjoining bastion, from the angle of which they completely commanded our communication with the exterior, and brought their guns at that angle to bear against us. They were charged and driven away by Majors Muttlebury and Hog, with the 69th and 55th, in a very spirited and gallant style.

Finding that matters were becoming more serious, and being still without any information from other points, excepting that of the failure of Lieut.-Col. Morrice's column near the Nourd Gate, I determined, at the suggestion of Colonel Lord Proby, to let part of the troops withdraw, which was done at the ladders where they entered.

About day-light the enemy having again possessed themselves of the before-mentioned bastion, they were again driven from it by Majors Muttlebury and Hog, with their weak battalions, in the same gallant manner. I soon afterwards began sending off some more men, when Lieutenant-Col. Jones, who had been taken prisoner in the night, came to me, (accompanied by a French officer, who summon-

ed me to surrender) and informed me that Lieutenant-Colonel Muller, and the troops at the Water Port Gate, had been obliged to surrender, and were marched prisoners into the town, when I also learnt the fate of Lieut.-Colonel Clifton's detachment, and of Major-General Skerrett, Major-Gen. Gore, and Lieutenant-Colonel Carleton, and that the troops which had followed them had suffered very much, and had been repulsed from the advanced points along the rampart where they had penetrated to, I was convinced that a longer continuance of contest would be an useless loss of lives, and without a prospect of relief as we were situated. I therefore consented to adopt the mortifying alternative of laying down your arms.

I have now to perform the just and satisfactory duty of conveying to your excellency my sense of the merits and good conduct of the officers and soldiers in this bold and arduous enterprise: I have only a knowledge of what passed under my own observation, and I lament that the loss of Major-General Skerrett, from his dangerous wounds, and of the other superior officers employed at the other points of attack, prevents me from giving such detailed praise of the merits of the officers and soldiers, as I have no doubt they deserve.

I beg to repeat my sense of the distinguished conduct of Colonel Lord Proby; Lieut.-Colonels Rooke and Mercer, commanding the 3d guards, and light infantry, distinguished themselves by their activity and bravery; and Majors Muttlebury and Hog, of the 69th and 55th regiments, deserve my warm praise for the conduct displayed by those corps in the charges I have before-mentioned. I have every reason to know that Lieut.-Colonel Clifton conducted his detachment in the most gallant and officer-like manner, and I have to lament that his death deprives me of receiving his report of the conduct of Lieut.-Colonels M'Donald and Jones, and the officers and soldiers of the 1st guards, under his command.

I am not yet enabled to transmit an exact return of the prisoners taken at different times by the enemy, nor of the numbers taken from them.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

J. G. Cooke, Major-Gen.

General Sir Thomas Graham.

Head-quarters, Calmhout, March 11, 1814.

My Lord,—I have the honour to inform your Lordship, that General Bizanet, the Governor of Bergen-op-Zoom, allowed Lieut.-Colonel Jones to come here with letters from Gen. Cooke, in consequence of which I sent in my Aide-de-Camp, Major Stanhope, yesterday morning, with full powers to conclude an agreement relative to an exchange of prisoners; a copy of which I have the honour to enclose, agreeably to which, all but the wounded were marched out from Bergen-op-Zoom yesterday, for the purpose of being embarked for England, as soon as the navigation of the river shall be open, and I trust that my conduct in pledging my honour to the strict observance of this agreement will be approved of, and that an immediate release of French prisoners of corresponding ranks will take place with the least possible delay.

I must not omit this opportunity to express my entire satisfaction with the indefatigable zeal of Lieut.-Colonel Jones, relative to the comfort of the prisoners, and my obligation to that officer, and to Major Stanhope, on this occasion. I am anxious, too, to do justice to the conduct of General Bizanet, which, truly characteristic of a brave man, has been marked from

the first with the most kind and humane attention to the prisoners.

He has sent me the name of an officer, prisoner in England, formerly his Aide-de-Camp, and I would gladly hope that, in compliment to the General, this officer would be immediately released without exchange.

Major Stanhope, who can better than any body inform your Lordship of all particulars you may wish to be informed of, is sent purposely as the bearer of my dispatches, which makes it unnecessary for me to add more.

I have the honour to be, &c.

THOMAS GRAHAM.

Earl Bathurst, &c. &c. &c.

Downing-street, March 22.

Dispatches, of which the following are extracts, have been this day received, addressed to Earl Bathurst, by the Marquis of Wellington, dated Aire, 13th and 14th March, 1814:—

Aire, March 13th, 1814.

The excessive bad weather and violent fall of rain, in the beginning of the month, having swelled, to an extraordinary degree, all the rivers, and rendered it difficult and tedious to repair the numerous bridges which the enemy had destroyed in their retreat, and the different parts of the army being without communication with each other, I was obliged to halt.

The enemy retired after the affair with Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill on the 2d, by both banks of the Adour towards Tarbes, probably with a view to be joined by the detachment from Marshal Suchet's army, which left Catalonia in the last week in February.

In the mean time I sent, on the 7th, a detachment, under Major-General Fane, to take possession of Pau; and another on the 8th, under Marshal Sir William Beresford, to take possession of Bordeaux.

I have the pleasure to inform your Lordship, that the Marshal arrived there yesterday (the small force which was there having in the preceding evening retired across the Garonne), and that this important city is in our possession.

Lieutenant-General Don Manuel Frere joined the army this day, with that part of the 4th army under his immediate command; and I expect that Major-General Ponsonby's brigade of cavalry will join to-morrow.

I learnt from Major-General Fane, who commands Lieutenant-Gen. Sir Rowland Hill's outposts, that the enemy have this day collected a considerable force in the neighbourhood of Couchez, and I therefore conclude that they have been joined by the detachment of the army of Catalonia, which, it is reported, amounts to 10,000 men.

Nothing important has occurred at the blockade of Bayonne, or in Catalonia, since I addressed your Lordship last.

Aire, March 14, 1814.

I enclose Marshal Sir William Beresford's private letter to me, written after his arrival at Bordeaux, from which you will see that the Mayor and people of the town have adopted the White Cockade, and declared for the House of Bourbon.

Marshal Sir W. Beresford's private letter, to which Lord Wellington's dispatch refers, is dated at Bordeaux, 12th March, 1814.

It states in substance, that he entered the city on that day. That he was met a short distance from the town, by the civil authorities and population of the place, and was received in the city with every demonstration of joy.

The magistrates and the city guards took off the eagles and other badges, and spontaneously substituted the

white cockade, which had been adopted universally by the people of Bordeaux.

Eighty-four pieces of cannon were found in the city; and an hundred boxes of secreted arms had been produced already.

Admiralty-office, April 2.

Copy of a letter from Captain Palmer, of the Hebrus, detailing the capture of the French frigate L'Etoile, to Rear-Admiral Sir R. Bickerton.

His Majesty's ship Hebrus, March 29, 1814.

Sir,—When the Hannibal and his majesty's ship under my command separated on the morning of the 26th, in chase of the two French frigates we had fallen in with, we continued in pursuit of the one you were pleased to detach us after, the whole day, with all our canvas spread. About midnight he reached the race of Alderney, and the wind scanting, we began to gain upon him fast; by the time he had run the length of Point Jobourg, leading into the bay of La Hogue, he was obliged to attempt rounding it almost within the wash of the breakers; and here, after an anxious chase of 15 hours, and running him upwards of 120 miles, we were fortunate enough, between one and two in the morning, to bring him to battle: we crossed his stern, our jib-boom passing over his tafrail, and shot in betwixt him and the shore, in eight fathoms water, and it falling nearly calm about this time, the ships continued nearly in the same spot until the conclusion of the action. At its commencement we suffered considerably in our rigging; the enemy firing high, he shot away our fore-topmast and fore-yard, crippled our mainmast and bowsprit, and cut away every shroud, stay, and brace we had. Our fire from the first, and throughout, was directed at our opponent's hull, and the ships being as close together as they could be without touching, he suffered severely, every shot which struck passing through him. About four o'clock his mizen-mast fell by the board, and his fire ceased, when, after an obstinate contest of two hours and a quarter, he hailed us, to say that he had struck his colours. The moment we could get possession, it became necessary to put the heads of both ships off shore, as well from the apprehension of grounding, as to get them clear from a battery which had been firing at both of us during the whole action, those on shore not being able, from the darkness, to distinguish one from the other; fortunately the tide set us round the point, and we anchored soon afterwards in Vauville Bay, in order to secure our masts as well as we were able.

The prize proves to be L'Etoile French frigate, mounting 44 guns, 28 18-pounders on the main deck, and the remainder carronades, with a complement of 320 men; she was commanded by Monsieur Henry Pierre Philibert, Capitaine de frigate, who was returning, together with La Sultane (the other frigate,) from a four months' cruise to the westward. L'Etoile is a very fine frigate, quite new, and sails well; she lost in the action 40 killed, and upwards of 70 wounded; her masts which remained are shot through, and her hull extremely shattered, having four feet water in her hold at the time she surrendered. We are also a good deal cut up, several of our guns dismounted, and I have to regret the loss of some brave men, 13 killed and 25 wounded, some of them, I fear, dangerously. Amongst the former was a most promising young gentleman, Mr P. A. Crawley, midshipman, who fell unhappily early in the action.

I cannot, sir, sufficiently express

to you how much I have to admire in the conduct of every one whom I had the pleasure to command upon this occasion. I beg most earnestly to recommend Mr R. M. Jackson, the senior Lieutenant; as also to give my best testimony to the exertions of the junior Lieuts. Messrs Addis and Cocks, together with Lieuts. Griffith and MacLaughlin, of the marines. To Mr M'Gown, the master, I am much indebted for the skill and care with which he conducted the steerage of the ship during a period of much difficulty and peril. Mr Maddox, the purser, very handsomely volunteered his attendance on deck, where he rendered good services.

I cannot close this letter without observing, that I derived the greatest assistance from the professional ability of Captain William Sargent of the navy, who was serving on board with me as a volunteer.

Herewith, sir, you have lists of the killed and wounded; and I notice with great pleasure the care and attention of Mr Boyter, surgeon, not only towards our own men, but to those of the enemy also.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) EDM. PALMER,
Captain of his Majesty's ship Hebrus.

Admiralty-office, July 23.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Hillyar, of his majesty's ship Phœbe, to John Wilson Croker, Esq. dated in

Valparaiso Bay, March 30.

Sir,—I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that a little past three o'clock in the afternoon of the 28th instant, after nearly five months anxious search, and six weeks still more anxious look-out for the Essex and her companion, to quit the port of Valparaiso, we saw the former under weigh, and immediately, accompanied by the Cherub, made sail to close with her: on rounding the outer point of the bay, and hauling her wind for the purpose of endeavouring to weather us, and escape, she lost her main top-mast, and afterwards, not succeeding in an effort to regain the limits of the port, bore up, and anchored so near the shore (a few miles to the leeward of it), as to preclude the possibility of passing a-head of her without risk to his majesty's ships. As we drew near, my intention of going close under her stern was frustrated by the ship breakingoff, and from the wind blowing extremely fresh; our first fire, commencing a little past four, and continuing about ten minutes, produced no visible effect: our second, a few random shot only, from having increased our distance by wearing, was not apparently more successful, and having lost the use of our main-sail, jib, and main-stay, appearances were a little inauspicious. On standing again towards her, I signified my intention of anchoring, (for which we were not ready before,) with springs, to Captain Tucker, directing him to keep under weigh, and take a convenient station for annoying our opponent. On closing the Essex, at 35 minutes past five, the firing recommenced, and before I gained my intended position, her cable was cut, and a serious conflict ensued; the guns of his majesty's ship gradually becoming more destructive, and her crew, if possible, more animated, which lasted until 20 minutes past six; when it pleased the Almighty Disposer of Events to bless the efforts of my gallant companions, and my personal very humble one, with victory. My friend, Capt. Tucker, an officer worthy of their Lordships' best attentions, was severely wounded at the commencement of

the action, but remained on deck until it terminated, using every exertion against the baffling winds and occasional calms which followed the heavy firing, to close near the enemy; he informs me that his officers and crew, of whose loyalty, zeal, and discipline, I entertain the highest opinion, conducted themselves to his satisfaction.

I have to lament the death of four of my brave companions, and one of his; with real sorrow I add, that my first Lieutenant, Ingram, is among the number; he fell early, and is a great loss to his majesty's service; the many manly tears which I observed this morning, while performing the last mournful duty at his funeral on shore, more fully evinced the respect and affection of his afflicted companions, than any eulogium my pen is equal to. Our lists of wounded are small, and there is only one for whom I am under anxiety. The conduct of my officers and crew, without any individual exception that has come to my knowledge, before, during, and after the battle, was such as become good and loyal subjects, zealous for the honour of their much-loved though distant king and country.

The defence of the Essex, taking into consideration our superiority of force, the very discouraging circumstance of her having lost her maintop mast, and being twice on fire, did honour to her brave defenders, and most fully evinced the courage of Captain Porter, and those under his command. Her colours were not struck until the loss in killed and wounded was so awfully great, her shattered condition so seriously bad, as to render further resistance unavailing.

I was much hurt on hearing that her men had been encouraged, when the result of the action was evidently decided, some to take to their boats, and others to swim on shore: many were drowned in the attempt; 16 were saved by the exertions of my people, and others, I believe between 30 and 40, effected their landing. I informed Capt. Porter, that I considered the latter, in point of honour, as my prisoners; he said the encouragement was given when the ship was in danger from fire, and I have not pressed the point. The Essex is completely stored and provisioned for at least six months, and although much injured in her upper works, masts, and rigging, is not in such a state as to give the slightest cause of alarm respecting her being able to perform a voyage to Europe with perfect safety. Our main and mizen masts and mainyard are rather seriously wounded: these, with a few shot-holes between wind and water, which we can get at without lightening, and a loss of canvas and cordage, which we can partly replace from our well-stored prize, are the extent of the injuries his majesty's ship has sustained.

I feel it a pleasant duty to recommend to their Lordships' notice, my now senior Lieutenant, Pearson, and Messrs Allan, Gardner, Porter, and Daw, midshipmen; I should do very great injustice to Mr Geo. O'Brien, the mate of the Emily merchantman, who joined a boat's crew of mine in the harbour, and pushed for the ship the moment he saw her likely to come to action, were I to omit recommending him to their Lordships; his conduct, with that of Mr N. Murphy, master of the English brig Good Friends, were such as to entitle them both to my lasting regard, and prove that they were ever ready to hazard their lives in their country's honourable cause. They came on board when the attempt was attended with great risk, and both their boats were swamped. I have before informed their Lordships, that Mr O'Brien was once a Lieutenant in his majesty's service (may now add, that

youthful indiscretions appear to have given place to great correctness of conduct), and as he has proved his laudable zeal for its honour, I think, if restored, he would be found one of its greatest ornaments. I enclose returns of killed and wounded: and if conceived to have trespassed on their Lordships' time by this very long letter, I hope it will be kindly ascribed to the right cause—an earnest wish that merit may meet its due reward.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JAMES HILLYAR.

P. S. There has not been found a ship's book or paper of any description (charts excepted), on board the Essex, or any document relative to the number serving in her previous to the action. Captain Porter informs me, that he had upwards of 260 victualled; our prisoners, including 42 wounded, amount to 161: 23 were found dead on her decks, 3 wounded were taken away by Captain Downes of the Essex, jun. a few minutes before the colours were struck, and I believe 20 or 30 reached the shore; the remainder were killed or drowned.

[Here follows a list of 4 killed and 7 wounded on board the Phœbe, including First Lieutenant William Ingram among the former. On board the Cherub were 1 killed and 3 wounded, including Captain Tucker, severely.—Total, 5 killed and 10 wounded.]

Downing-street, April 26.

Major Lord W. Russel arrived last night at this office, bringing a dispatch from the Marquis of Wellington to Earl Bathurst, of which the following is a copy:

Toulouse, April 12.

My Lord,—I have the pleasure to inform your Lordship that I entered this town this morning, which the enemy evacuated during the night, retiring by the road of Carcassone.

The continued fall of rain, and the state of the roads, prevented me from laying the bridge till the morning of the 8th, when the Spanish corps, and the Portuguese artillery, under the immediate orders of Lieutenant General Don Manuel Freyre, and the head quarter, crossed the Garonne.

We immediately moved forward to the neighbourhood of the town; and the 18th hussars, under the immediate command of Colonel Vivian, had an opportunity of making a most gallant attack upon a superior body of the enemy's cavalry, which they drove through the village of Croix d'Orade, and took about 100 prisoners, and gave us possession of an important bridge over the river Ers, by which it was necessary to pass, in order to attack the enemy's position. Colonel Vivian was unfortunately wounded upon this occasion, and I am afraid I shall lose the benefit of his assistance for some time.

The town of Toulouse is surrounded on three sides by the canal of Languedoc and the Garonne.—On the left of that river, the suburb, which the enemy had fortified with strong field-works in front of the antient wall, formed a good *tête de pont*.

They had likewise formed a *tête de pont* at each bridge of the canal, which was besides defended by the fire in some places of musketry, and in all of artillery, from the ancient wall of the town. Beyond the canal to the eastward, and between that and the river Ers, is a height which extends as far as Montaudrau, and over which pass all the roads to the canal and town from the eastward, which it defends; and the enemy, in addition to the *tête de pont* on the bridges of the canal, had fortified the height with five redoubts, connected by lines of entrenchments, and had with extraordi-

nary diligence made every preparation for defence.—They had likewise broken all the bridges over the Ers within our reach, by which the right of their position could be approached.—The roads, however, from the Ariege to Toulouse being impracticable for cavalry or artillery, and nearly so for infantry, as reported to your Lordship in my dispatch of the 1st inst., I had no alternative, excepting to attack the enemy in this formidable position.

It was necessary to move the pontoon bridge higher up the Garonne, in order to shorten the communication with Lieutenant-Gen. Sir Rowland Hill's corps, as soon as the Spanish corps had passed; and this operation was not effected till so late an hour on the 9th, as to induce me to defer the attack till the following morning.

The plan according to which I determined to attack the enemy, was for Marshal Sir W. Beresford, who was on the right of the Ers with the 4th and 6th divisions, to cross that river at the bridge of Croix d'Orade, to gain possession of Montblanc, and to march up the left of the Ers to turn the enemy's right, while Lieut.-General Don Manuel Freyre, with the Spanish corps under his command, supported by the British cavalry, should attack the front. Lieutenant-General Sir S. Cotton was to follow the Marshal's movement, with Major-General Lord E. Somerset's brigade of hussars; and Colonel Vivian's brigade, under the command of Colonel Arentschild, was to observe the movement of the enemy's cavalry on both banks of the Ers beyond our left.

The 3d and light divisions, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir T. Picton and Major-General Charles Baron Alten, and the brigade of German cavalry, were to observe the enemy on the lower part of the canal, and to draw their attention to that quarter by threatening the *tête de pont*, while Lieut.-General Sir R. Hill was to do the same on the suburb on the left of the Garonne.

Marshal Sir W. Beresford crossed the Ers, and formed his corps in three columns of lines in the village of Croix d'Orade, the 4th division leading, with which he immediately carried Montblanc.—He then moved up the Ers in the same order over more difficult ground, in a direction parallel to the enemy's fortified position: and as soon as he reached the point at which he turned it, he formed his lines and moved to the attack.—During these operations Lieutenant-General Don Manuel Freyre moved along the left of the Ers to the front of Croix d'Orade, where he formed his corps in two lines with a reserve on a height in front of the left of the enemy's position, on which height the Portuguese artillery was placed; and Major-Gen. Ponsonby's brigade of cavalry in reserve in the rear.

As soon as formed, and that it was seen that Marshal Sir William Beresford was ready, Lieutenant-General Don Manuel Freyre moved forward to the attack. The troops marched in good order under a heavy fire of musketry and artillery, and shewed great spirit, the General and all his staff being at their head; and the two lines were soon lodged under some banks immediately under the enemy's entrenchments; the reserve and Portuguese artillery, and British cavalry, continuing on the heights on which the troops had first formed. The enemy, however, repulsed the movement of the right of General Freyre's line round their left flank, and having followed up their success, and turned our right by both sides of the high road leading from Toulouse to Croix d'Orade, they soon compelled the whole corps to retire. It gave me great satisfaction to see, that although

they suffered considerably in retiring, the troops rallied again as soon as the light division, which was immediately on their right, moved up; and I cannot sufficiently applaud the exertions of Lieut.-Gen. Don Manuel Freyre, the officers of the Staff of the 4th Spanish army, and of the officers of the General Staff, to rally and form them again.

Lieutenant.-General Mendizabal, who was in the field as a volunteer, General Espellata, and several officers of the Staff and chiefs of corps, were wounded upon this occasion; but General Mendizabal continued in the field. The regiments De Tirad. De Cantabria, under the command of Colonel Sicilio, kept its position under the enemy's entrenchments, until I ordered them to retire.

In the mean time Marshal Sir W. Beresford, with the 4th division, under the command of Lieut.-General Sir L. Cole, and the 6th division, under the command of Lieutenant-Gen. Sir H. Clinton, attacked and carried the heights on the enemy's right, and the redoubt which covered and protected that flank; and he lodged those troops on the same heights with the enemy, who were, however, still in possession of four redoubts and the entrenchments and fortified houses.

The badness of the roads had induced the Marshal to leave his artillery in the village of Montblanc; and some time elapsed before it could be brought to him, and before Lieut.-Gen. Don Manuel Freyre's corps could be re-formed and brought back to the attack; as soon as this was effected, the Marshal continued his movement along the ridge, and carried, with General Pack's brigade of the 6th division, the two principal redoubts and fortified houses in the centre. The enemy made a desperate effort from the canal to regain these redoubts, but they were repulsed with considerable loss; and the 6th division continuing its movement along the ridge of the height, and the Spanish troops continuing a corresponding movement upon the front, the enemy were driven from the two redoubts and entrenchments on the left, and the whole range of heights were in our possession. We did not gain this advantage, however, without severe loss, particularly in the brave 6th division. Lieutenant.-Col. Coghlan, of the 61st, an officer of great merit and promise, was unfortunately killed in the attack of the heights. Major-General Pack was wounded, but was enabled to remain in the field; and Colonel Douglas, of the 8th Portuguese regiment, lost his leg; and I am afraid I shall be deprived for a considerable time of his assistance.

The 36th, 42d, 79th, and 61st regiments lost considerable numbers, and were highly distinguished throughout the day.

I cannot sufficiently applaud the ability and conduct of Marshal Sir W. Beresford throughout the operations of the day; nor that of Lieutenant-Generals Sir L. Cole and Sir H. Clinton; Major-Generals Pack and Lambert, and the troops under their command. Marshal Sir W. Beresford particularly reports the good conduct of Brigadier-General D'Urban, the Quarter-Master-General, and Gen. Brito Mozinho, the Adjutant-General of the Portuguese army.

The 4th division, although exposed on their march along the enemy's front to a galling fire, were not so much engaged as the 6th division, and did not suffer so much; but they conducted themselves with their usual gallantry.

I had also every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of Lieut.-General Don Manuel Freyre, Lieutenant-General Don Gabriel Mendizabal, Marechal de Campo Don Pedro de la Barcena, Brigadier-Gen. Don J. De

Espelata, Marechal de Campo Don Pedro de la Barcena, Brigadier-General Don I. De Espelata, Marechal De Campo Don A. Garces de Marcilla, and Chief of the Staff Don E. S. Salvador, and the officers of the staff of the 4th army. The officers and troops conducted themselves well in all the attacks which they made subsequent to their being re-formed.

The ground not having admitted of the operations of the cavalry, they had no opportunity of charging.

While the operations above detailed were going forward on the left of the army, Lieutenant-Gen. Sir Rowland Hill drove the enemy from their exterior works in the suburbs, on the left of the Garonne, within the ancient wall. Lieutenant-Gen. Sir Thomas Picton likewise, with the 3d division, drove the enemy within the *tête de pont* on the bridge of the canal nearest to the Garonne; but the troops having made an effort to carry it, they were repulsed, and some loss was sustained. Major-General Brisbane was wounded, but I hope not so as to deprive me for any length of time of his assistance; and Lieut.-Colonel Forbes, of the 45th, an officer of great merit, was killed.

The army being thus established on three sides of Toulouse, I immediately detached our light cavalry to cut off the communication by the only road practicable for carriages which remained to the enemy, till I should be enabled to make arrangements to establish the troops between the canal and the Garonne.

The enemy, however, retired last night, leaving in our hands General D'Harispe, General Burrot, General St Hilaire, and 1,600 prisoners. One piece of cannon was taken on the field of battle; and others, and large quantities of stories of all descriptions, in the town.

Since I sent my last report, I have received an account from Rear-Admiral Penrose, of the successes in the Gironde of the boats of the squadron under his command.

Lieut.-General the Earl of Dalhousie crossed the Garonne nearly about the time that Admiral Penrose entered the river, and pushed the enemy's parties under General L'Huillier, beyond the Dordogne. He then crossed the Dordogne on the 4th, near St Andre de Cubzac, with a detachment of the troops under his command, with a view to the attack of the fort of Bloye. His Lordship found Gen. L'Huillier and Gen. Des Barreaux posted near Etauliers, and made his disposition to attack them, when they retired, leaving about 3000 prisoners in his hands. I enclose the Earl of Dalhousie's report of this affair.

In the operation which I have now reported, I have had every reason to be satisfied with the assistance I received from the Quarter-Master and Adjutant-General, and the officers of their departments respectively; from Marechal de Campo Don Louis Wimpfen, and the officers of the Spanish Staff, and from Major-Gen. Alava, from Colonel Dickson, commanding the allied artillery, from Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Fitzroy Somerset, and the officers of my personal Staff.

I send this dispatch by my aide de camp, Major Lord Wm. Russell, whom I beg leave to recommend to your Lordship's protection.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

WELLINGTON.

I enclose a return of the killed and wounded in the late operations.

On the Heights near Bloye,
April 6.

My Lord,—On the 4th I crossed the Dordogne at St Andre de Cubzac, and advanced next morning with the troops I stated in my last letter to your Lordship, my second brigade, my caçadores, and the 7th Portuguese

regiment, four guns, and one squadron of the 12th light dragoons.

I learned that Generals L'Huillier and Des Barreaux, with 300 cavalry, and 1200 infantry, had retired by Etauliers. I therefore moved on that point, intending to turn back again on Blaye, if I found these officers had continued their retreat on Saintes. Gen. L'Huillier commanding, thought proper to remain at Etauliers, and drew out his corps on a large open common near that, occupying some woods in front of it.

The flank companies of the 6th and Brunswickers soon cleared those woods, and Major Jenkinson's guns had a fair field for his practice. The infantry and cavalry gave way, and retired through Etauliers, leaving scattered parties to shift for themselves. One of these, about 80 men, was gallantly charged by the weak squadron of the 12th dragoons, under Major Bridger, and taken prisoners.

In all we took about 30 officers and 250 or 300 men. Great numbers dispersed in the woods, and in a short time, it is thought, the whole of their infantry conscripts will leave them.

I have the honour to be, &c.

DALHOUSIE.

My loss yesterday was very trifling.

Abstract Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing, of the Army under the Command of his Excellency Field Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, in Action with the Enemy from the 22d of March to the 8th of April, inclusive.

Total British Loss—3 rank and file, 3 horses, killed; 1 colonel, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 4 serjeants, 24 rank and file, 30 horses, wounded; 1 serjeant, 9 rank and file, 9 horses, missing.

Abstract Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing, of the Army under the Command of his Excellency Field Marshal the Marquis of Wellington K. G. in the Attack of the Enemy's fortified Position covering Toulouse, on the 10th Day of April.

Total British Loss—2 lieutenant-colonels, 6 captains, 5 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 17 serjeants, 1 drummer, 278 rank and file, 55 horses, killed; 2 general staff, 3 lieutenant-colonels, 4 majors, 31 captains, 69 lieutenants, 22 ensigns, 3 staff, 86 serjeants, 11 drummers, 1,594 rank and file, 54 horses, wounded; 1 captain, 2 ensigns, 14 rank and file, 1 horse, missing.

Portuguese Loss—1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 4 serjeants, 1 drummer, 70 rank and file, 5 horses, killed; 1 colonel, 2 majors, 6 captains, 5 lieutenants, 9 ensigns, 37 serjeants, 4 drummers, 465 rank and file, 1 horse, wounded.

Spanish Loss—1 colonel, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 captain, 3 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 1 staff, 198 rank and file, 2 horses, killed; 2 general staff, 2 colonels, 2 lieutenant-colonels, 4 majors, 18 captains, 22 lieutenants, 30 ensigns, 5 staff, 1,634 rank and file, 4 horses, wounded; 1 rank and file, 1 horse, missing.

(Signed) E. PAKENHAM,
Adjutant-General.

Downing-street, April 27.

Lieutenant Lord George Lenox arrived last night at this office, bringing a dipatch from Field Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, addressed to Earl Bathurst, of which the following is a copy:—

Toulouse, April 19.

My Lord,— On the evening of the 12th instant, Colonel Cook arrived from Paris, to inform me of the events which had occurred in that city to the night of the 7th inst. He was accompanied by Colonel St Simon, who was directed by the Provisional Govern-

ment of France to apprise Marshal Soult and Marshal Suchet of the same event.

Marshal Soult did not at first consider the information to be so authentic as to induce him to send his submission to the Provisional Government; but he proposed that I should consent to a suspension of hostilities, to give him time to ascertain what had occurred; but I did not think it proper to acquiesce in this desire. I enclose the correspondence which passed on this occasion.

In the mean time I concluded (on the 15th) a convention for the suspension of hostilities with the General Officer commanding at Montauban, of which I enclose a copy; and the troops being prepared for moving forward, they marched on the 15th and the 17 inst. towards Castlenaudary.

I sent forward on the 16th another officer, who had been sent from Paris to Marshal Soult; and I received from him the following day the letter of which I enclose a copy, brought by the General of Division Count Gazan, who informed me, as indeed appears by the Marshal's letter, that he had acknowledged the Provisional Government of France.

I therefore authorised Major-Gen. Sir George Murray, and Marechal de Campo Don Louis Wimpfen to arrange with General Gazan a convention for the suspesnion of hostilities between the allied armies under my command, and the French armies under the command of Marshals Soult and Suchet, of which I enclose a copy.

This convention has been confirmed by Marshal Soult, though I have not yet received the formal ratifications, as he waits for that of Marshal Suchet.

This General, apprehending that there might be some delay in the arrangement of the convention with Marshal Soult, has in the mean time sent here Colonel Richard, of the staff of his army, to treat for a convention for the suspension of hostilities with the army under his immediate command; and I have directed Major-General Sir George Murray, and the Marechal de Campo Don Louis Wimpfen, to agree to the same articles with this officer, as I had before agreed as relating to the army under Marshal Suchet with Count Gazan.

No military event of importance has occurred in this quarter since I made my last report.

It gives me much concern to have to lay before your Lordship the enclosed reports from Major-General Colville and Major-General Howard, of a sortie from the citadel of Bayonne on the morning of the 14th inst. in which Lieutenant-Gen. Sir John Hope having been unfortunately wounded, and his horse killed under him, he was made prisoner.

I have every reason to believe that his wounds are not severe, but I cannot but regret that the satisfaction generally felt by the army upon the prospect of the honourable termination of their labours, should be clouded by the misfortune and sufferings of an officer so highly esteemed and respected by all.

I sincerely lament the loss of Major-Gen. Hay, whose services and merits I have had frequent occasion to bring under your Lordship's notice.

By a letter from Lieutenant-Gen. William Clinton, of the 6th, I learn that he was about to carry into execution my orders of the 4th and 8th of March, to withdraw from Catalonia, in consequence of the reduction in Catalonia of the force under Marshal Suchet.

Upon the breaking up of this army, I perform a most satisfactory duty in reporting to your Lordship my sense of the conduct and merit of

Lieutenant-Gen. William Clinton, and of the troops under his command since they have been employed in the Peninsula. Circumstances have not enabled those troops to have so brilliant a share in the operations of the war as their brother officers and soldiers on this side of the Peninsula; but they have not been less usefully employed; their conduct when engaged with the enemy has always been meritorious; and I have had every reason to be satisfied with the General Officer commanding, and with them.

I send this dispatch by my aide de camp, Lord George Lenox, whom I beg leave to recommend to your Lordship's protection.

I am, &c. (Signed)
WELLINGTON.

I enclose a return of the killed, wounded, and missing, on the occasion of the sortie from Bayonne.

Baucaut, April 14.

My Lord,—It is to my infinite regret that owing to the unfortunate circumstance of the capture of Lieut.-General Sir John Hope, the duty devolves on me of informing your Lordship of a sortie which the enemy made this morning at three o'clock, from the entrenched camp in front of the citadel of Bayonne, with false attacks in front of the posts of the 5th division, &c. at Auglet and Bellevue.

I am happy to say, that the ground which had been lost on this side was all recovered, and the picquets reposted on their original points by seven o'clock.

The injury done to the defences is as little as could be well supposed, in an attack made in the force this one was, and will, I hope, be mostly repaired in the course of this night. The casualties are what we have to regret most; on a rough guess Lieut-Colonel Macdonald estimates them at 400 men.

I much lament to mention the death of Major-General Hay, general officer of the night. His last words were (a minute before he was shot) an order to hold the Church of St Etienne, and a fortified house adjoining, to the last extremity.

Major-Gen. Stopford is wounded, not, I hope, severely; among the killed are, I am sorry to say, Lieut.-Colonel Sir H. Sullivan and Captain Crofton, of the Guards; Lieutenant-Colonel Townsend is prisoner, as are also Captain Herries, Deputy Assist. Quarter Master General; and Lieut. Moore, aide de camp to Sir J. Hope.

Not wishing, however, to lose any time in sending off this report, I have requested Major-Gen. Howard will detail, for your Lordship's further information, the circumstances of the attack and its repulse, having been myself at the time with the 5th division.

Sir John Hope's horse was shot and fell upon him, which prevented his extricating himself.—We hear that he is wounded in the arm, and a French officer speaks also of a wound in his thigh; but we trust this may have reference to his former injury. The boot of his left leg was found under his horse.

To a flag of truce, the proposal was rejected of Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald's being admitted to see him; but we now expect that Captain Wedderburn, and what other assistance he may require, will be admitted to him, upon the condition of their not returning.

The arrival of the 62d and 84th regiments on the other side from Vera this day, will allow of my strengthening the force on this, by withdrawing from that in front of Auglet.

I have the honour, &c.
(Signed)
C. COLVILLE.

To Field Marshal the Marquis of Wellington. K. G. &c. &c.

Camp near Bayonne,
April 15, 1814.

Sir,—In consequence of Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope having been wounded and taken prisoner, it falls to my lot to have the honour to detail to you, for the information of his Excellency the Commander of the Forces, the result of an attack made by the enemy on our position in front of the citadel of Bayonne on the 14th instant.

Yesterday morning, a considerable time before day-break, the enemy made a sortie and attack in great force, principally on the left and centre of our position of St Etienne, in front of the citadel. The left of the position was occupied by picquets of Major-General Hay's brigade; the brigade itself had been directed to form in case of alarm near the village of Boucaut, as it was merely serving provisionally on this side of the Adour; the centre by picquets of the 2d brigade of guards, and the right by picquets of the 1st brigade of guards. Major-General Hay was the general officer of the day in command of the line of outposts; and, I regret much to say, was killed shortly after the attack commenced, having just given directions that the church of St Etienne should be defended to the last. The enemy, however, by great superiority of numbers, succeeded in getting in towards the left of the village, and got momentary possession of it, with the exception of a house occupied by a picquet of the 38th regiment, under Captain Forster of that corps, and who maintained himself till the support coming up, Major-General Hinuber, with the 2d line battalion, King's German Legion, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Bock, immediately attacked and re-took the village.

The enemy attacked the centre of our position likewise in great numbers, and by bearing in great force on one point, after a sharp resistance, they succeeded in compelling one of our picquets to retire, and which enabled him to move up a road in the rear of the line of picquets of the centre of the position, and which compelled the other picquets of the 2d brigade of guards to fall back till the support arrived up to their assistance, when the enemy was immediately charged, and the line of posts re-occupied as before. Major-General Stopford, I regret to say, was wounded, when the command of the brigade devolved on Colonel Guise. In consequence of the enemy having gained temporary possession of some houses which had been occupied by the picquets of the centre of the position, Colonel Maitland found the enemy was in possession of ground on the rear of his left, and immediately advanced against him rapidly with the 3d battalion 1st guards, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. W. Stewart, on a ridge of ground which runs parallel with the roads, and Lieutenant-Colonel Woodford, of the Coldstream, ascending the hill at the same time by a simultaneous charge, these two corps immediately dislodged the enemy, and re-occupied all the posts which we had before possessed; and from the time the enemy was dislodged, he did not shew the least disposition to renew the attack. Col. Maitland expressed his satisfaction at the conduct of both his officers and men, and also his obligation to Lieutenant-Col. Woodford, for his prompt concurrence in the movements abovementioned.

It was towards the right that Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope was taken. In endeavouring to bring up some troops to the support of the picquets, he came unexpectedly in the dark on a party of the enemy; his horse was shot dead and fell upon him, and not being able to disengage himself from under it, he was unfortunate-

ly made prisoner. I regret to say, that from a letter I have received from him, I find he was wounded in two places, but in neither of them dangerously; you will easily conceive, sir, that only one feeling, that of the greatest regret, pervades all the troops at the Lieutenant-General's misfortune.

The enemy having commenced their attack between two and three o'clock in the morning, a considerable part of the operations took place before daylight, which gave them a great advantage from their numbers; but whatever end they might propose to themselves by their attack, I am happy to say it has been completely frustrated, as they effected no one object by it, except setting fire to one house in the centre of our position, which, from being within three hundred yards of their guns, they had rendered perfectly untenable before, whenever they chose to cannonade it. From the quantity of fire of every description which the enemy brought on us, you will easily conceive our loss could not be inconsiderable. In Major-General Hay, who was well known to you, his majesty's service has lost a most zealous and able officer, who has served a considerable time in this army with great distinction. The loss of the enemy must, however, have been severe, as he left many dead behind him, and he was afterwards observed burying a good number of men. In regard to prisoners, we had no opportunity of making many from the facility the enemy possessed of immediately retiring under the guns of their works.

To Major-Generals Hinuber and Stopford, and Colonel Maitland, commanding brigades, as well as to Col. Guise, who took the command of the 2d brigade of guards after Major-General Stopford was wounded, I beg to express my best thanks for their exertions and promptitude during the affair, as well as to Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. A. Upton, Assistant-Quarter-Master-General, and to Lieutenant-Col. Dashwood, Assistant-Adjutant-General of the division, from both of whom I received every assistance, and also from Captain Battersby, my aid-de-camp, till he was wounded. I must also express my thanks to Lieutenant-Colonel M'Donald, the Assistant-Adjutant-General of the left column, for his assistance, he having joined me after Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope was wounded. Indeed, all the troops throughout the whole business behaved with the greatest gallantry.

I am, &c.

(Signed) K. A. Howard,
Commanding 1st Division.

P. S. I omitted to mention that Major-General Bradford had moved up one battalion of the 24th Portuguese regiment of his brigade, in the support of the brigade of the King's German Legion, when Major-General Hinuber drove the enemy from the village of St Etienne, in the early part of the morning. Colonel Maitland also reports to me, that he received great assistance from Lieutenant-Colonel Burgoyne, of the Royal Engineers, who had been charged with the construction of the different points of defence on the right of the position.

To Maj.-Gen. the Hon.
Charles Colville.

Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing, of the Army under the Command of his Excellency Field Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, K. G. in a Sortie made by the Garrison of Bayonne, on the Morning of the 14th April, 1814.

Total British Loss—1 general staff, 1 major, 3 captains, 3 lieutenants, 3 serjeants, 2 drummers, 129 rank and file, killed; 1 general staff, 2 lieute-

nant-colonels, 2 majors, 10 captains, 16 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 1 staff, 27 serjeants, 5 drummers, 370 rank and file, 1 horse, wounded; 1 General staff, 3 captains, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 7 serjeants, 2 drummers, 218 rank and file, missing.

Total Portuguese Loss—8 rank and file killed; 2 captains, 1 serjeant, 18 rank and file, wounded; 3 rank and file missing.

Downing-street, May 8, 1814.

Captain Milnes, Aide-de Camp to Lieut.-General Lord William Bentinck, K. B. has arrived at this office, bringing a dispatch, addressed by his Lordship to Earl Bathurst, of which the following is a copy:

Genoa, April 20, 1814.

My Lord,—My dispatch of the 6th instant will have made your lordship acquainted with the occupation of Spezia, and with the movement of the troops down to that period.

Upon my arrival at Leghorn, I learnt that there were only two thousand men in Genoa. The possession of that harbour and fortress was of such very great importance, that I determined to move on as rapidly as possible, and to take advantage of its defenceless state: not succeeding, I had a safe retreat upon Spezia, from whence I might advance the infantry by Pontremoli towards the Po.

Upon my arrival at Sestri, I found that the enemy had been reinforced at Genoa. The garrison consisted of between 5 and 6000 men.

The roads in the mountains being very bad, and the means of transport as well by land as by sea, being limited, I was not able to concentrate the army till the 14th.

On the 8th the enemy was dislodged from the strong country near Sestri.

On the 12th, Major-General Montresor's division drove the enemy from Mount Fascia and Nervi; and on the 13th established himself in the advanced position of Sturla. The country was extremely mountainous and difficult, and the troops met with considerable opposition.

On the 16th, dispositions were made for attacking the enemy, who had taken a very strong position in front of Genoa; his left upon the forts Richelieu and Tecla, his centre occupying the village of St Martino, and from thence extending to the sea, through a country the most impassable I ever saw, thickly covered with country houses, only communicating with each other by narrow lanes between high walls.

On the 17th at day-break the attack began.

The 3d Italians, under Lieutenant-Colonel Ceravignac, attacked with great spirit a height in front of Fort Tecla, drove away the enemy, and took three mountain guns.

A part of the 3d Italians moved up the hill towards Fort Richelieu: while Lieutenant-Col. Travers, descending from Mount Fascia, with the Calabrese and Greeks, got possession of the highest part of the hill above the fort, and some of his men pushed forward actually under the wall, when the garrison, afraid of being taken by escalade, surrendered.

Fort Tecla was hastily evacuated, and the greater part of the enemy's force made prisoners.

The fortunate possession of these strong forts, together with the heights, completely exposed the enemy's left, which in consequence retired.

The attacks upon the enemy's right were made in three columns by Major-General Montresor's division, supported by that of Lieutenant-General Macfarlane. The troops advanced with great vigour, and although the intersected state of the country

enabled the enemy to maintain himself for a considerable period, his left being turned, he was obliged at last to retire precipitately into the town. The impossibility of making use of artillery, and the cover every where afforded both to the attackers and defenders, prevented any serious loss on either side.

At noon, the army, under cover of the houses, took a position within 600 yards of the narrowest and most assailable front of the town, from whence the very bottom of the wall was discovered, and the defences could be easily destroyed.

Preparations were immediately and with great activity made by Lieut.-Colonel Lemoine, commanding the artillery, and Captain Tylden, the principal engineer officer, for the construction of the necessary batteries; and it was hoped that an assault might have been given on the following day.

On the same day Sir Edward Pellew's squadron came in sight, and anchored in front of Nervi.

In the evening a deputation of the inhabitants, accompanied by a French officer, came to beg that I would not bombard the town; they urged me to agree to a suspension of arms for a few days; during which, from the accounts from France, it would appear, that peace must be made. I answered, that these were arguments to use to the French commandant, but not to me. It was for the French general to abandon a town he could not defend, and for me to push an advantage which fortune had put within my reach.

The next morning several communications passed between myself and the French general, whose object was to gain time, in the hope that some arrangement elsewhere might avert the necessity of his surrender; but as I would not listen to his propositions, it was at last agreed that commissioners should be appointed on either side: by whom the enclosed convention was made, and the French garrison will march out to-morrow morning.

It is now three years since Lieut.-General Macfarlane has acted as my second in command; and upon this, as upon all occasions, I am most thankful for his cordial and honourable cooperation and assistance.

To Major-General Montresor I am also much indebted; all the operations entrusted to his charge were conducted with great judgment and vigour.

All the officers and troops of his majesty have acted to my entire satisfaction.

The Sicilian troops, under Brigadier-Gen. Roth, were engaged equally with our own, and displayed the greatest bravery. The utmost respect and confidence mutually prevails.

The Italian levy completely fulfilled the expectations I had always formed of them.

In the whole course of the service, the navy have borne a distinguished part.

To Captain Sir Josias Rowley, who conducted the naval part of the expedition, I have to express my particular acknowledgments; I am equally indebted for his advice as for his hearty and most effectual co-operation.

From the energy and bravery of the Hon. Capt. Dundas, who was principally charged with the directions ashore, and who took an active part with his marines and guns in the military operations, the army derived the utmost assistance.

I regret to say, that in this service Lieut.-Mapleton, first of the Edinburgh, was wounded. I beg to recommend him, through your lordship, to the favourable consideration of the Lords of the Admiralty.

Captain Hamilton, of the Rainbow, rendered essential service to the advanced corps of the army.

I have the honour to enclose returns of the killed and wounded.

There have been found in Genoa a very considerable amount of naval and military stores, of which exact returns will be transmitted as soon as they can be prepared.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. C. Bentinck,
Lieut.-General.

CONVENTION concluded between Lieut.-General Macfarlane, stipulating in the name of his Excellency Lord W. Bentinck, Commander-in-Chief of the combined Army acting on the coast of Genoa, and Sir Charles Rowley, Bart. Commander of the Squadron under the orders of Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Pellew, Bart. Commander-in-Chief of the English fleet in the Mediterranean, on one part; and the Chevelier Dubignon, Colonel, commanding the 28th Legion of Gendarmerie, and the Chevalier Chopia, Inspector of Revenues in the 28th Military Division, stipulating, in the name of Baron Fresia, General of Division, Chief Commandant of the Fortress of Genoa, on the other part.

Art. I. The fortress of Genoa shall be given up to the combined English and Sicilian troops. All hostilities, therefore, cease from this moment between the troops and the garrison of Genoa.

Art. II. The said combined troops shall take possession of the city of Genoa to-morrow morning, at five o'clock; that is to say, they shall occupy at that hour the gates Pille and del Arco, as well as the quarter of La Pace, situated between those gates. They shall likewise occupy, at the same hour, Fort Quetze, and all the other exterior forts and gates, successively, during the same day.

Art. III. Three ships of war shall enter at the same hour into the port of Genoa.

Art. IV. The French troops shall remain in possession of the remaining part of the town until Thursday the 21st instant at eight in the morning. On that day they shall set out for France by the shortest way. In case they should take the road of Nice, the English government engages to furnish three vessels to provide for the conveyance of their baggage.

Art. V. They shall pursue the military route fixed by the regulations, and they are on no account to be molested on their march, either by the troops of his Britannic Majesty, or those of his allies.

Art. VI. The French troops shall march out with drums beating, matches lighted, with their arms and baggage, and with all the honours of war. They shall take with them six pieces of cannon, and the powder containing the necessary quantity of ammunition for the said cannon, and likewise one hundred and twenty cartridges per man.

Art. VII. All persons forming part of the said French troops shall take with them all the effects and baggage that belong to them, it being well understood that under this meaning are comprehended the private magazines of the forces, but not those of government.

Art. VIII. Two commissaries shall be appointed to-morrow morning, in order to draw up an inventory of the magazines and property of the French government; and the seals of the British government shall be affixed thereon, leaving, however, at the disposition of the French troops, as much as will be sufficient for their subsistence until the 21st instant, and besides biscuit, rations for four days, for the number of troops present under arms and in garrison at Genoa.

Art. IX. Every thing belonging to

the French marine will be delivered over to-morrow to the British navy.

Art. X. The sick and wounded of the French army shall remain in the hospitals of the place until they be cured. They shall be treated and subsisted as heretofore, at the expense of the French government.

There shall remain at Genoa a commissary and a medical officer, in order to regulate the stipulations of the 10th article, and send the military back to France after their recovery.

Art. XI. In case any thing should require to be regulated, commissaries will be appointed on both sides to that effect.

Done at St Francois d'Albero, this 18th day of April, 1814.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing, of the allied British and Sicilian armies before Genoa, between the 13th and 17th April, 1814:

Total loss—One ensign, 37 rank and file, killed; one major, three captains, one lieutenant, two staff, seven serjeants, one drummer, 159 rank and file, wounded.

Admiralty-Office, May 8, 1814.

A dispatch was this day received from Vice-Admiral Sir E. Pellew, Bart. addressed to John Wilson Croker, Esq. of which the following is a copy:

His Majesty's Ship Caledonia, Genoa Mole, April 14, 1814.

Sir,—I have great pleasure in announcing to their lordships the surrender of this fortress last night by capitulation. I have the honour to enclose the terms.

At the request of Lord William Bentinck, I came hither with the ships named in the margin,* leaving the remainder of the fleet to watch Toulon, under the orders of Rear-Admiral Sir Richard King; and on my arrival on the morning of the 17th, the batteries had just opened their fire, and were warmly engaged with those which had been opened by the assailants. I have desired Sir Josias Rowley to make a report of that part of the service which devolved upon the naval force employed on this service, and beg to recommend those whom he has pointed out to their lordships' favour; but it remains for me to state, that the manner in which the whole service has been conducted by Sir Josias Rowley claims my sincere acknowledgments, and their lordships will, I am sensible, receive it with a just consideration of his uniform zeal and merits.

I have the honour to be, &c.

EDWARD PELLEW.

John Wilson Croker, Esq.
Secretary to the Admiralty.

His Majesty's Ship America, off Genoa, April 18, 1814.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you, that in pursuance of my communication of the 31st ultimo, from Leghorn roads, I sailed from thence on the 7th of April, with his excellency Lieut.-Gen. Lord William Bentinck on board. After various communications with the troops at Spezia and other parts of the coast, we anchored off Recce, in the Gulf of Genoa, on the 11th. The Honourable Captain Dundas had, with the Edinburgh, Rainbow, and some of the flotilla, during my absence, co-operated with the advance of the army with his usual activity and zeal.

On the 13th, the transports having arrived from Sicily, the troops were immediately landed, and the ships and gun-boats moved on in advance with the army.

* Caledonia, Boyne, Union, Prince of Wales, and Pembroke.

On the 17th, every preparation being made for the attack, at day-light the army moved forwards to drive the enemy from their positions without the town of Genoa. The gun and mortar vessels, with the ships' boats, armed with carronades, were advancing along the sea line to attack the batteries; the greater part of the marines, under the command of Captain Rea, royal marines, were also embarked in the transports' boats, ready to land as occasion might require. As soon as the troops advanced, the whole of the gun vessels and boats opened their fire with such effect, that on the landing of the seamen and marines, and preparing to storm, the enemy deserted their batteries, and the whole of the sea line, without the walls, which were instantly taken possession of, and soon turned on the place; by this means drawing off a considerable portion of the enemy's fire. The arrival of the Caledonia afforded you, sir, an opportunity of witnessing the remaining operations, and the spirited fire which was kept up at the battery, under the directions of Lieutenants Bazalgette and White, against a very superior one of the enemy, by which, I regret to state, that Lieut. Bewick, of the Pylades, an officer of much promise, was killed.

My warmest thanks are due to the whole of the captains, officers, seamen, and marines, which I had the honour to have placed under my orders, for their zealous and active co-operation while under my command. I was particularly indebted to Captain Brace, for his able assistance; he was so good as to direct the advance of the boats and gun vessels. Captains Dundas and Hamilton had, as usual, been most assiduous in forwarding the operations of the troops; and my thanks are due to Captains Power and Wemyss, for their ready assistance. Captain Flinn had volunteered to head a party of seamen, which were landed with scaling-ladders, to storm one of the hill forts, had it been necessary. Captain Thompson, in the Aboukir, who, assisted by the ships and vessels as per margin,* blockaded the fort, conducted with much effect a false attack to the westward of the town, which drew off a considerable number of the enemy's troops. I have again occasion to notice the good conduct of the Sicilian flotilla, which were well led by Lieut. Pengally. I beg that I may be permitted to bring to your notice Lieut. Bazalgette, senior of this ship, whose services I have long had reason to appreciate. The active officer, Lieut. Mapleton, of the Edinburgh, I am sorry to say, has been wounded while on service with the army. I am indebted to Lieut. Bailey, principal agent of the transports, for the zeal and ability with which he has conducted the service of that department.

I beg leave to enclose a return of killed and wounded of the ships and vessels of the squadron.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

Jos. Rowley.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing, of seamen and marines employed in an attack on Genoa, 17th April, 1814.

Total—Two killed, eight wounded, one missing. (Signed)

Jos. Rowley, Captain.

N. B.—Two wounded in Sicilian gun-boats not included.

List of the enemy's ships and vessels of war captured at Genoa, on the surrender of that fortress, April 18, 1814.

Brilliant, of 74 guns, ready for launching.

* Aboukir, Iphigenia, Furieuse, Swallow, and Cephalus.

Coureur brig, of 16 24-pounders, and two long 9-pounders.

Renard brig, of 14 24-pounders, and two long 9-pounders.

Endymion brig, of 14 24-pounders, and two long 8-pounders.

Sphynx brig, of 18 guns, new, equipping.

Unknown, of 74 guns, in frame.

EDWARD PELLEW.

Downing Street, May 10, 1814.

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has this day been received at Earl Bathurst's office, addressed to his lordship by general Lord Lynedock, K. B. dated

Antwerp, May 5, 1814.

My Lord,—I have the honour to state to your lordship, that agreeably to the terms of the convention of Paris of the 23d ult. this fortress, with the different forts depending on it, was finally evacuated by the remaining French troops this morning.

Major-General Kunigl, the commissioner of the allied powers, having signified to me his wish, that according to his instructions British troops should occupy it, the second division, under the command of Major-General Cooke, and the first brigade of the first division, were marched in; and after the different guards were relieved, the new garrison received the commissioner with military honours.

The magistrates then assembled on the parade, and the mayor, recommending Antwerp to the protection, and its future fate to the favour of the allies, presented the keys of the town to General Kunigl, who received them in the name of the allied sovereigns.

It is impossible to describe with what demonstrations of enthusiastic joy the inhabitants expressed their approbation of this interesting scene.

All the marine establishments remain in the hands of the French. I have had the most satisfactory communications with the French Admiral Gourdon, commanding; and I have no doubt of the utmost harmony prevailing between the French and English of all descriptions, during the time the town shall continue to be occupied by a British garrison.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) THOMAS GRAHAM.

Official Details, by General Stewart and Lord Cathcart, of the Military Events which led to the Entrance of the Allies into Paris, and the Abdication of Buonaparte.

Head-quarters, Fere Champenoise, March 26, 1814.

My Lord,—Buonaparte, having failed in his attempt to debouche from Plancy and Arcis, across the Aube, and having abandoned his idea of attacking Prince Schwartzenberg in his position at Menil-la-Comtesse, seems to have been guided in his next operations by the desire of preventing the junction of the armies of Prince Schwartzenberg and Marshal Blucher. Did he not succeed to the utmost in this object, it was evidently his best policy to force their union, and their communications as far to the rear, and to make it as circuitous as possible. It is further manifest, by intercepted letters, that Buonaparte was of opinion, that the movement he determined on, on the right of Prince Schwartzenberg, might induce him to fall back towards the Rhine, for fear of losing his communications—that he thus would be able to relieve his places, and be in a better situation to cover Paris

It generally occurs, that manœuvres are made with the advance, or the head

of an army; but Buonaparte, in his present undertaking, seems to have pushed his object so far, by the passage of the Aube with his whole army near Vitry, as to have left himself completely open to that bold and magnificent decision which was immediately adopted.

Buonaparte put his whole army in motion on the evening of the 21st for Vitry. That night he remained at Sommepuis; on the following day the advanced corps of his army arrived at Vitry, and summoned the place. It had been placed by Colonel —— in a very tolerable state of defence, and it had a garrison of between 3 and 4000 Prussians. Marshal Ney endeavoured, by every menace, to obtain a surrender; but the brave Prussian colonel resolutely refused, and held the town, which reduced the French commander to cross the Marne by bridges constructed near Frignicourt. Buonaparte here passed his whole army on the 23d and 24th, and was immediately ascertained to have taken the direction of St Dizier.

Three objects might be now in his view, by the movements round our right: to force us back; if this failed, to operate upon our communications, and even proceed to form a junction with Marshal Augereau; or, finally, by moving to his fortresses of Metz, &c. prolong the war by resisting on a new line, while he placed us in the centre of France, having taken the best precautions in his power for the defence of the capital.

The allies on the 22d having crossed to the right of the Aube, lost no time in adopting the bold resolution of forming the junction of the two armies to the westward, thus placing themselves between the French army and Paris, and proceeding with a united force of at least two hundred thousand men, to the capital of the French empire.

In order the better to mask this movement, the march of the allied army was made from Pougy, Lesmont, and Arcis, on Vitry; and his imperial majesty the Emperor of Russia, by two extraordinary marches of eighteen and twelve leagues, established his head-quarters with those of the Field Marshal at Vitry, on the 24th instant.

A very brilliant capture of several pieces of cannon, fifteen hundred prisoners, and a large number of caissons, was made by General Augerauski, of the cavalry of the Russian guard, on the 23d; and on this day and the preceding, several advanced-guard affairs took place between General Wrede's corps, the Prince of Wirtemberg's, and the enemy.

So soon as the Marshal took this decision, he made his dispositions accordingly, by forming a corps on the Bar-sur-Aube line, which he has committed to the care of General Ducca, to protect the head-quarters of the Emperor of Austria, his supplies, &c. and carry them, if necessary, towards the army of the south, and also, by vigorously pressing forward in his operations towards the capital, to secure his rear, while he pursues his objects in front.

The combined army marched in three columns to Fere Champenoise on the 25th. All the cavalry of the army formed the advance, and were to push forward to Sezanne. The 6th and 4th corps formed the advance of the centre column. The 5th was on the right, and the 3d corps, and the reserves and the guards, on the left.

Marshal Blucher was reported to have arrived with a great part of his army at Chalons. General Winzingerode and General Czernicheff, with all their cavalry, entered Vitry on the 23d, and were immediately detached to follow up Buonaparte's march to St Dizier, threatening his rear. Ge-

neral Winzingerode's infantry had remained at Chalons with Marshal Blucher, together with General Woronzoff's and Sacken's corps. General Bulow had marched to attack Soissons, and Generals Yorck and Kleist had moved on the line of Montmirail.

By these general movements, your lordship will perceive, that, had Buonaparte even not crossed the Aube, and passed between our two armies, he probably would have found himself in a similar position to that at Leipsic, and the result would have been, I have no doubt, of the same nature.

The army was to have bivouacked, on the 25th, at Fere Champenoise.

It appears the corps of Marshals Marmont and Mortier, who had been retiring from before Marshal Blucher, were moving down towards Vitry, to connect themselves with Buonaparte's operations, ignorant of his intentions, which may not have been fully formed until he found himself too far committed: those corps of his army were much perplexed on finding themselves close to Prince Schwartzenberg's army, when they expected to meet their own.

It is a singular but curious fact, that Marshal Marmont's advance was within a very short distance on the night of the 24th, to Vitry, without the enemy's knowing it was in the occupation of the allies.

On the morning of the 25th, the 6th corps, under General Reusske, fell in with their advance, drove them back to Connantry, and through Fere Champenoise: in the former place a large number of caissons, waggons, and baggage, were taken; in the mean time, on the left, the Russian cavalry of the reserves, under the Grand Duke Constantine, was equally successful, charging the enemy, taking 18 cannon and many prisoners. But the principal brilliant movement of the day occurred after the allied troops in advance had passed through Champenoise; a detached column of the enemy, of 5000 men, under the command of General Ames, had been making its way under the protection of Marmont's corps, from the neighbourhood of Montmirail, to join Napoleon with his grand army. This corps had in charge an immense convoy, with 100,000 rations of bread and ammunition, and was of great importance, by the force attached to it. It had left Paris to proceed to Buonaparte, and the cavalry of Marshal Blucher's army were the first to discover and observe this corps on their march from Chalons. My aide-de-camp, Captain Harris, was fortunate enough, looking out with some Cossacks, to give the first intelligence to Marshal Blucher of their position.

The cavalry of Generals Kort and Casitchikoff's corps were immediately detached after them, and they were driven upon Fere Champenoise, as the cavalry of the grand army was advancing. Some attacks of the cavalry were made on this corps, who formed themselves in squares, and it is but justice to say, defended themselves in the most gallant manner, although they were young troops and *gardes nationales*: when they were completely surrounded by the cavalry of both armies, some officers were sent to demand their surrender, but they still kept marching on and firing, and did not lay down their arms: a battery of Russian artillery opened upon them, and renewed charges of cavalry completed their destruction; and Generals Ames and Pathod, generals of division, five brigadiers, five thousand prisoners, and twelve cannon, with the convoy, fell into our hands; Marmont and Mortier's rear-guards seem to have drawn off in the direction of Sezanne, and it is difficult to say whether they will be able to effect their escape.

Every disposition is making to harass and surround them. But the moment is so eventful, and every intelligence gives rise to such new conjectures, that I can only beg your lordship to excuse the very imperfect manner in which I am obliged to detail.

The grand army marches to-day to Mailleret: head-quarters at Trefan, and the advance is to push as far as La Ferte Gaucher.

Marshal Blucher, who was last night at Etayes, is to advance against Montmirail.

Your lordship will, I am sure, lament to learn, that that very deserving officer, Colonel Neil Campbell, was unfortunately wounded by a Cossack, in the melees of the cavalry, not being known; the pike was run into his back, but he is doing well.

I am also particularly sorry to report the death of Colonel Rapatel, who was shot going up to one of the columns with a flag of truce. The loss of an officer, so much and so justly beloved in this army, from his attachment to General Moreau, his excellent qualities, and his devotion to the good cause, has occasioned a general regret.

CHARLES STEWART,
Lieut.-Gen.

Viscount Castlereagh, &c.

Head quarters, Colomiers, March 27, 1814.

My Lord,—The reports from the different corps not having been received when I sent off my dispatch of the 26th, added to the hurry of the moment in which it was written, must be my apology for having much underrated the successes of the 25th instant.

Upon the retreat of Marmont's, Mortier's, and Arrighi's corps before the several columns of the armies, whose junction had been effected between Fere Champenoise and Chalons, about 80 pieces of cannon, besides the convoy alluded to in my dispatch of the 26th, and a great number of caissons, fell into our hands. The guns were abandoned in all directions by the enemy in the rapid retreat, and were captured, not only by the cavalry of the Grand Duke Constantine and General Count Pahlen, but also by the corps of General Reifsky, and the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg.

Generals D'Yorck and Kleist, who had moved from Montmirail on La Ferte Gaucher, where they arrived on the 26th, very greatly augmented the enemy's discomfiture; General D'Yorck's was very seriously engaged with the enemy, and took 1500 prisoners at the latter place; and it may be fairly estimated, that this part of Buonaparte's army has been so roughly handled as to have lost one-third of its efficiency in point of numbers, with nearly all the artillery belonging to it. Nothing but continued forced marches could have enabled any part of the corps above alluded to, to elude their victorious pursuers; and when I detail to your lordship, that Marshal Blucher's army was at Fismes on the 24th, and was fighting at La Ferte-Gaucher on the 26th, making a march of twenty-six leagues, it will be evident that no physical exertions can exceed those that the present unexampled crisis brings into action.

The grand army was in position at Mailleret on the 26th. The march was continued in three columns from Fere Champenoise; the head-quarters of the Emperor of Russia and Prince Schwartzenberg were at Treffau: the cavalry of Count Pahlen were pushed on beyond La Ferte-Gaucher, joining Generals D'Yorck and Kleist; the cavalry and the reserves were bivouacked at La Vergiere, on the right of the great road; the 6th and 4th corps were in the centre; the 5th on the left; and the 3d remained in the rear

to cover all the baggage, artillery, parks and train, and to make the march of the whole compact. Generals Kaiseroff and Ledavin's partisan corps occupied and observed the country about Arcis and Troyes, between the Marne and Seine rivers.

Intelligence was received from Generals Winzengerode and Czernicheff, who continued following Buonaparte's rear with 10,000 cavalry and 40 pieces of cannon, that he was marching by Brienne to Bar-sur-Aube and Troyes, hastening back to the capital with the utmost precipitation; a plain demonstration (if any were wanting) that superiority of manœuvring, as well as superiority of force, were in his adversaries scale.

The Prince Field Marshal continued his march this day without interruption; the head-quarters were established at Colomiers; the 6th corps arrived at Monson; Count Pahlen's cavalry, and the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg, who were sent to turn the enemy's right, followed one part of the corps before us, which seemed now to have separated, to Crecy; while Generals D'Yorck and Kleist pushed the other, by advancing from La Ferte Gaucher to Meaux, where they will secure the passage of the Marne for Marshal Blucher's army; the 5th corps took up its ground near Chailly; the 3d at Meveillon; and the cavalry of the guard, the guards, and reserves, in front of this place.

Marshal Blucher's head-quarters are to night at La Ferte Jouarre, and to-morrow his army will pass the Marne; which I apprehend the grand army will do at Lagny; thus concentrating nearly their whole force on the right bank of the river, and taking position on the heights of Montmartre.

I am as yet ignorant of the motives that may have directed the corps of the enemy in our front; whether a part has fallen back to form a noyau to the national guards at Paris; and whether with some of these they will dispute momentarily the passage of the Marne to-morrow; and whether the other part is moving by Provins to join Buonaparte, remains to be seen, but in neither instance to be apprehended.

Whatever may be the ultimate result of the operations in progress, however brilliant they appear, the Sovereigns who are present, and the Prince Field Marshal who leads their armies, will have the proud and consoling reflection, that by their intrepid manœvre, they have acted right by their countries, their people, and the great cause. I have the honour to be, &c.

CHARLES STEWART, Lieut.-Gen.

Viscount Castlereagh, &c.

Head-quarters, Bondy, March 29, 1814.

On the 28th, the grand allied army and that of Silesia continued their advance to Paris. The 6th corps, the Austrian grenadiers, the guards, and reserves, and the cavalry of his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke Constantine, took up their ground in the neighbourhood of Coulley and Manteuil. The 3d corps was this day at Mouron; the 5th remained at Chailly, with the advanced guard in the direction of LaFerte-Gaucher, observing the routes of Sezanne and Provins. The head-quarters of the army were established at Cuencey.

The passage of the Marne at Meaux was effected by the 6th corps with little resistance. A part of Marshal Mortier's corps, under the immediate command of the French General Vincent, who retired through the above place, broke down the bridge in his retreat, and detained the allies in their advance.

About 10,000 of the national guards, mixed with some old soldiers, endeavoured to make a feeble stand before the army of Silesia, between La Ferte

Jouarre and Meaux; but General Horne attacked them, and placing himself gallantly at the head of some squadrons, he pierced into a mass of infantry, taking, himself, the French general prisoner.

The passage of the river was also disputed at Triport, where the army of the Marshal passed; but notwithstanding the fire of the enemy, the bridge was soon completed, and the whole of this army passed the Marne to-day.

The French, on their retreat from Meaux, caused a magazine of powder, of an immense extent, to be blown up, without the slightest information to the inhabitants of the town, who thought themselves, by the monstrous explosion, buried in the ruins of the place; not a window of the town that was not shivered to atoms, and great damage was done to all the houses, and to the magnificent cathedral.

The corps of D'Yorck and Kleist advanced this day to Clave; the corps of General Langeron was on their right, and General Sacken's in reserve; the corps of Woronzow was in the rear of Meaux.

Different bridges were constructed on the Marne, to enable the grand army to file over in various columns.

Buonaparte's rear towards St Dizier seems to have been assailed on the evening of the 26th, and morning of the 27th, by a very preponderating force of the enemy, especially as to infantry. The details of the affair are not arrived, but it appears the general was obliged to retreat in the direction of Bar-le-Duc.

From the most recent reports Buonaparte was himself at St Dizier on the 27th, and it is said his advanced guard is at Vitry. It would thus appear that he is marching after the allies, or directing himself on the Marne; but it is to be hoped this is now too late.

On the 29th the army of Silesia, having a corps on the Marne, was directed to his right, to advance on the great road of Soissons to Paris; General Count Langeron was on the night, near the village of La Villettes; Generals D'Yorck and Kleist moved from the Meaux route into that of Soissons, to make room for Prince Schwartzenberg's army; Generals Sacken and Woronzow were in their rear.

On the 28th, in the evening, a very sharp affair occurred at Claye, between General D'Yorck and the enemy's rear; the ground they were posted on was very favourable for defence: and in a very severe tiraillade General D'Yorck lost some hundred men, but the enemy were driven back at all points.

The 6th corps passed at Triport, and reached Bondy at night, and the heights of Pantin. The 4th corps crossed at Meaux, with the guards, and reserves, and cavalry: The former was immediately directed to gain the high road from Lagny to the capital, and to take post on the heights of Chelle. The 3d corps was to support the 4th. The 5th moved to Meaux, and remained on the left of the Marne, having their cavalry at Cressy and Coulomiers.

On the advance of the 6th corps some slight resistance was made at Villaparis; and as it was necessary to relieve Generals D'Yorck and Kleist, and move them more to the right, a cessation of hostilities for four hours was agreed on by mutual consent, which delay prevented the march forward being so rapid as usual.

The army this night may be stated to have their right towards Montmartre, and their left near the wood of Vincennes.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CHARLES STEWART,
Lieut.-General.

Heights of Belleville, March 30.

My Lord,—After a brilliant victory, God has placed the capital of the French empire in the hands of the allied sovereigns, a just retribution for the miseries inflicted on Moscow, Vienna, Madrid, Berlin, and Lisbon, by the Desolator of Europe.

I must very imperfectly detail the events of this glorious day at such a moment as the present, and therefore throw myself on your lordship's indulgence.

The enemy's army, under the command of Joseph Buonaparte, aided by Marshals Mortier and Marmont, occupied with their right the heights of Fontenoy, Romainville, and Belleville; their left was on Montmartre, and they had several redoubts in the centre, and on the whole line an immense artillery of above a hundred and fifty pieces.

In order to attack this position, the Silesian army was directed on Montmartre, St Denis, and the village of La Vallette and Pantin, while the grand army attacked the enemy's right on the heights before alluded to, at Romainville and Belleville. Marshal Blucher made his own dispositions for his attack.

The 9th corps, under General Reiffsky, moved from Bondy in three columns of attack, supported by the guards and reserves, and, leaving the great route of Meaux, attacked the heights of Romainville and Belleville. These are very commanding, as well as Montmartre, the ground between being covered with villages and country seats, and the possession of them commands Paris and the whole country round. Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg's division of the 6th corps commenced the attack, and with the greatest spirit endured for a long period a very galling fire of artillery, being supported by the reserves of grenadiers: His serene highness, after some loss, carried the heights of Romainville, the enemy retiring to those of Belleville behind them. The 5th corps supported this attack more to the left, and was directed on the heights of Rosny, and on Charenton, by their gallant commander the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg. The 3d corps of the army was placed in echelon near Neuilly in reserve, as well as the cavalry.

The attack of the grand army had commenced some short time before that of the Silesian, delayed by some accident; but it was not long before Generals D'Yorck and Kleist debouched near St Denis on Aubeville, and here and at Pantin a very obstinate resistance was made. His Royal Highness Prince William of Prussia, with his brigade, together with the Prussian guards, were much distinguished. The enemy's cavalry attempted to charge, but were brilliantly repulsed by the Brandenburgh and black hussar regiments. A strong redoubt and battery of the enemy's in the centre kept General D'Yorck's corps in check for some part of the day; but their right flank being gained by the heights of Romainville, as well as their loss in every part of the field, and, finally, the complete discomfiture on all sides, reduced them to the necessity of sending a flag of truce to demand a cessation of hostilities, they giving up all the ground without the barrier of Paris, until further arrangements could be made.

The heights of Montmartre were to be placed, by the generosity of a beaten enemy, in our possession (Romainville and Belleville) being carried at the moment when Count Langeron's corps was about to storm them, and had already taken possession of the rest of the hill.

Count Woronzow's division also carried the village of La Vallette, charging with two battalions of chas-

teurs; and possessing themselves of twelve pieces of cannon, were also stopped near the barrier of Paris by the flag of truce.

However, his Imperial Majesty, the King of Prussia, and Prince Schwartzenberg, with that humanity which must excite the applause, while it calls for the admiration of Europe, acceded to entertain a proposition to prevent the capital from being sacked and destroyed. Count Par, aid-de-camp to the Prince Field Marshal, and Colonel Orloff, aid-de-camp to his Majesty the Emperor, were sent to arrange the cessation of hostilities; and Count Nesselrode, his imperial majesty's minister, went in at four o'clock this evening, when the battle ceased, to Paris.

The result of this victory cannot yet be known; numerous pieces of artillery taken in the field, and a large number of prisoners, have fallen into our hands. The number of guns are already reported: viz. Blucher, 16; Prussian guards, Baden ditto, 14; General Reiffsky and Russian grenadiers, 21; Prince Royal of Wirtemberg, 6; Lieutenant-General Count Woronzow, 12. Total—69.

Our loss has been something considerable; but we may have the consoling hope, that the brave men who fell will accomplish the work of the downfall of despotism, and rear the standard of renovated Europe under a just equilibrium, and the dominion of its legitimate sovereigns.

I take the liberty of sending my aide-de-camp, Captain Harris, with this dispatch, being with me during the day; he will make his way, I hope, with the Cossacks, whom Lieutenant-General Count Woronzow has given him, and will acquaint your lordship verbally with details I can but imperfectly enter into. When I receive Colonel Lowe's report, as well as Colonel Cook's, I shall not fail to dispatch again, to put you in possession of all further information in my power of this interesting and wonderful day.—I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) Charles Stewart,
Lieut.-General.

Paris, March 31.

My Lord,—The Emperor Alexander, with the King of Prussia, marched into Paris this morning, where they were received by all ranks of the population with the warmest acclamations.

The windows of the best houses were filled by well-dressed persons waving white handkerchiefs and clapping their hands; the populace, intermixed with many of a superior class, were in the streets pressing forward to see the emperor, and to endeavour to touch his horse. The general cry was, "*Vive l'Empereur Alexander,*" "*Vive notre Liberateur,*" "*Vive le Roi de Prusse.*"

Very many persons appeared with white cockades, and there was a considerable cry of "*Vive Louis XVIII.*" "*Vive les Bourbons,*" which gradually increased.

Their imperial and royal majesties proceeded to the Champs Elysees, where a great part of the army passed in review before them, and, as usual, in the most exact order. His imperial majesty is lodged in the house of M. Talleyrand, Prince of Benevente.

It is impossible to describe the scenes of this day in the compass of a dispatch; the most striking were, the national guard in their uniform and armed, clearing the avenues for the troops of the allies passing through in all the pomp of military parade, the day after a severe action: the people of Paris, whose political sentiments have at all times been manifested by the strongest indication, unanimous in their cry for peace, and a change of dynasty, enjoying the spectacle of the

entry into the capital of France of an invading army, as a blessing and a deliverance. A rope placed round the neck of the statue of Napoleon on the Colonne de la Grande Armee, and the people amused with pulling it and crying "a bas le Tyran!"

Much was said in the crowd of their wish for the restoration of amicable relations with Great Britain.

The occupation of Lyons and of Bourdeaux was known to all the people, as also the circumstance of the declarations at the latter place in favour of Louis XVIII. and the display of the white cockade; but not the independence of Holland.

The events which have led to the occupation of Paris will be understood from the following recapitulation.

Since the battle of Brienne, on the 1st of February, the enemy has shewn no inclination to fight a general battle against the united force of the allies, but has used the utmost activity to attack all detachments.

In the latter end of February, Field Marshal Blucher crossed the Marne, and moved upon Epernay, Soissons, and Laon, to meet and to unite with the corps moving from the northern army, and those which had been relieved from the blockade of fortresses near the Rhine. The gallant and well-fought action which took place between Soissons, Laon, and Rheims, has been detailed in the report by Colonel Lowe, and other officers.

During these operations on the right, the Marshal Prince Schwartzenberg drew back the corps which remained with him on the left, and detached to reinforce the army between Dijon, Lyons, and Geneva, receiving at the same time, and distributing the Velites from Hungary, and other Austrian reinforcements; his army, which had occupied the country between the Seine and Yonne, with posts at Auxerre, Fontainbleau, Melun, and Mormant, and which had patrolled into the suburbs of Orleans (near which city General Seslarini took some hundred prisoners) having fallen back to the Aube, where the affair of Bar sur Aube took place on the 13th.

After this affair the Prince Field-Marshal re-occupied Troyes, Auxerre, Sens, and Pont sur Seine.

Napoleon, having declined a general action, which Field-Marshal Blucher repeatedly offered near Laon, returned to the left bank of the Marne, and indicated an intention of resuming offensive operations against the grand army.

The conferences at Chatillon were terminated on the 19th instant, and on that day the French army moved upon Arcis, behind which the corps commanded by Field-Marshal Count Wrede was posted.

The allies under the Prince Schwartzenberg, viz. the 3d, 4th, and 6th corps, under the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg, and the 5th under Field-Marshal Wrede, with the whole reserve, were concentrated on the Aube, near Pougy and Arcis, and a general attack was made by the allies on the 20th, in which the enemy was defeated at all points, with great loss, and Arcis was retaken.

At this juncture Napoleon formed the desperate and extraordinary plan of passing between the armies of the allies, and of striking at their communications with the Rhine, intending at the same time to liberate the garrison of Metz. For this purpose he moved by Chalons on Vitry and St Dizier, his head-quarters being on the 22d at Obcomte, between the two latter places. Vitry was held by a small Prussian garrison, which refused to surrender.

The extent and nature of this project was fully ascertained on the 23d. A movement was immediately resolved

upon Vitry, to secure that place, and to endeavour to cut off the corps of Marshal Macdonald, said to be on the left bank of the Marne, between Chalons and Vitry, to operate a junction with the troops under General Winzingerode, which had moved upon Chalons, and to unite both armies.

Their Majesties the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia left Troyes the 20th, and had their quarters at Pougy. The Emperor of Austria moved his quarters on the 19th to Bar sur Seine, with all the cabinet ministers, and came the 21st to Bar sur Aube.

On the evening of the 23d, the army broke up from Pougy, and having marched by Ramerne and Dompierre, assembled at day-break near Sommepuis; but the corps of Marshal Macdonald had crossed the Marne the preceding day, before it could be intercepted.

On the 24th, the junction with General Winzingerode was effected at Vitry and Chalons, and the Silesian army came within reach of co-operating with the grand army.

On the 25th, General Winzingerode, with his own and several other corps of cavalry, being left to observe the enemy, the united allied force began its movement by rapid and continued marches on Paris.

The corps of Marshals Mortier and Marmont were found at Vitry and Sommepuis, and were driven back with loss, and pursued in the direction of Paris. On the 25th, the Emperor, the King, and Field-Marshal the Prince Schwartzenberg were at Fere Champenoise, and on the 26th at Treffaux. Field-Marshal Blucher was at Etoges on the 26th, and continued to march on Meaux by Montmirail. In the course of that week not less than 100 cannon and 9000 prisoners were taken, with several general officers. At the affair near Fere Champenoise, Colonel Rapatel, late aide-de-camp to General Moreau, was unfortunately killed while exhorting the French to surrender; and Colonel Neil Campbell, who is on this service, and who has been with the advanced Russian corps in all the affairs since his return from the siege of Dantzig, was severely wounded, having been run through the body by a Russian lancer, who mistook him for an enemy during one of the charges. I am happy to say there is every reason to expect his recovery.

On the 27th, the imperial and royal head-quarters were at Coulomiers, and the Silesian army reached Meaux.

On the 28th, head-quarters at Quincy. Bridges were prepared at Meaux and Triport. The Silesian army advanced to Claye, in front of which town a severe action took place, in which the enemy was repulsed.

On the 29th, the Emperor and the King, with Field-Marshal Prince Schwartzenberg, crossed the Marne at Meaux; and the enemy being still in possession of the woods near Ville Parisis and Bondi, he was attacked and driven beyond Bondi towards Pantin; the head-quarters were established at the former of those places.

Field-Marshal Blucher the same day marched in two columns to the right, pointing upon Montmartre, through Mory, Drancey, and St Denis.

The enemy had improved the defences which the ground afforded on Montmartre, and in front of it, by redoubts and batteries, and had a considerable force of regular troops near the villages of Pantin, Romainville, and Belleville. The navigable canal, the woods and houses, together with some ground, so deep as to be nearly impassable for horses, afforded considerable means of resistance. A disposition for a general attack having been made on the 30th, the 6th corps, supported by the grenadiers and re-

serve, was engaged at an early hour to prevent the enemy from holding Pantin. The remainder of the troops, under the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg, was to turn the enemy on his right, and to push on to occupy in succession all the heights on the left of the road to Belleville inclusive. The day was considerably advanced before the troops reached their several positions, and the enemy made a determined resistance, especially at the village of Pantin; the whole of his force was commanded by the Duke of Treviso, the right wing by the Duke of Ragusa. A message had been sent on the 29th, to deprecate resistance, and to explain that it must be vain, as the whole army was present, but the messenger was not received. In the evening of the 30th, Count Nesselrode was admitted within the barriers of Paris; and at the same time one of the emperor's aides-de-camp was sent to Marshal Marmont, who agreed that all firing should cease in half an hour, if the allied sovereigns would consent that no part of the army should pass the barrier of Paris that night. This was consented to, and the enemy withdrew from Montmartre within the town. The emperor returned to Bondi with the field-marshal; and at four in the morning the deputies of the city arrived. Seventy cannon, three colours, and five hundred men were taken; the number of killed and wounded of the enemy was very considerable, but this victory was not gained without some loss on the part of the allies.

CATHCART.

Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c.

Paris, April 1.

My Lord,—I have the honour to annex herewith a copy of the capitulation of the city of Paris. I feel it impossible to convey to your lordship an accurate idea, or a just description, of the scene that presented itself yesterday in this capital, when his imperial majesty the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and Prince Schwartzenberg, made their entry at the head of the troops. The enthusiasm and exultation that was exhibited must have very far exceeded what the most sanguine and devoted friend of the ancient dynasty of France could have pictured in his own mind, and those who are less personally interested, but equally ardent in that cause, could no longer hesitate in pronouncing that the restoration of their legitimate king, the downfall of Buonaparte, and the desire of peace, has become the first and dearest wish of the Parisians, who have, by the events of the last two days, been emancipated from a system of terror and despotism impossible to describe; while they have been kept in an ignorance, by the arts of falsehood and deceit, incredible for an enlightened people, and incomprehensible to the reflecting part of mankind.

The cavalry, under his imperial highness the Grand Archduke Constantine, and the guards of all the different allied forces, were formed in columns early in the morning on the road from Bondy to Paris. The Emperor of Russia, with all his staff, his generals, and their suites present, proceeded to Pantin, where the King of Prussia joined him with a similar cortege; these sovereigns, surrounded by all the princes of the army, together with the Prince Field-Marshal and the Austrian etat-major, passed through the Fauxbourg St Martin, and entered the barrier of Paris about eleven o'clock, the Cossacks of the guard forming the advance of the march. Already was the crowd so enormous, as well as the acclamations so great, that it was difficult to move forward; but before the monarchs

reached the Porte de St Martin, to turn on the Boulevards, there was a moral impossibility of proceeding. All Paris seemed to be assembled and concentrated in one spot; one animus, or spring, evidently directed all their movements; they thronged in such masses round the emperor and the king, that with all their condescending and gracious familiarity, extending their hands on all sides, it was in vain to attempt to satisfy the populace. They were positively eaten up amidst the cries of "*Vive l'Empereur Alexandre,*" "*Vive le Roi de Prusse,*" "*Vive nos Liberateurs;*" nor did the air alone resound with these peals, for with louder acclamations, if possible, they were mingled with those of "*Vive le Roi,*" "*Vive Louis XVIII,*" "*Vive les Bourbons,*" "*A bas le Tyran.*" The white cockade appeared very generally; many of the national guards, whom I saw, wore them. The clamorous applause of the multitude was seconded by a similar demonstration from all the houses along the line to the Champs Elysees, and handkerchiefs, as well as the fair hands that waved them, seemed in continued requisition. In short, my lord, to have an idea of such a manifestation of electric feeling as Paris displayed, it must have been witnessed; my humble description cannot make you conceive it. The sovereigns halted in the Champs Elysees, where the troops defiled before them in the most admirable order, and the head-quarters were established at Paris.

I have the honour to annex the declaration of the Emperor Alexander. Buonaparte, it now appears, moved his army from Troyes by Sens, towards Fontainbleau, where, I suppose, the debris of Marshals Mortier and Marmont's corps will join him. He arrived at Fromont the day before yesterday, and would have been in Paris had it not been in the possession of the allies. On hearing what had occurred, he retired to Corbeil, and from thence he has probably collected his army in the neighbourhood of Fontainbleau, which cannot amount to more than 50,000 men. That he will make a desperate attempt I think probable, if his army stands by him, which will be questionable if the senate and nation pronounces itself. The allied armies march to-morrow (with the exception of the guards and reserves, who remain here,) towards Fontainbleau, and will take up a position, or be regulated by the movements of Buonaparte.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CHARLES STEWART, Lieut.-Gen.

Viscount Castlereagh, &c.

Foreign Office, April 9, 1814.
Eight p. m.

Dispatches have been this day received at this office from General Lord Viscount Cathcart, K. T. announcing the abdication of the crowns of France and Italy, by Napoleon Buonaparte, in terms of which the following is a translation:

"The allied powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon was the only obstacle to the re-establishment of the peace of Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares, that he renounces for himself and his heirs the thrones of France and Italy, and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make to the interest of France.

"Done at the Palace of Fontainbleau, the April, 1814."

Paris, April 7.

My Lord,—The great events which have of late occurred in this capital will be best detailed to you by his

majesty's ministers assembled at this place.

The corps of Marshal Marmont, amounting to 12,000 men, passed in the night of the 4th within the lines occupied by the allied troops. This corps has taken its cantonments near Versailles.

Marshals Ney and Macdonald, accompanied by General Caulaincourt, arrived at the same time, as bearers of Buonaparte's proposal, to submit to the decision of the senate and the people of France, and to abdicate in favour of his son.

This proposition not having been agreed to, he has now surrendered himself to the wishes of the nation.

The senate have this day announced the adoption of a constitution for the government of France, under the dominion of their ancient line of kings. There seems no diversity of opinion in the nation. All have obeyed the call of the provisional government. Buonaparte stands alone and unprotected, in a country where, but a few days past, he disposed at pleasure of the lives of its inhabitants.

In this concluding scene of the most memorable era which history records, it is impossible, my lord, I should resist a feeling of public duty, prompted also by a sense of gratitude and affection, in calling your attention to the able and distinguished manner in which Prince Schwartzenberg has conducted the operations of this campaign. Exclusively of the talent which he has marked when in the field of battle, to the successes which have ever attended his career, the world will still look with almost increased admiration to the conduct he has pursued since his entry into Paris.

Where conciliation, where every kind feeling of the heart was required to change a system of carnage and desolation to the protection of a people, but of late a most bitter enemy, the character of Prince Schwartzenberg secured to him success.

More security, more order never reigned in this capital. Peace and tranquillity, the happy omens, may we hope, of the future regenerated state of Europe, exist here amidst the troops of every nation, in spite of feelings lately of so great hostility.

From his great and exalted situation, from the virtues which adorn his character, the Emperor of Russia has been best able to appreciate the merits of Prince Schwartzenberg. In token of the esteem he bears him, and in estimation of his great services, he has decorated him with the grand order of St Andrew, and has presented it in diamonds.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BURGHERSH.

Right Hon. E. Bathurst.

COLONIAL DEPARTMENT.

Downing-Street, Feb. 6.

Letters to General Drummond, transmitted by Sir G. Prevost.

Fort Niagara, Dec. 19.

Sir,—In obedience to your honour's commands, directing me to attack Fort Niagara with the advance of the army of the right, I resolved upon attempting a surprise. The embarkation commenced on the 18th at night, and the whole of the troops were landed three miles from the fort early on the following morning, in the following order of attack: Advanced guard, one subaltern, and twenty rank and file; grenadiers 100th regiment; royal artillery, with grenades; five companies 100th regiment, under Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton, to assault the main gate, and escalade the works adjacent; three companies of the 100th regiment, under Captain Martin, to storm the east-

ern demi-bastion; Captain Bailey, with the grenadiers Royal Scots, was directed to attack the salient angle of the fortification, and the flank companies of the 41st regiment were ordered to support the principal attack. Each party was provided with scaling-ladders and axes. I have great satisfaction in acquainting your honour, that the fortress was carried by assault in the most resolute and gallant manner, after a short but spirited resistance.

[Here follow encomiums upon the conduct of Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton, and several other officers.]

Our force consisted of about 500 rank and file. Annexed is a return of our casualties, and the enemy's loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The ordnance and commissariat are so immense, that it is totally out of my power to forward to you a correct statement for some days, but 27 pieces of cannon, of different calibres, are on the works, and upwards of 3000 stand of arms and many rifles in the arsenal. The storehouses are full of clothing and camp equipage of every description.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) J. Murray, Col.

[The return subjoined to the above states, that Lieutenant Nowlan, of the 100th regiment, was killed; and Colonel Murray, and Assistant Surgeon Ogilvy, of the royal artillery, were wounded. Of rank and file there were five killed and three wounded. The total of the enemy's loss, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was one captain, nine lieutenants, two ensigns, one surgeon, one assistant-surgeon, one commissary, 12 serjeants, 395 rank and file. The whole belonging to the artillery and line.]

Niagara Frontier, Fort Erie, Jan. 1, 1814.

Sir,—I have the honour to report to you, that agreeably to the instructions contained in your letter of the 29th ult., and your general order of that day, to pass the river Niagara, for the purpose of attacking the enemy's force collected at Black Rock and Buffaloe, and carrying into execution the other objects therein mentioned, I crossed the river in the following night, with four companies of the King's regiment, and the light company of the 89th, under Lieut.-Col. Ogilvy; 250 men of the 41st regiment, and the grenadiers of the 100th, under Major Frend; together with about 50 militia volunteers, and a body of Indian warriors. The troops completed their landing about twelve of the clock, nearly two miles below Black Rock; the light infantry of the 89th being in advance, surprised and captured the greater part of a picquet of the enemy, and secured the bridge over the Conguichity Creek, the boards of which had been loosened, and were ready to be carried off, had there been time given for it. I immediately established the 41st and 100th grenadiers in position beyond the bridge, for the purpose of perfectly securing its passage. The enemy made some attempts during the night upon this advanced position, but were repulsed with loss.

At day-break I moved forward, the King's regiment and light company of the 89th leading, the 41st and grenadiers of the 100th being in reserve. The enemy had by this time opened a very heavy fire of cannon and musketry on the Royal Scots, under Lieut.-Colonel Gordon, who were destined to land above Black Rock, for the purpose of turning his position, while he should be attacked in front by the troops who landed below. Several of the boats having grounded, I am sorry to say this regiment suffered some loss, and was not able to effect its landing in sufficient time to fully accomplish the object intended, though covered

by the whole of our field-guns, under Captain Bridge, which were placed on the opposite bank of the river.

The King's and 89th having in the mean time gained the town, commenced a very spirited attack upon the enemy, who were in great force, and very strongly posted. The reserve being arrived on the ground, the whole were shortly engaged. The enemy maintained his position with very considerable obstinacy for some time: but such was the spirited and determined advance of our troops, that he was at length compelled to give way, was driven through his batteries, in which were a 24-pounder, three 12-pounders, and one 9-pounder, and pursued to the town of Buffaloe, about two miles distant; he there shewed a large body of infantry and cavalry, and attempted to oppose our advance by the fire of a field-piece, posted on a height, which commanded the road; but finding this ineffectual, he fled in all directions, and betaking himself to the woods, further pursuit was useless. He left behind him one 6-pounder brass field-piece and one iron 18, and one iron 6-pounder, which fell into our hands.

I then proceeded to execute the ulterior object of the expedition, and detached Captain Robinson, of the King's, with two companies to destroy the two schooners and sloop (part of the enemy's lake squadron) that were on shore a little below the town, with the stores they had on board, which he effectually completed. The town itself (the inhabitants having previously left it) and the whole of the public stores, containing considerable quantities of clothing, spirits, and flour, which I had not the means of conveying away, were then set on fire, and totally consumed; as was also the village of Black Rock, on the evening it was evacuated. In obedience to your further instructions, I have directed Lieut.-Colonel Gordon to move down the river to Fort Niagara, with a party of the 19th light dragoons, under Major Lisle, a detachment of the Royal Scots, and the 89th light company, and destroy the remaining cover of the enemy upon this frontier, which he has reported to have been effectually done. From every account I have been able to collect, the enemy's force opposed to us was not less than from 2000 to 2500 men; their loss in killed and wounded, I should imagine, from 300 to 400; but from the nature of the country, being mostly covered with wood, it is difficult to ascertain it precisely; the same reason will account for our not having been able to make a greater number of prisoners than 130. I have great satisfaction in stating to you the good conduct of the whole of the regular troops and volunteer militia; but I must particularly mention the steadiness and bravery of the King's regiment, and 80th light infantry. They were most gallantly led to the attack by Lieut.-Colonel Ogilvy, of the King's, who, I am sorry to say, received a severe wound. After Lieut.-Col. Ogilvy was wounded, the command of the regiment devolved on Captain Robinson, who, by a very judicious movement to his right, with the three battalion companies, made a considerable impression on the left of the enemy's position.

I enclose a return of the killed, wounded, and missing, and of the ordnance captured at Black Rock and Buffaloe.

I have the honour to be, &c.

P. Riall, Major-General.

Lieut.-General Drummond.

General total of killed, wounded, and missing—4 officers, 3 serjeants, 105 rank and file.

Officers wounded—Lieut.-Colonel Ogilvy and Lieutenant Young, of the King's regiment; Captain Fawcett,

of the 100th regiment; Captain Sercos, of the volunteer militia.

[A statement of the ordnance taken is given in the body of the dispatches.]

Lewiston, Dec. 19, 1813.

Sir,—According to your instructions, I crossed the river this morning, immediately after the advance, under Colonel Murray, had passed over with the Royal Scots and 41st regiments, accompanied by a large body of Indians, and marched upon Lewiston, whieh the enemy had, however, abandoned upon our approach, leaving behind him a 12 and a 6-pounder gun, with travelling carriages, and every thing complete. I found in the place a considerable number of small arms, some ammunition, nine barrels of powder, and also a quantity of flour, amounting, I believe, to 200 barrels. I regret the troops had not theopportunity of coming in contact with the enemy, as I am convinced they would have acquired your fullest approbation.

I have, &c. (Signed

P. Riall, Major-Gen.

Lieut.-Gen. Drummond, &c.

Downing Street, May 31.

A dispatch, of which the following is an extract, has been this day received by Earl Bathurst, from Lieut.-General Sir Geo. Prevost, dated

Quebec, March 12, 1814.

When I had the honour of addressing your lordship on the 9th of February, the American army, under Major-General Wilkinson, continued to occupy their position on the frontier of Lower Canada, at the French Mills, on the Salmon River, near St Regis, and at the Four Corners.

I now beg leave to acquaint you, that, between the 12th and 16th of February, the enemy abandoned their position, after partially burning their block-houses and barracks, erected with infinite labour and great expense, and also destroying their river craft and batteaux, several hundred of which have been frozen up in Salmon River, and they have succeeded in moving their ordnance and the principal part of their provisions and stores. Two regiments are stated to have proceeded to Sackett's Harbour, and the remainder of their force to Burlington and Platsburgh, where Major-General Wilkinson has now taken up his head-quarters.

I am informed the frontier positions occupied by the enemy at the close of the last campaign were given up, by the orders of the American government, in consequence of the extreme difficulty experienced, and the enormous expence incurred, in supplying the troops allotted for their defence with provisions, and the daily decrease of their army by sickness and desertion, arising from the harassing and fatiguing duties to which their troops were exposed, from the constant apprehension of being attacked by us.

As soon as information of the enemy's movement was received, Colonel Scott, of the 103d regiment, with a small effective force, consisting of detachments from that corps, the 89th, and Canadian fencibles, and a picquet of light cavalry from Coteau du Lac and Cornwall, passed over the ice from the latter post to the Salmon River, and arrived in time to press upon the enemy's rear-guard, which made a precipitate retreat; and about a hundred sleigh loads of provisions and stores have fallen into our possession, and the destruction of their block-houses, barracks, and boats, been completed.

Colonel Scott advanced with his party without opposition into the enemy's country to Malone, Madrid, and within a few miles of Platsburg, and returned by the route of Four Corners to his post at the Coteau du Lac.

Letter from Lieut.-General Drummond to Sir George Prevost.

His Majesty's Ship Prince Regent, off Oswego, Lake Ontario, May 7, 1814.

Sir,—I am happy to have to announce to your excellency the complete success of the expedition against Oswego.

The troops mentioned in my dispatch of the 3d inst. viz. six companies of de Watteville's regiment, under Lieut.-Colonel Fischer; the light company of the Glengarry light infantry, under Captain M'Millan; and the whole of the second battalion royal marines, under Lieut.-Col. Malcolm, having been embarked with a detachment of the royal artillery, under Captain Cruttenden, with two field-pieces; a detachment of the rocket company, under Lieut. Stevens, and a detachment of sappers and miners, under Lieut. Gosset, of the royal engineers, on the evening of the 3d instant I proceeded on board the Prince Regent at day-light on the 14th, and the squadron immediately sailed. The wind being variable, we did not arrive off Oswego until noon the following day. The ships lay-to within long gun-shot of the battery, and the gun-boats, under Captain Collier, were sent close in for the purpose of inducing the enemy to shew his fire, and particularly the number and position of his guns. This service was performed in a most gallant manner, the boats taking a position within point-blank shot of the fort, which returned the fire from four guns, one of them heavy. The enemy did not appear to have any guns mounted on the town side of the river.

Having sufficiently reconnoitred the place, arrangements were made for its attack, which it was decided should take place at eight o'clock that evening; but at sun-set a very heavy squall blowing directly on the shore, obliged the squadron to get under weigh, and prevented our return until the next morning, when the following disposition was made of the troops and squadron by Commodore Sir James Yeo and myself: The Princess Charlotte, Wolfe, and Royal George, to engage the batteries, as close as the depth of water would admit of their approaching the shore; the Sir Sidney Smith schooner to scour the town, and keep in check a large body of militia, who might attempt to pass over into the fort; the Moira and Melville brigs to tow the boats with the troops, and then cover their landing by scouring the woods on the low point towards the foot of the hill, by which it was intended to advance to the assault of the fort.

Captain O'Connor had the direction of the boats and gun-boats destined to land the troops, which consisted of the flank companies of De Watteville's regiment, the company of the Glengarry light infantry, and the second battalion of the royal marines, being all that could be landed at one embarkation. The four battalion companies of the regiment of Watteville, and the detachment of artillery, remaining in reserve on board the Princess Charlotte and Sir Sidney Smith schooner.

As soon as every thing was ready, the ships opened their fire, and the boats pushed for the point of disembarkation in the most regular order. The landing was effected under a heavy fire from the fort, as well as from a considerable body of the enemy drawn up on the brow of the hill and in the woods. The immediate command of the troops was entrusted to Lieut.-Colonel Fischer, of the regiment De Watteville, of whose gallant, cool, and judicious conduct, as well as of the distinguished bravery, steadiness, and discipline of every officer and soldier composing this small force, I was a witness, having, with Commodore Sir

James Yeo, the deputy-adjutant-general, and the officers of my staff, landed with the troops. I refer your excellency to Lieut.-Col. Fischer's letter inclosed, for an account of the operations. The place was gained in ten minutes from the moment the troops advanced. The fort being every where almost open, the whole of the garrison, consisting of the third battalion of artillery, about 400 strong, and some hundred militia, effected their escape, with the exception of about 60 men, half of them severely wounded.

I enclose a return of our loss, amongst which I have to regret that of Captain Holtaway, of the royal marines. Your excellency will lament to observe in the list the name of that gallant, judicious, and excellent officer Captain Mulcaster, of the royal navy, who landed at the head of 200 volunteers, seamen from the fleet, and received a severe and dangerous wound when within a few yards of the guns which he was attempting to storm, which I fear will deprive the squadron of his valuable assistance for some time at least.

In noticing the co-operation of the naval branch of the service, I have the highest satisfaction in assuring your excellency that I have, throughout this, as well as every other occasion, experienced the most zealous, cordial, and able support from Sir James Yeo. It will be for him to do justice to the merits of those under his command; but I may nevertheless be permitted to observe, that nothing could exceed the coolness and gallantry in action, or the unwearied exertions on shore, of the captains, officers, and crews of the whole squadron.

I enclose a memorandum of the captured articles that have been brought away, in which your excellency will perceive with satisfaction seven heavy guns, that were intended for the enemy's new ship. Three 32-pounders were sunk by the enemy in the river, as well as a large quantity of cordage and other naval stores. The loss to them, therefore, has been very great; and I am sanguine in believing, that by this blow they have been deprived of the means of completing the armament, and particularly the equipment of the large man of war, an object of the greatest importance.

Every object of the expedition having been effected, and the captured stores embarked, the troops returned, in the most perfect order, on board their respective ships at four o'clock this morning, when the squadron immediately sailed, the barracks in the town, as well as those in the fort, having been previously burnt, together with the platforms, bridge, &c. and the works in every other respect dismantled and destroyed, as far as was practicable.

[The general concludes with expressions of the utmost admiration of the officers and men engaged in the expedition.]

(Signed) Gordon Drummond.

Head-Quarters, Montreal,
July 10, 1814.

I have the honour to report to your lordship, the safe arrival at Michilimackinac, on the 18th of May last, of Lieut.-Col. M'Doual, with the whole of the reinforcements of troops and seamen, and of the supplies of stores and provisions, with which he sailed from Nottawasaga river on the 25th of April preceding.

The difficulties experienced in conducting open and deeply-laden batteaux across so great an extent of water as Lake Huron, covered with immense fields of ice, and agitated by violent gales of wind, could only have been surmounted by the zeal, perseverance, and abilities of the officers commanding this expedition: for nineteen days it was nearly one continued strug-

gle with the elements, during which time the dangers, hardships, and privations to which the men were exposed, were sufficient to discourage the boldest amongst them, and at times threatened the total destruction of the flotilla. By uncommon exertions, however, the obstacles to the progress of the boats were surmounted, and the whole, with the exception of one only (the lading of which was saved), reached the place of their destination, to the great joy of the garrison, who had been anxiously looking out for the timely relief. Measures were taken by Colonel M'Doual, immediately after his arrival, to strengthen the defences of the fort; and I have had the satisfaction of hearing from him as late as the 18th of June, that the works had assumed so formidable an attitude, as to leave him no apprehensions of the result of any attack which the enemy might make upon this post.

Colonel M'Doual reports to me the arrival at the fort of nearly two hundred of the western warriors, under Mr Dickson, a reinforcement which he considers highly important. He describes these western warriors to be a warlike and determined race, on whom great reliance may be placed.

Earl Bathurst.

Head-Quarters, Montreal, July 13, 1814.

My Lord,—Since my dispatch to your lordship of yesterday's date, I have received from Lieutenant-General Drummond, Major-General Riall's official report of the sortie made from the lines at Chippawa, which, together with the lieutenant-general's letter, I have the honour of transmitting to your lordship.

I do not understand that the enemy, since the action, have attempted to advance.

I have the honour to be, &c.

GEORGE PREVOST.

Earl Bathurst.

Kingston, July 10, 1814.

Sir,—I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of Major-Gen. Riall's official report on the subject of the landing of the enemy between Chippawa and Fort Erie on the 3d instant, and of the major-general's attack upon their position on the 5th.

It is highly satisfactory to observe, that the gallantry and steadiness of British soldiers was conspicuous throughout the conduct of every individual engaged; and that the second regiment of Lincoln militia, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Dickson, which composed part of the advance under Lieut.-Colonel Pearson, equally distinguished themselves, although their brave and vigorous efforts proved unavailing against the prodigious superiority, in point of numbers, which the enemy possessed, and which induced the major-general to withdraw his small force to the position at Chippawa.

I have the honour to be, &c.

GORDON DRUMMOND,
Lieut.-General commanding.

His excellency Sir George Prevost, Bart.

Chippawa, July 6.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you, that the enemy effected a landing on the morning of the 3d instant at the Ferry, opposite Black Rock, having driven in the piquet of the garrison of Fort Erie. I was made acquainted with this circumstance about eight in the morning, and gave orders for the immediate advance to Chippawa of five companies of the Royal Scots under Lieut.-Colonel Gordon, to reinforce the garrison of that place. Lieutenant-Colonel Pearson had moved forward from thence with the flank companies of the 100th, some militia, and a few Indians, to reconnoitre their position and numbers: he found them posted on the ridge parallel with the river, near the ferry, and in strong

force. I received information from Major Buck, that they had also landed a considerable force above Fort Erie. In consequence of the King's regiment, which I had every reason to expect the day before from York, not having arrived, I was prevented from making an attack that night.

The following morning, the 4th, a body of their troops were reported to be advancing by the river; I moved to reconnoitre, and found them to be in considerable force, with cavalry and artillery, and a large body of riflemen. Lieutenant-Colonel Pearson was in advance during this reconnoissance with the light company of the Royal Scots, and the flank company of the 100th, and a few of the 19th light dragoons, four of whom, and eight horses, were wounded in a skirmish with the enemy's riflemen.

Having been joined by the King's regiment on the morning of the 5th, I made my dispositions for attack at four o'clock in the afternoon. The light companies of the Royal Scots and 100th regiment, with the 2d Lincoln militia, formed the advance under Lieutenant-Colonel Pearson. The Indian warriors were throughout on our right flank in the woods. The troops moved in three columns, the third (the King's regiment) being in advance. The enemy had taken up a position with his right resting on some buildings and orchards, close on the river Niagara, and strongly supported by artillery; his left towards the wood, having a considerable body of riflemen and Indians in front of it.

Our Indians and militia were shortly engaged with the enemy's riflemen and Indians, who at first checked their advance, but the light troops being brought to their support, they succeeded, after a sharp contest, in dislodging them, in a very handsome style. I placed two light 24-pounders, and a five and a half inch howitzer, against the right of the enemy's position, and formed the Royal Scots and the 100th regiment, with the intention of making a movement upon his left, which deployed with the greatest regularity, and opened a very heavy fire.

I immediately moved up the King's regiment to the right, while the Royal Scots and 100th regiment were directed to charge the enemy in front, for which they advanced with the greatest gallantry, under a most destructive fire. I am sorry to say, however, in this attempt they suffered so severely, that I was obliged to withdraw them, finding their further efforts against the superior number of the enemy would be unavailing.

Lieut.-Colonel Gordon and Lieut.-Colonel the Marquis of Tweeddale, commanding these regiments, being wounded, as were most of the officers belonging to each, I directed a retreat to be made upon Chippawa, which was conducted with good order and regularity, covered by the King's regiment, under Major Evans, and the light troops under Lieut.-Colonel Pearson; and I have pleasure in saying, that not a single prisoner fell into the enemy's hands, except those who were disabled from wounds.

From the report of some prisoners we have made, the enemy's force amounted to about six thousand men, with a very numerous train of artillery, having been augmented by a very large body of troops, which moved down from Fort Erie immediately before the commencement of the action. Our own force, in regular troops, amounted to about fifteen hundred,* exclusive of the militia and Indians, of which last description there were not above three hundred. Fort Erie, I under-

* The Royal Scots, 500; first battalion King's, 480; 100th regiment, 450; with one troop of the 18th light dragoons, and a proportion of royal artillery.

stand, surrendered upon capitulation on the 3d instant.

Although the affair was not attended with the success which I had hoped for, it will be highly gratifying to you to learn, that the officers and men behaved with the greatest gallantry. I am particularly indebted to Lieut.-Colonel Pearson for the very great assistance I have received from him, and for the manner in which he led his light troops into the action. Lieut.-Colonel Gordon, and Lieut.-Colonel the Marquis of Tweeddale, and Major Evans, commanding the King's regiment, merit my warmest praise for the good example they shewed at the head of their respective regiments.

The artillery, under the command of Captain Mackonochie, was ably served, and directed with good effect; and I am particularly obliged to Major Lisle, of the 19th light dragoons, for the manner in which he covered and protected one of the 24-pounders, which had been disabled. I have reason to be highly satisfied with the zeal, activity, and intelligence of Captain Holland, my aide-de-camp; Captain Elliott, deputy assistant-quarter-master-general; Staff-adjutant Greig, and Lieutenant Fox, of the Royal Scots, who acted as major of brigade during the absence of Major Glegg at Fort George. The conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Dixon, of the 2d Lincoln militia, has been most exemplary; and I am very much indebted to him for it on this as well as on other occasions, in which he has evinced the greatest zeal for his majesty's service. The conduct of the officers and men of this regiment has also been highly praiseworthy.

Lieutenant-Colonel Pearson has reported to me, in the most favourable terms, the excellent manner in which Lieutenant Horton, with a part of the 19th light dragoons, observed the motions of the enemy, while he occupied the position he took on his first landing, and during his advance to this place.

I have the honour to be, &c.

P. Riall, Major-General.

Lieut.-Gen. Drummond.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing, of the right division, in action with the enemy, in advance of Chippawa, July 5, 1814.

Total killed—3 captains, 3 subalterns, 7 serjeants, 135 rank and file.

Total wounded—3 field-officers, 5 captains, 18 subalterns, 18 serjeants, 277 rank and file.

[Transmitted by Sir J. C. Sherbrooke.]

Moore Islands, Passamaquoddy Bay, July 12.

Sir,—Having sailed from Halifax on the 5th instant, accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholls of the royal engineers, and a detachment of the royal artillery, under the command of Captain Dunn, I have the honour to acquaint your excellency, that we arrived at Shelburne, the place of rendezvous, on the evening of the 7th instant, where I found Capt. Sir Thomas Hardy, in his majesty's ship Ramilies, with two transports, having on board the 102d regiment, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Herries, which had arrived the day before. I did not fail to lay before Sir Thomas Hardy my instructions, and to consult with him the best means of carrying them into execution.

As we concurred in opinion that the success of the enterprize with which we were entrusted would very materially depend upon our reaching the point of attack previous to the enemy being apprised of our intentions, that officer, with his accustomed alacrity and decision, directed the ships of war and transports to get under weigh ear-

ly on the following morning; and we yesterday, about three o'clock p. m., anchored near to the town of Eastport.

On our approach to this island, Lieutenant Oates (your excellency's aide-de-camp, whom you had permitted to accompany me on this service) was detached in a boat bearing a flag of truce, with a summons (a copy of which is transmitted), addressed to the officer commanding, requiring that Moore Island should be surrendered to his Britannic majesty. This proposal was not accepted: in consequence of which, the troops, which were already in the boats, pulled off under the superintendance of Captain Stenhouse of the royal navy, whose arrangements were so judicious as to insure a successful issue: but previous to reaching the shore, the colours of the enemy on Fort Sullivan were handed down; and on our landing, the capitulation was agreed to, of which the copy is enclosed. We found in the fort a detachment of the 40th regiment of American infantry, consisting of six officers, and about 80 men, under the command of Major Putnam, who surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

This fort is situated on an eminence commanding the entrance to the anchorage, and within it is a block-house, and also four long ten-pounders, one eighteen-pound carronade, and four field-pieces. The extent of the island is about four miles in length, and two in breadth, and in a great state of cultivation. The militia amount to about 250, and the population is calculated at 1500.

We have also occupied Allens and Frederick Islands, so that the whole of the islands in this bay are now subject to the British flag.

It is very satisfactory to me to add, that this service has been effected without any loss or casualty among the troops employed in it.

To Captain Sir Thomas Hardy I consider myself under the greatest obligations; having experienced every possible co-operation, with an offer to disembark from his squadron any proportion of seamen or marines which I considered necessary.

I beg to acknowledge my thanks to you, in allowing your aid-de-camp, Lieutenant Oates, to accompany me upon this service. He has been of great assistance to me, and will have the honour of delivering this dispatch. He has also in his possession the colours and standard found in Fort Sullivan.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) A. Pilkington,
Lieut.-Col. Deputy Adjutant-General.

Lieut.-Gen. Sir J. C. Sherbrooke, K. B.

Downing-Street, Sept. 20, 1814.

Captain Jervois, aide-de-camp to Lieutenant-General Drummond, arrived this morning with a dispatch from Lieutenant-General Sir George Prevost, Bart. addressed to Earl Bathurst, of which the following is an extract:

Head-Quarters, Montreal, August 5.

I have the satisfaction of transmitting to your lordship Lieut.-General Drummond's detail of the distinguished exertions of that division of the army near the falls of Niagara, on the 25th of last month, when the skill of his majesty's generals, and the valour and discipline of his troops, were eminently conspicuous; and I beg leave to join the lieutenant-general, in humbly soliciting his royal highness the Prince Regent's gracious consideration of the meritorious services of the officers particularised in his report.

This dispatch will be delivered to your lordship by Capt. Jervois, aide-de-camp to Lieut.-Gen. Drummond;

having shared in the events of the 25th, he can satisfy your lordship's enquiries respecting them, and he is well calculated, from his local knowledge, to give your lordship full information upon the state of the Upper Province.

Head-quarters, Upper Canada, near Niagara Falls, July 27.

Sir,—I embarked on board his majesty's schooner Netley, at York, on Sunday evening, the 24th instant, and reached Niagara at day-break the following morning. Finding from Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker that Major-General Riall was understood to be moving towards the Falls of Niagara to support the advance of his division, which he had pushed on to that place on the preceding evening, I ordered Lieut.-Col. Morrison, with the 89th regiment, and a detachment of the Royals and King's, drawn from Fort George and Mississaga, to proceed to the same point, in order that, with the united force, I might act against the enemy (posted at Street's Creek, with his advance at Chippawa) on my arrival, if it should be found expedient. I ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker, at the same time, to proceed on the right bank of the river, with three hundred of the 41st, and about two hundred of the Royal Scots, and a body of Indian warriors, supported (on the river) by a party of armed seamen, under Captain Dobbs, royal navy. The object of this movement was to disperse or capture a body of the enemy which was encamped at Lewiston. Some unavoidable delay having occurred in the march of the troops up the right bank, the enemy had moved off previous to Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker's arrival. I have to express myself satisfied with the exertions of that officer.

Having refreshed the troops at Queenston, and having brought across the 41st, Royals, and Indians, I sent back the 41st and 100th regiments to form the garrisons of the forts George, Mississaga, and Niagara, under Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker, and moved, with the 89th, and detachments of the Royals and King's, and light company of the 41st, in all about 800 men, to join Major-General Riall's division at the Falls.

When arrived within a few miles of that position, I met a report from Major-General Riall, that the enemy was advancing in great force. I immediately pushed on, and joined the head of Lieut.-Col. Morrison's column, just as it reached the road leading towards the Beaver Dam over the summit of the hill at Lundy's-lane. Instead of the whole of Major-General Riall's division, which I expected to have found occupying this position, I found it almost in the occupation of the enemy, whose columns were within 600 yards of the top of the hill, and the surrounding woods filled with his light troops. The advance of Major-Gen. Riall's division, consisting of the Glengarry light infantry, and incorporated militia, having commenced their retreat upon Fort George, I countermanded these corps, and formed the 89th regiment and the Royal Scots detachments, and 41st light companies, in the rear of the hill, their left resting on the great road; my two 24-pounder brass field guns a little advanced in front of the centre on the summit of the hill; the Glengarry light infantry on the right, the battalion of incorporated militia, and the detachment of the King's regiment on the left of the great road; the squadron 19th light dragoons in the rear of the left on the road. I had scarcely completed this formation, when the whole front was warmly and closely engaged. The enemy's principal efforts were directed against our left and centre. After repeated attacks, the troops on the

left were partially forced back, and the enemy gained a momentary possession of the road. This gave him, however, no material advantage, as the troops which had been forced back formed in rear of the 89th regiment, fronting the road, and securing the flank. It was during this short interval that Major-General Riall, having received a severe wound, was intercepted as he was passing to the rear, by a party of the enemy's cavalry, and made prisoner. In the centre, the repeated and determined attacks of the enemy were met by the 89th regiment, the detachments of the Royals and King's, and the light company 41st regiment, with the most perfect steadiness and intrepid gallantry, and the enemy was constantly repulsed with very heavy loss. In so determined a manner were these attacks directed against our guns, that our artillerymen were bayonetted by the enemy in the act of loading, and the muzzles of the enemy's guns were advanced within a few yards of our's. The darkness of the night, during this extraordinary conflict, occasioned several uncommon incidents: our troops having for a moment been pushed back, some of our guns remained for a few minutes in the enemy's hands; they were, however, not only quickly recovered, but the two pieces, a 6-pounder and a five and a half inch howitzer, which the enemy had brought up, were captured by us, together with several tumbrils; and in limbering up our guns at one period, one of the enemy's 6-pounders was put, by mistake, upon a limber of our's, and one of our 6-pounders limbered on one of his; by which means the pieces were exchanged; and thus, though we captured two of his guns, yet, as he obtained one of our's, we have gained only one gun.

About nine o'clock (the action having commenced at six) there was a short intermission of firing, during which it appears the enemy was employed in bringing up the whole of his remaining force, and he shortly afterwards renewed his attack with fresh troops, but was every where repulsed with equal gallantry and success. About this period the remainder of Major-General Riall's division, which had been ordered to retire on the advance of the enemy, consisting of the 103d regiment, under Colonel Scott; the head-quarter division of the Royal Scots; the head-quarter division of the 8th or King's; flank companies 104th; some detachments of militia, under Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton, inspecting field-officer, joined the troops engaged; and I placed them in a second line, with the exception of the Royal Scots and flank companies 104th, with which I prolonged my front line on the right, where I was apprehensive of the enemy's out-flanking me. The enemy's efforts to carry the hill were continued until about midnight, when he had suffered so severely from the superior steadiness and discipline of his majesty's troops, that he gave up the contest, and retreated with great precipitation to his camp beyond the Chippawa. On the following day he abandoned his camp, threw the greatest part of his baggage, camp-equipage, and provisions into the Rapids; and having set fire to Street's Mills and destroyed the bridge at Chippawa, continued his retreat in great disorder towards Fort Erie. My light troops, cavalry and Indians, are detached in pursuit, and to harass his retreat, which I doubt not he will continue until he reaches his own shore.

The loss sustained by the enemy in this severe action, cannot be estimated at less than fifteen hundred men, including several hundreds of prisoners left in our hands; his two commanding generals, Brown and Scott, are

said to be wounded; his whole force, which has never been rated at less than five thousand, having been engaged. Enclosed I have the honour to transmit a return of our loss, which has been very considerable. The number of troops under my command did not for the first three hours exceed sixteen hundred men; the addition of the troops under Colonel Scott did not increase it to more than two thousand eight hundred of every description.

A very difficult but at the same time a most gratifying duty remains, that of endeavouring to do justice to the merits of the officers and soldiers by whose valour and discipline this important success has been obtained. I was very early in the action deprived of the services of Major-General Riall, who, I regret to learn, has suffered the amputation of his arm in the enemy's possession; his bravery, zeal, and activity have always been conspicuous.

To Lieut.-Colonel Harvey, deputy-adjutant-general, I am so deeply indebted for his valuable assistance previous to, as well as his able and energetic exertions during this severe contest, that I feel myself called upon to point your Excellency's attention to the distinguished merits of this highly deserving officer, whose services have been particularly conspicuous in every affair that has taken place since his arrival in this province. The zeal and intelligence displayed by Major Glegg, assistant-adjutant-general, deserve my warmest approbation. I much regret the loss of a very intelligent and promising young officer, Lieutenant Moorsom, 104th regiment, deputy assistant-adjutant-general, who was killed towards the close of the action. The active exertions of Capt. Elliot, deputy assistant-quarter-master-general, of whose gallantry and conduct I had occasion, on two former instances, to remark, were conspicuous. Major Maule and Lieutenant Le Breton, of the quarter-master-general's department, were extremely useful to me; the latter was severely wounded.

Amongst the officers from whose active exertions I derived the greatest assistance, I cannot omit to mention my aides-de-camp, Captains Jervois and Loring, and Captain Holland, aide-de-camp to Major-General Riall; Captain Loring was unfortunately taken prisoner by some of the enemy's dragoons, whilst in the execution of an order.

In reviewing the action from its commencement, the first object which presents itself, as deserving of notice, is the steadiness and good countenance of the squadron 19th light dragoons, under Major Lisle, and the very creditable and excellent defence made by the incorporated militia battalion, under Lieut.-Colonel Robinson, who was dangerously wounded, and a detachment of the 8th (King's regiment), under Captain Campbell. Major Kirby succeeded Lieutenant-Colonel Robinson in the command of the incorporated militia battalion, and continued very gallantly to direct its efforts; this battalion has only been organised a few months, and, much to the credit of Captain Robinson, of the King's regiment (provincial lieut.-colonel), has attained a highly respectable degree of discipline.

In the reiterated and determined attacks which the enemy made on our centre, for the purpose of gaining, at once, the crest of the position, and our guns, the steadiness and intrepidity displayed by the troops allotted for the defence of that post, were never surpassed: they consisted of the second battalion of the 89th regiment, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Morrison, and after the Lieut.-Colonel had been obliged to retire from the field by a severe wonnd, by Major Clifford;

a detachment of the Royal Scots, under Lieutenant Hemphill, and after he was killed, Lieutenant Fraser; detachment of the 8th, or King's, under Captain Campbell; light company 41st regiment, under Captain Glew; with some detachments of militia, under Lieutenant-Colonel Parry, 103d regiment; these troops repeatedly, when hard pressed, formed round the colours of the 89th regiment, and invariably repulsed the desperate efforts made against them. On the right the steadiness and good countenance of the 1st battalion Royal Scots, under Lieut.-Colonel Gordon, in some very trying moments, excited my admiration. The King's regiment (1st battalion), under Major Evans, behaved with equal gallantry and firmness, as did the light company of the Royals, detached under Captain Stewart, the grenadiers of the 103d, detached under Captain Browne, and the flank companies of the 104th, under Capt. Leonard: the Glengarry light infantry, under Lieut.-Colonel Battersby, displayed most valuable qualities as light troops; Colonel Scott, Major Smelt, and the officers of the 103d, deserve credit for their exertions in rallying that regiment, after it had been thrown into momentary disorder; Lieutenant-Colonel Pearson, inspecting field-officer, directed the advance with great intelligence; and Lieutenant-Col. Drummond, of the 104th, having gone forward with my permission early in the day, made himself actively useful in different parts of the field, under my direction: these officers are entitled to my best thanks, as is Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton, inspecting field-officer, for his exertions after his arrival with the troops under Colonel Scott: the field artillery, so long as there was light, was well served.

The credit of its efficient state is due to Captain Mackonochie, who has had charge of it since his arrival with this division. Captain M'Lauchlan, who has charge of the batteries at Fort Mississager, volunteered his services in the field on this occasion; he was severely wounded. Lieutenant Tomkins deserves much credit, for the way in which the two brass 24-pounders, of which he had charge, were served; as does Serjeant Austin, of the rocket company, who directed the Congreve rockets, which did much execution. The zeal, loyalty, and bravery with which the militia of this part of the province have come forward to co-operate with his majesty's troops in the expulsion of the enemy, and their conspicuous gallantry in this, and in the action of the 4th instant, claim my warmest thanks.

I cannot conclude this dispatch without recommending, in the strongest terms, the following officers, whose conduct during the late operations has called for marked approbation; and I am induced to hope that your excellency will be pleased to submit their names for promotion to the most favourable consideration of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, viz.—Captain Jervois, my aide-de-camp; Captain Robinson, 8th (King's) regiment, (provincial lieutenant-colonel) commanding the incorporated militia; Captain Elliot, deputy assistant-quarter-master-general; Captain Holland, aide-de-camp to Major-General Riall; and Captain Glew, 41st regiment.

This dispatch will be delivered to you by Captain Jervois, my aide-de-camp, who is fully competent to give your excellency every further information you may require.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) G. Drummond,
Lieutenant-General.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, and taken prisoners of the right division of the army in Upper

Canada, under the command of Lieutenant-General Drummond, in action with the enemy near the Falls of Niagara, 25th July.

General Total—1 captain, 3 subalterns, 1 deputy assistant-adjutant-general, 3 serjeants, 75 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant-general, 1 major-general, 1 inspecting field-officer, 1 deputy assistant quarter-master-general, 2 lieutenant-colonels, 2 majors, 8 captains, 15 subalterns, 31 serjeants, 5 drummers, 482 rank and file, wounded: 1 captain, 3 subalterns, 2 quarter-masters, 11 serjeants, 5 drummers, 171 rank and file, missing; 1 aide-de-camp, 4 captains, 4 subalterns, 1 quarter-master, 4 serjeants, 28 rank and file, prisoners; 14 horses killed, 14 horses wounded, 12 horses missing: total killed, 84; total wounded, 559; total missing, 193; total prisoners, 42.—Total 878.

Downing-street, Oct. 10.

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, addressed to Earl Bathurst, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, was yesterday received from Lieut.-General Sir George Prevost, Bart.:—

Head-Quarters, Montreal, Aug. 27.

My Lord,—The successful result of the gallant enterprize against the enemy's small vessels lying off Fort Erie, as detailed in the enclosed extract of a dispatch from Lieut.-General Drummond, having encouraged the expectation that a favourable period had arrived for attacking the enemy in the entrenchments, the Lieut.-General was induced to order an assault upon Fort Erie, and the works connected with it, before the break of day on the 15th instant.

It is with deep concern I have now to acquaint your lordship, that notwithstanding there was the fairest prospect of success at the commencement of the attack, our troops were afterwards obliged to retire without accomplishing their object, and with very considerable loss.

To Lieutenant-Gen. Drummond's official report on this subject (a copy of which I have the honour of transmitting), I beg leave to refer your lordship for the causes of our failure. It is, however, highly satisfactory to know, that until the unfortunate explosion took place, and until his majesty's troops, by their near approach to the abbattis in front of the entrenchments, met such difficulties in penetrating as were found to be insurmountable without the aid of light, they behaved with their usual gallantry and discipline, and had gained, by their determined efforts, advantages which accident alone appears to have compelled them to forego.

By accounts from Lieut.-General Drummond to the 18th instant, I find he has since the 15th been joined by the 82d regiment, and that the 6th was on its way to, and would probably be with the right division by this time, together with other reinforcements which are proceeding thither.

I have the honour, &c.

George Prevost.

Earl Bathurst, &c.

Extract of a letter from Lieut.-General Drummond, to his Excellency Sir George Prevost, Bart. dated Camp before Fort Erie, August 13, 1814.

I have great satisfaction in acquainting your excellency with the capture of two of the three armed schooners which were anchored off Fort Erie, and which very much annoyed our left flank. This enterprise was executed in a very gallant stile by Capt. Dobbs, and a party of about 70 seamen and marines, who embarked last night in six batteaux, which I had

caused to be carried across to Lake Erie for that purpose.

I have this morning opened the fire of the battery on Fort Erie, and though the distance is found to be great, yet I hope a sufficient effect will be produced.

Camp before Fort Erie,
Aug. 15, 1814.

Sir,—Having reason to believe that a sufficient impression had been produced on the works of the enemy's fort, by the fire of the battery which I had opened on it on the morning of the 13th, and by which the stone building had been much injured, and the general outline of the parapet and embrazures very much altered, I determined on assaulting the place; and accordingly made the necessary arrangements for attacking it, by a heavy column directed to the entrenchments on the side of Snake-hill, and by two columns to advance from the battery, and assault the fort and entrenchments on this side.

The troops destined to attack by Snake-hill, (which consisted of the King's regiment and that of De Watteville's, with the flank companies of the 89th and 100th regiments, under Lieutenant-Colonel Fischer, of the regiment De Watteville), marched at four o'clock yesterday afternoon, in order to gain the vicinity of the point of attack in sufficient time.

It is with the deepest regret I have to report the failure of both attacks, which were made two hours before daylight this morning. A copy of Lieut.-Colonel Fischer's report, herewith enclosed, will enable your excellency to form a tolerably correct judgment of the cause of the failure of that attack. Had the head of the column (which had entered the place without difficulty or opposition) been supported, the enemy must have fled from his works, (which were all taken, as was contemplated in the instructions, in reverse), or have surrendered.

The attack on the fort and entrenchments leading from it to the Lake was made at the same moment by two columns; one under Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond, 104th regiment, consisting of the flank companies 41st and 104th regiments, and a body of seamen and marines, under Capt. Dobbs, of the royal navy, on the fort; the other, under Colonel Scott, 103d, consisting of the 103d regiment, supported by two companies of the royals, was destined to attack the entrenchments. These columns advanced to the attack, as soon as the firing upon Colonel Fischer's column was heard, and succeeded, after a desperate resistance, in making a lodgment in the fort through the embrazures of the demi-bastion, the guns of which they had actually turned against the enemy, who still maintained the stone-building, when most unfortunately some ammunition, which had been placed under the platform, caught fire from the firing of the guns to the rear, and a most tremendous explosion followed, by which almost all the troops which had entered the place were dreadfully mangled. Panic was instantly communicated to the troops (who could not be persuaded that the explosion was accidental), and the enemy, at the same time pressing forward, and commencing a heavy fire of musketry, the fort was abandoned, and our troops retreated towards the battery. I immediately pushed out the 1st battalion royals, to support and cover the retreat, a service which that valuable corps executed with great steadiness.

Our loss has been very severe in killed and wounded; and I am sorry to add, that almost all those returned "missing," may be considered as wounded or killed by the explosion, and left in the hands of the enemy.

The failure of these most important attacks has been occasioned by circumstances which may be considered as almost justifying the momentary panic which they produced, and which introduced a degree of confusion into the columns which, in the darkness of the night, the utmost exertions of the officers were ineffectual in removing.

The officers appear invariably to have behaved with the most perfect coolness and bravery; nor could any thing exceed the steadiness and order with which the advance of Lieutenant-Colonel Fischer's brigade was made, until, emerging from a thick wood, it found itself suddenly stopped by an abbattis, and within a heavy fire of musketry and guns from behind a formidable entrenchment. With regard to the centre and left columns, under Colonel Scott and Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond, the persevering gallantry of both officers and men, until the unfortunate explosion, could not be surpassed. Colonel Scott, 103d, and Lieut.-Colonel Drummond, 104th regiments, who commanded the centre and left attacks, were unfortunately killed; and your excellency will perceive that almost every officer of those columns was either killed or wounded by the enemy's fire, or by the explosion.

My thanks are due to the under-mentioned officers, viz. to Lieutenant-Colonel Fischer, who commanded the right attack; to Major Coore, aid-de-camp to your excellency, who accompanied that column; Major Evans, of the King's, commanding the advance; Major Villatte, De Watteville's; Captain Basden, light company 89th; Lieutenant Murray, light company 100th; I also beg to add the name of Captain Powell, of the Glengarry light infantry, employed on the staff as deputy-assistant in the quarter-master-general's department, who conducted Lieut.-Col. Fischer's column, and first entered the enemy's entrenchments, and by his coolness and gallantry particularly distinguished himself; Major Villatte, of De Watteville's regiment, who led the column of attack and entered the entrenchments; as did Lieutenant Young, of the King's regiment, with about fifty men of the light companies of the King's and De Watteville's regiments; Captain Powell reports, that Serjeant Powell, of the 19th dragoons, who was perfectly acquainted with the ground, volunteered to act as guide, and preceded the leading subdivision in the most intrepid style. In the centre and left columns, the exertions of Major Smelt, 103d regiment, who succeeded to the command of the left column, on the death of Colonel Scott; Captains Leonard and Shore, of the 104th flank company; Captains Glew, Bullock, and O'Keefe, 41st flank companies; Captain Dobbs, royal navy, commanding a party of volunteer seamen and marines, are entitled to my acknowledgments, (they are all wounded). Nor can I omit mentioning in the strongest terms of approbation, the active, zealous, and useful exertions of Captain Elliot, of the 103d regiment, deputy-assistant quarter-master-general, who was unfortunately wounded and taken prisoner; and Captain Barney, of the 89th regiment, who had volunteered his service as a temporary assistant in the engineer department, conducted the centre column to the attack, in which he received two dangerous wounds.

To Major Phillot, commanding royal artillery, and Captain Sabine, who commanded the battery as well as the field guns, and to the officers and men of that valuable branch of the service, serving under them, I am to express my entire approbation of their skill and exertions. Lieutenant Charlton, royal artillery, entered the fort with

the centre column, fired several rounds upon the enemy from his own guns, and was wounded by the explosion. The ability and exertions of Lieutenant Philpot, royal engineers, and the officers and men of that department, claim my best acknowledgments.

To Lieut.-Col. Tucker, who commanded the reserve, and to Lieut.-Col. Pearson, inspecting field-officer, and Lieutenant-Colonel Battersby, Glengarry light infantry, and Captain Walker, incorporated militia, I am greatly indebted for their active and unremitting attention to the security of the outposts.

To the deputy-adjutant-general, and deputy-quarter-master-general, Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey, and Lieutenant-Colonel Myers, and to the officers of their departments respectively, as well as to Captain Foster, my military secretary, and the officers of my personal staff, I am under the greatest obligations for the assistance they have afforded me. My acknowledgments are due to Captain D'Alton, of the 90th regiment, brigade-major to the right division; and to Lieutenant-Colonel Nichol, quarter-master-general of militia. The exertions of Deputy-Commissary-General Turquand, and the officers of that department, for the supply of the troops; and the care and attention of Staff-Surgeon O'Maly, and the medical officers with the division, to the sick and wounded, also claim my thanks.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Gordon Drummond,
Lieutenant-General.

His Excellency Sir George
Prevost, Bart. &c.

Camp, August 15, 1814.

Sir,—I have the honour to report to you, for the information of Lieut.-Gen. Drummond, that, in compliance with the instructions I received, the brigade under my command, consisting of the 8th, and De Watteville's regiment, the light companies of the 89th and 100th, with a detachment of artillery, attacked, this morning at two o'clock, the position of the enemy on Snake-hill, and, to my great concern, failed in its attempt.

The flank companies of the brigade, who were formed under the orders of Major Evans, of the King's regiment, for the purpose of turning the position between Snake-hill and the Lake, met with a check at the abbattis, which was found impenetrable, and was prevented by it to support Major De Villatte, of De Watteville's, and Captain Powell, of the quarter-master-general's department, who, actually with a few men, had turned the enemy's battery.

The column of support, consisting of the remainder of De Watteville's and the King's regiment, forming the reserve, in marching too near the Lake, found themselves entangled between the rocks and the water, and by the retreat of the flank companies, were thrown into such confusion, as to render it impossible to give them any kind of formation during the darkness of the night, at which they were exposed to a most galling fire of the enemy's battery, and the numerous parties in the abbattis; and I am perfectly convinced, that the great number of missing are men killed, or severely wounded, at that time, when it was impossible to give them any assistance.

After day-break, the troops formed and retired to the camp.

I enclose a return of casualties.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) J. Fischer,
Lieut.-Col. De Watteville's Regiment.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing, of the right division, in the assault of Fort Erie, the 15th of August, 1814.

Total.—Killed,—2 lieutenant-colo-

nels, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 51 rank and file.

Wounded,—1 deputy-assistant quarter-master-general, 1 major, 8 captains, 11 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 1 master, 12 seamen, 20 serjeants, 2 drummers, 250 rank and files.

Missing,—1 deputy assistant quarter-master-general, 1 captain, 3 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 1 midshipman, 1 adjutant, 7 seamen, 41 serjeants, 3 drummers, 479 rank and file.

Downing-Street, Nov. 26.

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been received from Lieutenant-General Sir George Prevost, Bart., addressed to Earl Bathurst, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state:—

Head-Quarters, Plattsburgh, State of New York, September 11.

My Lord,—Upon the arrival of the reinforcements from the Garonne, I lost no time in assembling three brigades on the frontier of Lower Canada, extending from the river Richlieu to the St Lawrence, and in forming them into a division, under the command of Major-General De Rottenburgh, for the purpose of carrying into effect his Royal Highness the Prince Regent's commands, which had been conveyed to me by your lordship, in your dispatch of the 3d of June last. As the troops concentrated and approached the line of separation between this province and the United States, the American army abandoned its entrenched camp on the river Chazy, at Champlain; a position I immediately seized, and occupied in force on the 3d instant. The following day the whole of the left division advanced to the village of Chazy, without meeting the least opposition from the enemy.

On the 5th it halted within eight miles of this place, having surmounted the difficulties created by the obstructions in the road, from the felling of trees and the removal of bridges. The next day the division moved upon Plattsburgh, in two columns, on parallel roads; the right column led by Major General Power's brigade, supported by four companies of light infantry, and a demi-brigade, under Major-General Robinson; the left by Major-Gen. Brisbane's brigade. The enemy's militia, supported by his regulars, attempted to impede the advance of the right column, but were driven before it from all their positions, and the column entered Plattsburgh. This rapid movement having reversed the strong position taken up by the enemy at Dead Creek, it was precipitately abandoned by him, and his gun-boats alone left to defend the ford, and to prevent our restoring the bridges, which had been imperfectly destroyed, an inconvenience soon surmounted. Here I found the enemy in the occupation of an elevated ridge of land on the south branch of the Saranac, crowned with three strong redoubts and other field-works, and block-houses armed with heavy ordnance, with their flotilla (the Saratoga, 26 guns; Surprise, 20 guns; Thunderer, 16 guns; Preble, 7 guns; 10 gun-boats, 14 guns) at anchor out of gun-shot from the shore, consisting of a ship, a brig, a schooner, a sloop, and 10 gun-boats. I immediately communicated the circumstance to Captain Downie, who had been recently appointed to command the vessels on Lake Champlain, consisting of a ship, a brig, 2 sloops, and 12 gun-boats, (the Confiance, 36 guns; Linnet, 18 guns; Broke, 10 guns; Shannon, 10 guns; 12 gun-boats, 16 guns), and requested his co-operation; and in the mean time batteries were constructed for the guns brought from the rear.

On the morning of the 11th, our

flotilla was seen over the isthmus which joins Cumberland-head with the mainland, steering for Plattsburgh Bay. I immediately ordered that part of the brigade, under Major-Gen. Robinson, which had been brought forward, consisting of four light infantry companies, 3d battalion 27th, and 76th regiments; and Major-General Powers's brigade, consisting of the 3d, 5th, 1st battalion 27th and 58th regiments, to force the ford of the Saranac, and advance, provided with scaling ladders, to escalade the enemy's works upon the heights; this force was placed under the command of Major-General Robinson. The batteries opened their fire the instant the ships engaged.

It is now, with deep concern, I inform your lordship, that, notwithstanding the intrepid valour with which Captain Downie led his flotilla into action, my most sanguine hopes of complete success were not long afterwards blasted, by a combination, as it appeared to us, of unfortunate events, to which naval warfare is peculiarly exposed. Scarcely had his majesty's troops forced a passage across the Saranac, and ascended the height on which stand the enemy's works, when I had the extreme mortification to hear the shout of victory from the enemy's works, in consequence of the British flag being lowered on board the Confiance and Linnet; and to see our gun-boats seeking their safety in flight. This unlooked-for event depriving me of the co-operation of the fleet, without which the further prosecution of the service was become impracticable, I did not hesitate to arrest the course of the troops advancing to the attack, because the most complete success would have been unavailing, and the possession of the enemy's works offered no advantage to compensate for the loss we must have sustained in acquiring possession of them

I have ordered the batteries to be dismantled, the guns withdrawn, and the baggage, with the wounded men who can be removed, to be sent to the rear, in order that the troops may be sent to Chazy to-morrow, and on the following day to Champlain, where I propose to halt until I have ascertained the use the enemy propose making of the naval ascendancy they have acquired on Lake Champlain.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Geo. Prevost.

Earl Bathurst.

Admiralty-Office, Nov. 26.

Copy of a letter from Commodore Sir J. L. Yeo, Commander-in Chief of his majesty's ships and vessels on the Lakes of Canada, to J. W. Croker, Esq., dated on board his majesty's ship St Lawrence, Kingston:—

September, 24, 1814.

Sir,—I have the honour to transmit, for the information of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, a copy of a letter from Captain Pring, late commander of his majesty's brig Linnet. It appears to me, and I have good reason to believe, that Captain Downie was urged, and his ship hurried into action before she was in a fit state to meet the enemy. I am also of opinion that there was not the least necessity for our squadron giving the enemy such decided advantages, by going into their bay to engage them; even had they been successful, it would not in the least have assisted the troops in storming the batteries; whereas, had our troops taken their batteries first, it would have obliged the enemy's squadron to quit the bay, and given ours a fair chance.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

James Lucas Yeo,

Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

United States ship Saratoga, Plattsburgh Bay, Lake Champlain, Sept. 12, 1814.

Sir,—The painful task of making you acquainted with the circumstances attending the capture of his majesty's squadron, yesterday, by that of the Americans, under Commodore M'Donough, it grieves me to state, becomes my duty to perform, from the ever-to-be-lamented loss of that worthy and gallant officer, Captain Downie, who unfortunately fell early in the action.

In consequence of the earnest solicitation of his Excellency Sir George Prevost for the co-operation of the naval force on this lake to attack that of the enemy, who were placed for the support of their works at Plattsburgh, which it was proposed should be stormed by the troops, at the same moment the naval action should commence in the bay; every possible exertion was used to accelerate the armament of the new ship, that the military movements might not be postponed at such an advanced period of the year longer than was absolutely necessary.

On the 3d inst. I was directed to proceed in command of the flotilla of gun-boats to protect the left flank of our army advancing towards Plattsburgh; and on the following day, after taking possession and paroling the militia of Isle la Motte, I caused a battery of three long eighteen-pounder guns to be constructed for the support of our position abreast of Little Chazy, where the supplies for the army were ordered to be landed.

The fleet came up on the 8th inst., but for want of stores for the equipment of the guns, could not move forward until the 11th; at day-light we weighed, and at seven were in full view of the enemy's fleet, consisting of a ship, brig, schooner, and one sloop, moored in line, abreast of their encampment, with a division of five gun-boats on each flank; at forty minutes past seven, after the officers commanding vessels and the flotilla had received their final instructions as to the plan of attack, we made sail in order of battle.—Captain Downie had determined on laying his ship athwart-hause of the enemy, directing Lieutenant M'Ghee, of the Chub, to support me in the Linnet, in engaging the brig to the right, and Lieutenant Hicks, of the Finch, with the flotilla of gun-boats, to attack the schooner and sloop on the left of the enemy's line.

At eight the enemy's gun-boats and smaller vessels commenced a heavy and galling fire on our line; at ten minutes after eight, the Confiance, having two anchors shot away from her larboard bow, and the wind baffling, was obliged to anchor (though not in the situation proposed) within two cables' length of her adversary; the Linnet and the Chub soon afterwards took their allotted stations, something short of that distance, when the crews on both sides cheered, and commenced a spirited and close action; a short time, however, deprived me of the services of Lieutenant M'Ghee, who, from having his cables, bowsprit, and main-boom shot away, drifted within the enemy's line, and was obliged to surrender.

From the light airs and smoothness of the water, the fire on each side proved very destructive from the commencement of the engagement, and with the exception of the brig, that of the enemy appeared united against the Confiance. After two hours severe conflict with our opponent, she cut her cable, ran down, and took shelter between the ship and schooner, which enabled us to direct our fire against the division of the enemy's gun-boats and ship which had so long annoyed us during our close engagement with the brig, without any return on our part; at this time the fire of the enemy's ship slackened considerably, ha-

ving several of her guns dismounted, when she cut her cable and winded her larboard broadside to bear on the Confiance, who, in vain, endeavoured to effect the same operation; at 33 minutes after ten, I was much distressed to observe the Confiance had struck her colours. The whole attention of the enemy's force then became directed towards the Linnet; the shattered and disabled state of the masts, sails, rigging, and yards, precluded the most distant hope of being able to effect an escape by cutting the cable; the result of doing so must in a few minutes have been, her drifting alongside the enemy's vessels, close under our lee; but in the hope that the flotilla of gun-boats, who had abandoned the object assigned them, would perceive our wants and come to our assistance, which would afford a reasonable prospect of being towed clear, I determined to resist the then destructive cannonading of the whole of the enemy's fleet, and at the same time dispatched Lieutenant H. Drew to ascertain the state of the Confiance. At 45 minutes after ten, I was apprised of the irreparable loss she had sustained by the death of her brave commander (whose merits it would be presumption in me to extol,) as well as the great slaughter which had taken place on board; and observing from the manœuvres of the flotilla, that I could enjoy no further expectations of relief, the situation of my gallant comrades, who had so nobly fought, and even now fast falling by my side, demanded the surrender of his majesty's brig entrusted to my command, to prevent a useless waste of valuable lives, and, at the request of the surviving officers and men, I gave the painful orders for the colours to be struck.

Lieutenant Hicks, of the Finch, had the mortification to strike on a reef of rocks, to the eastward of Crab island, about the middle of the engagement, which prevented his rendering that assistance to the squadron, that might, from an officer of such ability, have been expected.

The misfortune which this day befel us by capture will, sir, I trust, apologize for the lengthy detail which, in justice to the sufferers, I have deemed necessary to give of the particulars which led to it; and when it is taken into consideration that the Confiance was sixteen days before on the stocks, with an unorganized crew, composed of several drafts of men who had recently arrived from different ships at Quebec, many of whom only joined the day before, and were totally unknown either to the officers or to each other, with the want of gun-locks, as well as other necessary appointments not to be procured in this country, I trust you will feel satisfied of the decided advantage the enemy possessed, exclusive of their great superiority in point of force, a comparative statement [the account of the British force has not been transmitted] of which I have the honour to annex. It now becomes the most pleasing part of my present duty to notice to you the determined skill and bravery of the officers and men in this unequal contest; but it grieves me to state, that the loss sustained in maintaining it has been so great; that of the enemy, I understand, amounts to something more than the same number.

The fine style in which Captain Downie conducted the squadron into action, amidst a tremendous fire, without returning a shot, until secured, reflects the greatest credit to his memory, for his judgment and coolness, as also on Lieutenants M'Ghee and Hicks for so strictly attending to his example and instructions: Their own accounts of the capture of their respective vessels, as well as that of Lieutenant Robertson, who succeeded to the command of the Confiance, will, I

feel assured, do ample justice to the merits of the officers and men serving under their immediate command; but I cannot omit noticing the individual conduct of Lieutenants Robertson, Creswick, and Hornby, and Mr Bryden, master, for their particular exertion in endeavouring to bring the Confiance's starboard side to bear on the enemy, after most of their guns were dismounted on the other.

It is impossible for me to express to you my admiration of the officers and crew serving under my personal orders; their coolness and steadiness, the effect of which was proved by their irresistible fire directed towards the brig opposed to us, claims my warmest acknowledgments, but more particularly for preserving the same so long after the whole strength of the enemy had been directed against the Linnet alone. My First Lieutenant, Mr William Drew, whose merits I have before had the honour to report to you, behaved on this occasion in the most exemplary manner.

By the death of Mr Paul, acting second lieutenant, the service has been deprived of a most valuable and brave officer; he fell early in the action. Great credit is due to Mr Giles, purser, for volunteering his services on deck; to Mr Mitchell, surgeon, for the skill he evinced in performing some amputations required at the moment, as well as his great attention to the wounded during the action, at the close of which the water was nearly a foot above the lower deck, from the number of shot which struck her between wind and water. I have to regret the loss of the boatswain, Mr Jackson, who was killed a few minutes before the action terminated. The assistance I received from Mr Muckle, the gunner, and also from Mr Clark, master's mate, Messrs Towke and Sinclair, midshipmen, the latter of whom was wounded in the head, and Mr Guy, my clerk, will, I hope, recommend them, as well as the whole of my gallant little crew, to your notice. I have much satisfaction in making you acquainted with the humane treatment the wounded have received from Commodore M'Donough; they were immediately removed to his own hospital on Crab Island, and were furnished with every requisite. His generous and polite attention to myself, the officers, and men, will ever hereafter be gratefully remembered.

Enclosed I beg leave to transmit you the return of killed and wounded, and have the honour to be, &c.

Daniel Pring, Captain,
Late of his majesty's sloop
Linnet.

Downing-street, Sept. 27.

Captain Smith, Assistant Adjutant-General to the troops under the command of Major-General Ross, arrived this morning with a dispatch from that officer, addressed to Earl Bathurst, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, of which the following is a copy:

Tonnant, in the Patuxent, Aug. 30.

My Lord,—I have the honour to communicate to your lordship, that on the night of the 24th instant, after defeating the army of the United States on that day, the troops under my command entered and took possession of the city of Washington.

It was determined between Sir A. Cochrane and myself, to disembark the army at the village of Benedict, on the right of the Patuxent, with the intention of co-operating with Rear-Admiral Cockburn, in an attack upon a flotilla of the enemy's gun-boats, under the command of Commodore Barney. On the 20th instant, the army com-

menced its march, having landed the previous day without opposition: On the 21st it reached Nottingham, and on the 22d moved on to Upper Marlborough, a few miles distant from Pig Point, on the Patuxent, where Admiral Cockburn fell in with and defeated the flotilla, taking and destroying the whole. Having advanced to within sixteen miles of Washington, and ascertaining the force of the enemy to be such as might authorise an attempt at carrying his capital, I determined to make it, and accordingly put the troops in movement on the evening of the 23d. A corps of about 1200 men appeared to oppose us, but retired after firing a few shots. On the 24th the troops resumed their march, and reached Bladensberg, a village situated on the left bank of the eastern branch of the Potowmac, about five miles from Washington.

On the opposite side of that river the enemy was discovered strongly posted on very commanding heights, formed in two lines, his advance occupying a fortified house, which, with artillery, covered the bridge over the eastern branch, across which the British troops had to pass. A broad and straight road, leading from the bridge to Washington, ran through the enemy's position, which was carefully defended by artillery and riflemen.

The disposition for the attack being made, it was commenced with so much impetuosity by the light brigade, consisting of the 85th light infantry and the light infantry companies of the army, under the command of Colonel Thornton, that the fortified house was shortly carried, the enemy retiring to the higher grounds.

In support of the light brigade I ordered up a brigade under the command of Colonel Brooke, who, with the 44th regiment, attacked the enemy's left, the 4th regiment pressing his right with such effect as to cause him to abandon his guns. His first line giving way, was driven on the second, which, yielding to the irresistible attack of the bayonet, and the well-directed discharge of rockets, got into confusion and fled, leaving the British masters of the field. The rapid flight of the enemy, and his knowledge of the country, precluded the possibility of many prisoners being taken, more particularly as the troops had, during the day, undergone considerable fatigue.

The enemy's army, amounting to 8 or 9000 men, with 3 or 400 cavalry, was under the command of General Winder, being formed of troops drawn from Baltimore and Pennsylvania. His artillery, ten pieces of which fell into our hands, was commanded by Commodore Barney, who was wounded and taken prisoner. The artillery I directed to be destroyed.

Having halted the army for a short time, I determined to march upon Washington, and reached that city at eight o'clock that night. Judging it of consequence to complete the destruction of the public buildings with the least possible delay, so that the army might retire without loss of time, the following buildings were set fire to and consumed:—The capitol, including the senate-house and house of representation, the arsenal, the dock-yard, treasury, war-office, president's-palace, rope-walk, and the great bridge across the Potowmac: In the dock-yard a frigate nearly ready to be launched, and a sloop of war, were consumed. The two bridges leading to Washington over the eastern branch had been destroyed by the enemy, who apprehended an attack from that quarter. The object of the expedition being accomplished, I determined, before any greater force of the enemy could be assembled, to withdraw the troops, and accordingly commenced retiring on the night of the 25th. On

the evening of the 29th we reached Benedict, and re-embarked the following day. In the performance of the operation I have detailed, it is with the utmost satisfaction I observe to your lordship, that cheerfulness in undergoing fatigue, and anxiety for the accomplishment of the object, were conspicuous in all ranks.

To Sir Alexander Cochrane my thanks are due, for his ready compliance with every wish connected with the welfare of the troops, and the success of the expedition.

To Rear-Admiral Cockburn, who suggested the attack upon Washington, and who accompanied the army, I confess the greatest obligation for his cordial co-operation and advice.

Colonel Thornton, who led the attack, is entitled to every praise for the noble example he set, which was so well followed by Lieutenant-Colonel Wood and the 85th light infantry, and by Major Jones of the 4th foot, with the light companies attached to the light brigade.

I have to express my approbation of the spirited conduct of Colonel Brooke, and of his brigade; the 44th regiment, which he led, distinguished itself under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Mullens; the gallantry of the foot, under the command of Major Faunce, being equally conspicuous.

The exertions of Captain Mitchell, of the royal artillery, in bringing the guns into action, were unremitting; to him, and to the detachment under his command, including Captain Deacon's rocket brigade, and the marine rocket corps, I feel every obligation. Captain Lempriere, of the royal artillery, mounted a small detachment of the artillery drivers, which proved of great utility.

The assistance afforded by Captain Blanchard, of the royal engineers, in the duties of his department, was of great advantage. To the zealous exertions of Captains Wainwright, Palmer, and Money, of the royal navy, and to those of the officers and seamen who landed with them, the service is highly indebted; the latter, Captain Money, had charge of the seamen attached to the marine artillery. To Captain M'Dougall, of the 85th foot, who acted as my aide-de-camp, in consequence of the indisposition of my aide-de-camp, Captain Falls, and to the officers of my staff, I feel much indebted.

I must beg leave to call your lordship's attention to the zeal and indefatigable exertions of Lieutenant Evans, acting deputy-quarter-master-general. The intelligence displayed by that officer in circumstances of considerable difficulty induces me to hope he will meet with some distinguished mark of approbation. I have reason to be satisfied with the arrangements of Assistant Commissary General Lawrence.

An attack upon an enemy so strongly posted could not be effected without loss. I have to lament that the wounds received by Colonel Thornton, and the other officers and soldiers left at Bladensburgh, were such as prevented their removal. As many of the wounded as could be brought off were removed, the others being left with medical care and attendants. The arrangements made by Staff Surgeon Baxter for their accommodation have been as satisfactory as circumstances would admit of. The agent for British prisoners of war very fortunately residing at Bladensburgh, I have recommended the wounded officers and men to his particular attention, and trust to his being able to effect their exchange when sufficiently recovered.

Captain Smith, assistant-adjutant-general to the troops, who will have the honour to deliver this dispatch, I beg leave to recommend to your lordship's protection, as an officer of much

merit and great promise, and capable of affording any further information that may be requisite.

Sanguine in hoping for the approbation of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and of his majesty's government, as to the conduct of the troops under my command,

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

ROB. ROSS, Major-Gen.

I beg leave to enclose herewith a return of the killed, wounded, and missing, in the action of the 24th instant, together with a statement of the ordnance, ammunition, and ordnance stores taken from the enemy between the 19th and 25th August, and likewise sketches of the scene of action and of the line of march.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing of the troops under the command of Major-General Ross, in action with the enemy, on the 24th August, 1814, on the heights above Bladensburgh.

Total—1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 5 serjeants, 56 rank and file, 10 horses, killed; 2 lieutenant-colonels, 1 major, 1 captain, 14 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 10 serjeants, 155 rank and file, 8 horses, wounded.

Return of ordnance, ammunition, and ordnance stores taken from the enemy by the army under the command of Major-Gen. R. Ross, between the 19th and 25th Aug. 1814.

Total amount of cannon taken—206.

500 barrels of powder.

100,000 rounds of musket-ball cartridge.

40 barrels of fine-grained powder.

A large quantity of ammunition of different natures made up.

The navy yard and arsenal having been set on fire by the enemy before they retired, an immense quantity of stores of every description was destroyed, of which no account could be taken; seven or eight very heavy explosions during the night denoted that there had been large magazines of powder.

(Signed)

F. G. J. WILLIAMS, Lieutenant royal artillery, A. Q. M.

N. B. The remains of near 20,000 stand of arms were discovered, which had been destroyed by the enemy.

Admiralty-Office, Sept. 27.

Captain Wainwright of his majesty's ship Tonnant, arrived this morning at this office with dispatches from Vice-Admiral the Honourable Sir Alexander Cochrane, K.B. to John Wilson Croker, Esq. of which the following are copies:—

Tonnant, in the Patuxent, Sept. 2.

Sir,—I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the Admiralty, of the proceedings of his majesty's combined sea and land forces since my arrival with the fleet within the capes of Virginia; and I beg leave to offer my congratulations to their lordships upon the successful termination of an expedition, in which the whole of the enemy's flotilla under Commodore Barney has been captured or destroyed; his army, though greatly superior in number, and strongly posted with cannon, defeated at Bladensburgh—the city of Washington taken, the capitol, with all the public buildings, military arsenals, dock-yard, and the rest of their naval establishments, together with a vast quantity of naval and military stores, a frigate of the largest class ready to launch, and a sloop of war afloat—either blown up or reduced to ashes.

Such a series of successes in the

centre of an enemy's country, surrounded by a numerous population, could not be acquired without loss, and we have to lament the fall of some valuable officers and men: But considering the difficulties the forces had to contend with, the extreme heat of the climate, and their coming into action at the end of a long march, our casualties are astonishingly few.

My letters of the 11th of August will have acquainted their lordships of my waiting in the Chesapeake, for the arrival of Rear-Admiral Malcolm, with the expedition from Bermuda.

The rear-admiral joined me on the 17th, and as I had gained information from Rear Admiral Cockburn, whom I found in the Potowmac, that Commodore Barney, with the Baltimore flotilla, had taken shelter at the head of the Patuxent, this afforded a pretext for ascending that river to attack him near its source, above Pig Point, while the ultimate destination of the combined force was Washington, should it be found that the attempt might be made with any prospect of success. To give their lordships a more correct idea of the place of attack, I send a sketch of the country upon which the movements of the army and navy are pourtrayed; by it their lordships will observe that the best approach to Washington is by Port Tobacco, upon the Potowmac, and Benedict, upon the Patuxent, from both of which are direct and good roads to that city, and their distances nearly alike: The roads from Benedict divide about five miles inland; the one by Piscataway and Bladensburgh, the other following the course of the river, although at some distance from it, owing to the creeks that run up the country; this last passes through the towns of Nottingham and Marlborough to Bladensburg, at which town the river called the Eastern Branch, that bounds Washington to the eastward, is fordable, and the distance is about five miles. There are two bridges over this river at the city; but it was not to be expected that the enemy would leave them accessible to an invading army.

Previously to my entering the Patuxent, I detached Captain Gordon, of his majesty's ship Seahorse, with that ship and the ships and bombs named in the margin,* up the Potowmac, to bombard Fort Washington (which is situated on the left bank of that river, about ten or twelve miles below the city), with a view of destroying that fort, and opening a free communication above, as well as to cover the retreat of the army, should its return by the Bladensburgh road be found too hazardous from the accession of strength the enemy might obtain from Baltimore; it was also reasonable to expect, that the militia from the country to the northward and westward would flock in, so soon as it should be known that their capital was threatened.

Captain Sir Peter Parker, in the Menelaus, with some small vessels, was sent up the Chesapeake above Baltimore, to divert the attention of the enemy in that quarter; and I proceeded, with the remainder of the naval force and the troops, up this river, and landed the army upon the 19th and 20th at Benedict.

So soon as the necessary provisions and stores could be assembled and arranged, Major-General Ross, with his army, moved towards Nottingham, while our flotilla, consisting of the armed launches, pinnaces, barges, and other boats of the fleet, under the command of Rear-Admiral Cockburn, passed up the river, being instructed to keep upon the right flank of the

* Euryalus, Devastation, Ætna, Meteor, Manby, and Erebus.

army, for the double purpose of supplying it with provisions, and, if necessary, to pass it over to the left bank of the river, into Calvert county, which secured a safe retreat to the ships should it be judged necessary.

The army reached Nottingham upon the 21st, and on the following day arrived at Marlborough: The flotilla continued advancing towards the station of Commodore Barney, about three miles above Pig Point, who, although much superior in force to that sent against him, did not wait an attack, but, at the appearance of our boats, set fire to his flotilla, and the whole of his vessels, excepting one, were blown up.

For the particulars of this well-executed service, I must refer their lordships to Rear-Admiral Cockburn's report, No. 1, who, on the same evening, conveyed to me an account of his success, and intimation from Major-General Ross, of his intention to proceed to the city of Washington, considering, from the information he had received, that it might be assailed, if done with alacrity; and in consequence had determined to march that evening upon Bladensburgh. The remaining boats of the fleet were immediately employed in conveying up the river supplies of provisions for the forces upon their return to Nottingham, agreeably to an arrangement made by the rear-admiral, who proceeded on in company with the army.

The report, No. 2, of Rear-Admiral Cockburn's, will inform their lordships of the brilliant successes of the forces, after their departure from Marlborough, where they returned upon the 26th, and having reached Benedict upon the 29th, the expedition was embarked in good order.

On combined services, such as we have been engaged in, it gives me the greatest pleasure to find myself united with so able and experienced an officer as Major-General Ross, in whom are blended those qualities so essential to promote success, where co-operation between the two services becomes necessary; and I have much satisfaction in noticing the unanimity that prevailed between the army and navy, as I have also in stating to their lordships that Major-General Ross has expressed his full approbation of the conduct of the officers, seamen, and marines acting with the army.

I have before had occasion to speak of the unremitting zeal and exertion of Rear-Admiral Cockburn during the time he commanded in the Chesapeake under my orders; the interest and ability which he has manifested throughout this late arduous service justly entitle him to my best thanks, and to the acknowledgments of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

Rear-Admiral Malcolm, upon every occasion, and particularly in his arrangement for the speedy re-embarkation of the troops, rendered me essential assistance; and to him, as well as to Rear-Admiral Codrington, captain of the fleet, I am indebted for the alacrity and order with which the laborious duties in the conveying of supplies to the army were conducted.

For the conduct of the captains and officers of the squadron employed in the flotilla, and with the army, I must beg leave to refer their lordships to the reports of Rear-Admiral Cockburn, and to call their favourable consideration to those whom the rear-admiral has had occasion to particularly notice. While employed immediately under my eye, I had every reason to be perfectly satisfied with their zealous emulation, as well as that of every seaman and marine, to promote the service in which they were engaged.

Captain Wainwright, of his majesty's ship Tonnant, will have the honour to deliver this dispatch to you; and, as he was actually employed both

with the flotilla and with the army in the whole of their proceedings, I beg leave to refer their lordships to him for any farther particulars.

I have not yet received any returns from the ships employed in the Potowmac, the winds having been unfavourable to their coming down; but by the information I gain from the country people, they have completely succeeded in the capture and destruction of Fort Washington, which has been blown up.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

ALEXANDER COCHRANE,
Vice-Admiral and Commander in Chief.

John Wilson Croker, Esq.

On board the Resolution Tender, off Mount Calvert, Monday night, 22d August, 1814.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you, that after parting from you at Benedict on the evening of the 20th instant, I proceeded up the Patuxent with the boats and tenders, the marines of the ships being embarked in them, under the command of Captain Robyns, (the senior officer of that corps in the fleet), and the marine artillery, under Captain Harrison, in their two tenders; the Severn and Hebrus frigates, and the Manly sloop, being directed to follow us up the river, as far as might prove practicable.

The boats and tenders I placed in three divisions: The first under the immediate command of Captains Sullivan (the senior commander employed on the occasion) and Badcock; the second, under Captains Money and Somerville; the third, under Captain Ramsay; the whole under the superintendance and immediate management of Captain Wainwright, of the Tonnant, Lieutenant James Scott (1st of the Albion) attending as my aide-de-camp.

I endeavoured to keep with the boats and tenders as nearly as possible abreast of the army under Major-General Ross, that I might communicate with him as occasion offered, according to the plan previously arranged; and about mid-day yesterday I accordingly anchored at the ferry-house opposite Lower Marlborough, where I met the general, and where the army halted for some hours, after which he marched for Nottingham, and I proceeded on for the same place with the boats. On our approaching that town, a few shots were exchanged between the leading boats and some of the enemy's cavalry; but the appearance of our army advancing caused them to retire with precipitation. Capts. Nourse and Palmer, of the Severn and Hebrus, joined me this day with their boats, having found it impracticable to get their ships higher than Benedict.

The major-general remained with the army at Nottingham, and the boats and tenders continued anchored off it during the night; and soon after day-light this morning, the whole moved again forward; but the wind blowing during the morning down the river, and the channel being excessively narrow, and the advance of our tenders consequently slow, I judged it advisable to push on with the boats, only leaving the tenders to follow as they could.

On approaching Pig Point (where the enemy's flotilla was said to be), I landed the marines under Captains Robyns on the left bank of the river, and directed him to march round and attack, on the land side, the town situated on the point, to draw from us the attention of such troops as might be there for its defence, and the defence of the flotilla: I then proceeded on with the boats, and, as we opened the reach above Pig Point, I plainly discovered Commodore Barney's broad pendant in the headmost vessel, a large

sloop, and the remainder of the flotilla extending in a long line astern of her. Our boats now advanced towards them as rapidly as possible, but on nearing them, we observed the sloop bearing the broad pendant to be on fire, and she very soon afterwards blew up. I now saw clearly that they were all abandoned and on fire, with trains to their magazines; and out of the seventeen vessels which composed this formidable and so-much-vaunted flotilla, sixteen were in quick succession blown to atoms, and the seventeenth (in which the fire had not taken) we captured. The commodore's sloop was a large armed vessel; the others were gun-boats, all having a long gun in the bow, and a carronade in the stern; the calibre of the guns and number of the crew of each differed in proportion to the size of the boat, varying from 32-pounders and sixty men to 18-pounders and forty men. I found here, lying above the flotilla, under its protection, thirteen merchant schooners, some of which not being worth bringing away, I caused to be burnt; such as were in good condition I directed to be moved to Pig Point. Whilst employed in taking these vessels, a few shot were fired at us by some of the men of the flotilla from the bushes on the shore near us; but Lieutenant Scott, whom I had landed for that purpose, soon got hold of them, and made them prisoners. Some horsemen likewise showed themselves on the neighbouring heights, but a rocket or two dispersed them; and Captain Robyns, who had got possession of Pig Point without resistance, now spreading his men through the country, the enemy retreated to a distance, and left us in quiet possession of the town, the neighbourhood, and our prizes.

A large quantity of tobacco having been found in the town at Pig Point, I have left Captain Robyns, with the marines, and Captain Nourse, with two divisions of the boats, to hold the place, and ship the tobacco into the prizes; and I have moved back with the third division to this point, to enable me to confer on our future operations with the major-general, who has been good enough to send his aide-de-camp to inform me of his safe arrival, with the army under his command, at Upper Marlborough.

In congratulating you, sir, which I do most sincerely, on the complete destruction of this flotilla of the enemy, which has lately occupied so much of our attention, I must beg to be permitted to assure you, that the cheerful and indefatigable exertions on this occasion of Capts. Wainwright, Nourse, and Palmer, and of Captain Sullivan, the other commanders, officers, and men, in the boats you have placed under my orders, most justly entitle them to my warmest acknowledgments and my earnest recommendation to your favourable notice.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) G. Cockburn,
Rear-admiral.

Vice-Admiral the Hon. Sir Alexander Cochrane, K.B.
&c. &c. &c. &c.

His Majesty's Sloop Manly, off Nottingham, Patuxent, 27th August.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that agreeably to the intentions I notified to you in my letter of the 22d instant, I proceeded by land on the morning of the 23d to Upper Marlborough, to meet and confer with Major-General Ross as to our further operations against the enemy; and we were not long in agreeing on the propriety of making an immediate attempt on the city of Washington.

In conformity, therefore, with the

wishes of the general, I instantly sent orders for our marine and naval forces at Pig Point to be forthwith moved over to Mount Calvert, and for the marines, marine artillery, and a proportion of the seamen, to be there landed, and with the utmost possible expedition to join the army, which I also most readily agreed to accompany.

The major-general then made his dispositions, and arranged that Captain Robyns, with the marines of the ships, should retain possession of Upper Marlborough, and that the marine artillery and seamen should follow the army to the ground it was to occupy for the night. The army then moved on, and bivouacked before dark, about five miles nearer Washington.

In the night, Captain Palmer of the Hebrus, and Captain Money of the Trave, joined us with the seamen and with the marine artillery under Captain Harrison. Captain Wainwright, of the Tonnant, had accompanied me the day before, as had also Lieutenant James Scott (acting first lieutenant) of the Albion.

At daylight the morning of the 24th, the major-general again put the army in motion, directing his march upon Bladensburg; on reaching which place, with the advanced brigade, the enemy was discovered drawn up in force on a rising ground beyond the town; and by the fire he soon opened on us as we entered the place, gave us to understand he was well protected with artillery. General Ross, however, did not hesitate in immediately advancing to attack him, although our troops were almost exhausted with the fatigue of the march they had just made, and but a small proportion of our little army had yet got up; this dashing measure was, however, I am happy to add, crowned with the success it merited; for, in spite of the galling fire of the enemy, our troops advanced steadily on both his flanks, and in his front; and as soon as they arrived on even ground with him, he fled in every direction, leaving behing him ten pieces of cannon, and a considerable number of killed and wounded; amongst the latter Commodore Barney, and several other officers; some other prisoners were also taken, though not many, owing to the swiftness with which the enemy went off, and the fatigues our army had previously undergone.

It would, sir, be deemed presumption in me to attempt to give you particular details respecting the nature of this battle; I shall therefore only remark generally, that the enemy, eight thousand strong, on ground he had chosen as best adapted for him to defend, where he had had time to erect his batteries, and concert all his measures, was dislodged as soon as reached, and a victory gained over him by a division of the British army, not amounting to more than fifteen hundred men, headed by our gallant general, whose brilliant atchievement of this day it is beyond my power to do justice to, and indeed no possible comment could enhance.

The seamen, with the guns, were, to their great mortification, with the rear division during this short but decisive action; those, however, attached to the rocket brigade, were in the battle, and I remarked with much pleasure the precision with which the rockets were thrown by them, under the direction of First Lieutenant Lawrence of the marine artillery; Mr Jeremiah M'Daniel, master's mate of the Tonnant, a very fine young man, who was attached to this party, being severely wounded, I beg permission to recommend him to your favourable consideration. The company of marines I have on so many occasions had cause to mention to you, commanded by First Lieutenant Stephens, was also in the action, as were the colonial marines, under the temporary command

of Captain Reed, of the 6th West India regiment (these companies being attached to the light brigade,) and they respectively behaved with their accustomed zeal and bravery. None other of the naval department were fortunate enough to arrive up in time to take their share in this battle, excepting Captain Palmer, of the Hebrus, with his aid-de-camp, Mr Arthur Wakefield, midshipman of that ship, and Lieutenant James Scott, first of the Albion, who acted as my aid-de-camp, and remained with me during the whole time.

The contest being completely ended, and the enemy having retired from the field, the general gave the army about two hours rest, when he again moved forward on Washington. It was, however, dark before we reached the city; and on the general, myself, and some officers, advancing a short way past the first houses of the town, without being accompanied by the troops, the enemy opened upon us a heavy fire of musketry from the capitol and other houses; these were therefore immediately stormed by our people, taken possession of, and set on fire, after which the town submitted without further resistance.

The enemy himself, on our entering the town, set fire to the navy yard, filled with naval stores, a frigate of the largest class, almost ready for launching, and a sloop of war laying off it, as he also did to the fort which protected the sea approach to Washington.

On taking possession of the city, we also set fire to the president's palace, the treasury, and the war-office; and in the morning Captain Wainwright went with a party to see that the destruction in the navy-yard was complete, when he destroyed whatever stores and buildings had escaped the flames of the preceding night; a large quantity of ammunition and ordnance stores were likewise destroyed by us in the arsenal, as were about two hundred pieces of artillery of different calibres, as well as a vast quantity of small arms. Two rope-walks of a very extensive nature, full of tar rope, &c. situated at a considerable distance from the yard, were likewise set fire to and consumed. In short, sir, I do not believe a vestige of public property, or a store of any kind, which could be converted to the use of the government, escaped destruction; the bridges across the eastern branch and the Potowmac were likewise destroyed.

This general devastation being completed during the day of the 25th, we marched again at nine that night on our return, by Bladensburg, to Upper Marlborough.

We arrived yesterday evening at the latter without molestation of any sort, indeed, without a single musket having been fired; and this morning we moved on to this place, where I have found his majesty's sloop Manly, the tenders, and the boats, and I have hoisted my flag, *pro tempore*, in the former. The troops will probably march to-morrow, or the next day at farthest, to Benedict, for re-embarkation, and this flotilla will of course join you at the same time.

In closing, sir, my statement to you, of the arduous and highly important operations of this last week, I have a most pleasing duty to perform, in assuring you of the good conduct of the officers and men who have been serving under me. I have been particularly indebted, whilst on this service, to Capt. Wainwright, of the Tonnant, for the assistance he has invariably afforded me; and to Captains Palmer and Money, for their exertions during the march to and from Washington. To Captain Nourse, who has commanded the flotilla during my absence, my acknowledgements are also most justly due, as well as to Captains Sullivan, Badcock, Somer-

ville, Ramsay, and Bruce, who have acted in it under him.

Lieutenant James Scott, now first lieutenant of the Albion, has on this occasion rendered me essential services; and as I have had reason so often of late to mention to you the gallant and meritorious conduct of this officer, I trust you will permit me to seize this opportunity of recommending him particularly to your favourable notice and consideration.

Captain Robyns (the senior officer of marines with the fleet,) who has had, during these operations, the marines of the ships united under his orders, has executed ably and zealously the several services with which he has been intrusted, and is entitled to my best acknowledgments accordingly; as is also Captain Harrison, of the marine artillery, who, with the officers and men attached to him, accompanied the army to and from Washington.

Mr Dobie, surgeon of the Melpomene, volunteered his professional services on this occasion, and rendered much assistance to the wounded on the field of battle, as well as to many of the men taken ill on the line of march.

One colonial marine killed, one master's mate, two serjeants, and three colonial marines wounded, are the casualties sustained by the naval department; a general list of the killed and wounded of the whole army will of course accompany the report of the major-general.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) G. Cockburn,
Rear-Admiral.

Vice-Admiral the Hon.
Sir Alex, Cochrane,
K. B. &c. &c. &c.

P. S. Two long 6-pounder guns intended for a battery at Nottingham, were taken off and put on board the Brune, and one taken at Upper Marlborough was destroyed.

Downing-street, Oct. 17, 1814.

Captain Macdougall arrived early this morning with a dispatch addressed to Earl Bathurst, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, by Colonel Brook, of which the following is a copy:—

On board H. M. S. Tonnant,
Chesapeake, Sept. 17, 1814.

My Lord,—I have the honour to inform your lordship, that the division of troops under the command of Major-General Ross effected a disembarkation on the morning of the 12th of September, near North Point, on the left point of the Patapsco River, distant from Baltimore about thirteen miles, with the view of pushing a reconnoissance, in co-operation with the naval forces, to that town, and acting thereon as the enemy's strength and positions might be found to dictate.

The approach on this side to Baltimore lies through a small peninsula formed by the Patapsco and Black River, and generally from two to three miles broad, while it narrows in some places to less than half a mile.

Three miles from North Point the enemy had entrenched himself quite across this neck of land, towards which (the disembarkation having been completed at an early hour) the troops advanced.

The enemy was actively employed in the completion of this work, deepening the ditch, and strengthening its front by a low abbattis, both which, however, he precipitately abandoned on the approach of our skirmishers, leaving in our hands some few dragoons, being part of his rear guard.

About two miles beyond this post our advance became engaged; the country was here closely wooded, and the enemy's riflemen were enabled to conceal themselves. At this moment the

gallant General Ross received a wound in his breast, which proved mortal. He only survived to recommend a young and unprovided family to the protection of his king and country.

Thus fell at an early age one of the brightest ornaments of his profession; one who, whether at the head of a regiment, a brigade, or corps, had alike displayed the talents of command; who was not less beloved in his private, than enthusiastically admired in his public character; and whose only fault, if it may be deemed so, was an excess of gallantry, enterprise, and devotion to the service.

If ever it were permitted to a soldier to lament those who fall in battle, we may indeed in this instance claim that melancholy privilege.

Thus it is, that the honour of addressing your lordship, and the command of this army, have devolved upon me; duties which, under any other circumstances, might have been embraced as the most enviable gifts of fortune; and here I venture to solicit through your lordship, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent's consideration to the circumstances of my succeeding, during operations of such moment, to an officer of such high and established merit.

Our advance continuing to press forward, the enemy's light troops were pushed to within five miles of Baltimore, where a corps of about six thousand men, six pieces of artillery, and some hundred cavalry, were discovered posted under cover of a wood, drawn up in a very dense order, and lining a strong paling, which crossed the main road nearly at right angles. The creeks and inlets of the Patapsco, and Black Rivers, which approach each other at this point, will in some measure account for the contracted nature of the enemy's position.

I immediately ordered the necessary dispositions for a general attack. The light brigade, under the command of Major Jones, of the 4th, consisting of the 85th light infantry, under Major Gubbins, and the light companies of the army under Major Pringle, of the 21st, covered the whole of the front, driving in the enemy's skirmishers with great loss on his main body. The 4th regiment, under Major Faunce, by a detour through some hollow ways, gained unperceived a lodgment close upon the enemy's left. The remainder of the right brigade, under the command of the Hon. Lieutenant Colonel Mullins, consisting of the 44th regiment under Major Johnson, the marines of the fleet under Captain Robyns, and a detachment of seamen under Captain Money, of the Trave, formed line along the enemy's front, while the left brigade under Colonel Paterson, consisting of the 21st regiment, commanded by Major Whitaker, the 2d battalion marines by Lieut.-Colonel Malcolm, and a detachment of marines by Major Lewis, remained in columns on the road, with orders to deploy to his left, and press the enemy's right, the moment the ground became sufficiently open to admit of that movement.

In this order, the signal being given, the whole of the troops advanced rapidly to the charge. In less than fifteen minutes, the enemy's force being utterly broken and dispersed, fled in every direction over the country, leaving on the field two pieces of cannon, with a considerable number of killed, wounded, and prisoners.

The enemy lost in this short but brilliant affair from five to six hundred in killed and wounded; while at the most moderate computation, he is at least one thousand *hors de combat.* The 5th regiment of militia, in particular, has been represented as nearly annihilated.

The day being now far advanced, and the troops (as is always the case

on the first march after disembarkation) much fatigued, we halted for the night on the ground of which the enemy had been dispossessed. Here I received a communication from Vice-Admiral the Hon. Sir Alexander Cochrane, informing me that the frigates, bomb ships, and flotilla of the fleet, would on the ensuing morning take their stations as previously proposed.

At day-break on the 13th, the army again advanced, and at ten o'clock I occupied a favourable position eastward of Baltimore, distant about a mile and a half, and from whence I could reconnoitre at my leisure the defences of that town.

Baltimore is completely surrounded by strong but detached hills, on which the enemy had constructed a chain of palisaded redoubts, connected by a small breast-work: I have, however, reason to think that the defence to the northward and westward of the place were in a very unfinished state. Chinkapin Hill, which lay in front of our position, completely commands the town; this was the strongest part of the line, and here the enemy seemed most apprehensive of attack. These works were defended, according to the best information which we could obtain, by about fifteen thousand men, with a large train of artillery.

Judging it perfectly feasible, with the description of forces under my command, I made arrangements for a night attack, during which the superiority of the enemy's artillery would not have been so much felt, and Capt. M'Dougall, the bearer of these dispatches, will have the honour to point out to your lordship those particular points of the line which I had proposed to act on.

During the evening, however, I received a communication from the commander in chief of the naval forces, by which I was informed, that in consequence of the entrance to the harbour being closed up by vessels sunk for that purpose by the enemy, a naval co-operation against the town and camp was found impracticable.

Under these circumstances, and keeping in view your lordship's instructions, it was agreed between the vice-admiral and myself, that the capture of the town would not have been a sufficient equivalent to the loss which might probably be sustained in storming the heights.

Having formed this resolution, after compelling the enemy to sink upwards of twenty vessels in different parts of the harbour, causing the citizens to remove almost the whole of their property to places of more security inland, obliging the government to concentrate all the military force of the surrounding states, harassing the militia, and forcing them to collect from many remote districts, causing the enemy to burn a valuable rope-walk, with other public buildings, in order to clear the glacis in front of their redoubts, besides having beaten and routed them in a general action, I retired on the 14th three miles from the position which I had occupied, where I halted during some hours.

This tardy movement was partly caused by an expectation that the enemy might possibly be induced to move out of the entrenchments and follow us; but he profited by the lesson which he had received on the 12th, and towards the evening I retired the troops about three miles and a half further, where I took up my ground for the night.

Having ascertained at a late hour on the morning of the 15th, that the enemy had no disposition to quit his entrenchments, I moved down and re-embarked the army at North Point, not leaving a man behind, and carrying with me about two hundred prisoners, being persons of the best families in

the city, and which number might have been very considerably increased, was not the fatigue of the troops an object principally to be avoided.

I have now to remark to your lordship, that nothing could surpass the zeal, unanimity, and ardour, displayed by every description of force, whether naval, military, or marine, during the whole of these operations.

I am highly indebted to Vice-Admiral Sir A. Cochrane, commander in chief of the naval forces, for the active assistance and zealous co-operation which he was ready, upon every occasion, to afford me; a disposition conspicuous in every branch of the naval service, and which cannot fail to ensure success to every combined operation of this armament.

Captain Edward Crofton, commanding the brigade of seamen appointed to the small arms, for the animated and enthusiastic example which he held forth to his men, deserves my approbation—as do also Captains Nourse, Money, Sullivan, and Ramsay, royal navy, for the steadiness and good order which they maintained in their several directions.

I feel every obligation to Rear-Admiral Cockburn, for the counsel and assistance which he afforded me, and from which I derived the most signal benefit.

To Colonel Paterson, for the steady manner in which he brought his column into action, I give my best thanks.

The Hon. Lieut.-Col. Mullins deserved every approbation for the excellent order in which he led that part of the right brigade under his immediate command, while charging the enemy in line.

Major Jones, commanding the light brigade, merits my best acknowledgments, for the active and skilful dispositions by which he covered all the movements of the army.

The distinguished gallantry of Captain de Bathe, 95th light infantry, has been particularly reported to me, and I beg to record my own knowledge of similar conduct on former occasions.

To Major Faunce, 4th regiment, for the manner in which he gained and turned the enemy's left, as well as for the excellent discipline maintained in that regiment, very particular praise is due.

The exertions of Major Gubbins, commanding the 85th light infantry; and of Major Kenny, commanding the light companies, were highly commendable.

Captain Mitchell, commanding the royal artillery; Captain Carmichael, a meritorious officer of that corps; and Lieutenant Lawrence, of the marine artillery, are entitled to my best thanks, as is Captain Blanchard, commanding royal engineers, for the abilities he displayed in his particular branch of the service.

To Lieutenant Evans, 3d dragoons, acting deputy-quarter-master-general to this army, for the unremitting zeal, activity, and perfect intelligence which he evinced in the discharge of the various and difficult duties of his department, I feel warmly indebted; and I beg to solicit, through your lordship, a promotion suitable to the high professional merits of this officer.

Captain M'Dougal, aid-de-camp to the late General Ross (and who has acted as assistant adjutant-general, in the absence of Major Debbeig through indisposition,) is the bearer of these dispatches, and having been in the confidence of General Ross, as well as in mine, will be found perfectly capable of giving your lordship any further information relative to the operations of this army which you may require; he is an officer of great merit and promise, and I beg to recommend him to your lordship's protection.

I have, &c.

A. Brook, Col. commanding.

Return of the killed and wounded in action with the enemy near Baltimore, on the 12th of Spetember, 1814.

General staff—1 major-general, 2 horses, killed; 1 horse wounded.

Royal artillery—6 rank and file wounded.

Royal marine artillery—1 rank and file killed; 3 rank and file wounded.

4th regiment, 1st battalion—1 serjeant, I rank and file, killed; 3 serjeants, 10 rank and file, wounded.

21st regiment, 1 battalion—1 subaltern, 1 serjeant, 9 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 1 subaltern, 2 serjeants, 77 rank and file, wounded.

44th regiment, 1st battalion—11 rank and file, killed; 3 captains, 2 subalterns, 5 serjeants, 78 rank and file, wounded.

85th light infantry—3 rank and file, killed; 2 captains, 1 subaltern, 26 rank and file, wounded.

Royal marines, 2d battalion—4 rank and file, killed; 10 rank and file, wounded.

Royal marines, 3d battalion—2 rank and file, killed; 1 serjeant, 9 rank and file, wounded.

Detachments of royal marines from the ships attached to the 2d battalion —2 rank and file, killed; 1 rank and file wounded.

Detachments of royal marines under the command of Captain Robyns —2 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 9 rank and file, wounded.

Total—1 general staff, 1 subaltern, 2 serjeants, 35 rank and file, killed; 7 captains, 4 subalterns, 11 serjeants, 229 rank and file, wounded.

Names of officers killed and wounded.

Killed.—General staff—Major General Robert Ross.

21st Fusileers—Lieutenant Grace.

Wounded.—21st Fusileers—Brevet Major Renny, slightly; Lieut. Leavocq, severely.

44th regiment—Brevet Major Cruice, slightly; Captain H. Greenshields, dangerously (since dead;) Captain G. Hill, Lieutenant R. Cruice, Ensign J. White, severely.

85th light infantry—Captains W. P. de Bathe and J. D. Hicks, Lieut. G. Wellings, slightly.

Royal marines—Captain John Robyns, severely.

(Signed)
HENRY DEBBEIG, Major,
A. D. A. A. General.

Admiralty-office, Oct. 17, 1814.

Captain Crofton, acting captain of his majesty's ship the Royal Oak, arrived this morning at this office, with dispatches from Vice-Admiral the Hon. Sir Alexander Cochrane, K. B. addressed to John Wilson Croker, Esq. of which the following are copies:—

His Majesty's ship Tonnant, Chesapeake, Sept. 17.

Sir,—I request that you will be pleased to inform my lords commissioners of the Admiralty, that the approach of the equinoctial new moon rendering it unsafe to proceed immediately out of the Chesapeake with the combined expedition, to act upon the plans which had been concerted previous to the departure of the Iphigenia, Major-General Ross and myself resolved to occupy the intermediate time to advantage, by making a demonstration upon the city of Baltimore, which might be converted into a real attack, should circumstances appear to justify it; and as our arrangements were soon made, I proceeded up this river, and anchored off the mouth of the Patapsco, on the 11th instant, where the frigates and smaller vessels entered, at a convenient distance for landing the troops.

At an early hour next morning, the disembarkation of the army was effected without opposition, having attached

to it a brigade of 600 seamen, under Captain Edward Crofton (late of the Leopard;) the second battalion of marines; the marines of the squadron, and the colonial black marines. Rear-Admiral Cockburn accompanied the general, to advise and arrange as might be deemed necessary for our combined efforts.

So soon as the army moved forward I hoisted my flag in the Surprise, and with the remainder of the frigates, bombs, sloops, and the rocket ship, passed further up the river, to render what co-operation could be found practicable.

While the bomb vessels were working up, in order that we might open our fire upon the enemy's fort at day-break next morning, an account was brought to me, that Major-General Ross, when reconnoitring the enemy, had received a mortal wound by a musket ball, which closed his glorious career before he could be brought off to the ship.

It is a tribute due to the memory of this gallant and respected officer, to pause in my relation, while I lament the loss that his majesty's service and the army, of which he was one of the brightest ornaments, have sustained by his death. The unanimity, the zeal which he manifested on every occasion, while I had the honour of serving with him, gave life and ease to the most arduous undertakings. Too heedless of his personal security in the field, his devotion to the care and honour of his army has caused the termination of his valuable life. The major-general has left a wife and family, for whom I am confident his grateful country will provide.

The skirmish which had deprived the army of its brave general was a prelude to a most decisive victory over the flower of the enemy's troops. Colonel Brook, on whom the command devolved, having pushed forward our force to within five miles of Baltimore, where the enemy, about 6 or 7000, had taken up an advanced position, strengthened by field-pieces, and where he had disposed himself, apparently with the intention of making a determined resistance, fell upon the enemy with such impetuosity, that he was obliged soon to give way, and fly in every direction, leaving on the field of battle a considerable number of killed and wounded, and two pieces of cannon.

For the particulars of this brilliant affair, I beg leave to refer their lordships to Rear-Admiral Cockburn's dispatch, transmitted herewith.

At day-break the next morning, the bombs having taken their stations within shell range, supported by the Surprise, with the other frigates and sloops, opened their fire upon the fort that protected the entrance of the harbour, and I had now an opportunity of observing the strength and preparations of the enemy.

The approach to the town on the land side was defended by commanding heights, upon which was constructed a chain of redoubts connected by a breast-work, with a ditch in front, an extensive train of artillery, and a shew of force that was reported to be from 15 to 20,000 men.

The entrance by sea, within which the town is retired nearly three miles, was entirely obscured by a barrier of vessels sunk at the mouth of the harbour, defended inside by gun-boats, flanked on the right by a strong and regular fortification, and on the left by a battery of several heavy guns.

These preparations rendering it impracticable to afford any essential co-operation by sea, I considered that an attack on the enemy's strong position by the army only, with such disparity of force, though confident of success, might risk a greater loss than the possession of the town would compensate for, while holding in view the ulterior operations of this force in the contempla-

tion of his majesty's government; and, therefore, as the primary object of our movement had been already fully accomplished, I communicated my observations to Colonel Brook, who coinciding with me in opinion, it was mutually agreed that we should withdraw.

The following morning the army began leisurely to retire; and so salutary was the effect produced on the enemy by the defeat he had experienced, that notwithstanding every opportunity was offered for his repeating the conflict, with an infinite superiority, our troops re-embarked without molestation; the ships of war dropped down as the army retired.

The result of this demonstration has been the defeat of the army of the enemy, the destruction, by themselves, of a quantity of shipping, the burning of an extensive rope-walk, and other public erections, the causing of them to remove their property from the city, and above all, the collecting and harassing of his armed inhabitants from the surrounding country; producing a total stagnation of their commerce, and heaping upon them considerable expenses, at the same time effectually drawing off their attention and support from other important quarters.

It has been a source of the greatest gratification to me, the continuance of that unanimity existing between the two services, which I have before noticed to their lordships; and I have reason to assure them that the command of the army has fallen upon a most zealous and able officer in Colonel Brook, who has followed up the system of cordiality that had been so beneficially adopted by his much-lamented chief.

Rear-Admiral Cockburn, to whom I confided that part of the naval service which was connected with the army, evinced his usual zeal and ability, and executed his important trust to my entire satisfaction.

Rear-Admiral Malcolm, who regulated the collection, debarkation, and re-embarkation of the troops, and the supplies they required, has merited my best thanks for his indefatigable exertions; and I have to express my acknowledgements for the counsel and assistance which, in all our operations, I have received from Rear-Admiral Codrington, the captain of the fleet.

The captains of the squadron who were employed in the various duties afloat were all emulous to promote the service in which they were engaged, and, with the officers acting under them, are entitled to my fullest approbation.

I beg leave to call the attention of their lordships to the report Rear-Admiral Cockburn has made of the meritorious and gallant conduct of the naval brigade; as well as to the accompanying letter from Colonel Brook, expressing his obligations to Captain Edward Crofton, who commanded, and Captains T. B. Sullivan, Rowland, Money, and Robert Ramsay, who had charge of divisions; and I have to recommend these officers, together with those who are particularly noticed by the rear admiral, to their lordships' favourable consideration.

Captain Robyns, of the Royal Marines, who commanded the marines of the squadron on this occasion, and in the operations against Washington, being severely wounded, I beg leave to bring him to their lordships' recollection, as having been frequently noticed for his gallant conduct during the services on the Chesapeake, and to recommend him, with Lieutenant Sampson Marshall, of the Diadem, who is dangerously wounded, to their lordships' favour and protection.

First Lieutenant John Lawrence, of the Royal Marine Artillery, who commanded the rocket brigade, has again rendered essential service, and is highly spoken of by Colonel Brook.

Captain Edward Crofton, who will have the honour of delivering this dispatch, is competent to explain any further particulars; and I beg leave to recommend him to their lordships' protection, as a most zealous and intelligent officer.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ALEXANDER COCHRANE,
Vice-Admiral and Commander in Chief.

To John Wilson Croker, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

His Majesty's ship Severn, in the Patapsco,
Sept. 15, 1814.

SIR,—In furtherance of the instructions I had the honour to receive from you on the 11th inst. I landed at day-light on the 12th with Major-General Ross and the force under his command, at a place the general and myself had previously fixed upon, near to North Point, at the entrance of the Patapsco; and in conformity with his wishes, I determined on remaining on shore, and accompanying the army to render him every assistance within my power, during the contemplated movements and operations; therefore, so soon as our landing was completed, I directed Captain Nourse, of this ship, to advance up the Patapsco with the frigates, sloops, and bomb ships, to bombard the fort and threaten the water-approach to Baltimore, and I moved on with the army and seamen, (under Captain Edward Crofton,) attached to it, on the direct road leading to the above-mentioned town.

We had advanced about five miles (without other occurrence than taking prisoners a few light horsemen,) when the general and myself, being with the advanced guard, observed a division of the enemy posted at a turning of the road, extending into a wood on our left; a sharp fire was almost immediately opened upon us from it, and as quickly returned with considerable effect by our advanced guard, which, pressing steadily forward, soon obliged the enemy to run off with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind him several men killed and wounded; but it is with the most heartfelt sorrow I have to add, that in this short and desultory skirmish, my gallant and highly valued friend, the major-general, received a musket-ball through his arm into his breast, which proved fatal to him on his way to the water-side for re-embarkation.

Our country, sir, has lost in him one of its best and bravest soldiers, and those who knew him, as I did, a friend most honoured and beloved; and I trust, sir, I may be forgiven for considering it a sacred duty I owe to him to mention here, that whilst his wounds were binding up, and we were placing him on the bearer, which was to carry him off the field, he assured me the wounds he had received in the performance of his duty to his country caused him not a pang; but he felt alone anxiety for a wife and family, dearer to him than his life, whom, in the event of the fatal termination he foresaw, he recommended to the protection and notice of his majesty's government and the country.

Colonel Brook, on whom the command of the army now devolved, having come up, and the body of our troops having closed with the advance, the whole proceeded forward about two miles further, where we observed the enemy in force drawn up before us (apparently about 6 or 7000 strong;) on perceiving our army, he filed off into a large and extensive wood on his right, from which he commenced a cannonade on us from his field-pieces, and drew up his men behind a thick paling, where he appeared determined to make a stand. Our field-guns answered his with evident advantage, and so soon as Colonel Brook had made

the necessary dispositions, the attack was ordered, and executed in the highest style possible. The enemy opened his musketry on us from his whole line, immediately as we approached within reach of it, and kept up his fire till we reached and entered the wood, when he gave way in every direction, and was chased by us a considerable distance with great slaughter, abandoning his post of the Meeting-house, situated in this wood, and leaving all his wounded and two of his field-guns in our possession.

An advance of this description against superior numbers of an enemy so posted, could not be effected without loss. I have the honour to enclose a return of what has been suffered by those of the naval department, acting with the army on this occasion; and it is, sir, with the greatest pride and pleasure I report to you, that the brigade of seamen with small arms, commanded by Captain Edward Crofton, assisted by Captains Sullivan, Money, and Ramsay, (the three senior commanders with the fleet,) who commanded divisions under him, behaved with a gallantry and steadiness which would have done honour to the oldest troops, and which attracted the admiration of the army. The seamen under Mr Jackson, master's mate of the Tonnant, attached to the rocket brigade, commanded by the first Lieutenant Lawrence, of the marines, behaved also with equal skill and bravery. The marines landed from the ships under the command of Captain Robyns, the senior officer of that corps, belonging to the fleet, behaved with their usual gallantry.

Although, sir, in making to you my report of this action, I know it is right I should confine myself to mentioning only the conduct of those belonging to the naval department, yet I may be excused from venturing further to state to you generally the high admiration with which I viewed the conduct of the whole army, and the ability and gallantry with which it was managed and headed by its brave Colonel, which insured to it the success it met with.

The night being fast approaching, and the troops much fatigued, Colonel Brook determined on remaining for the night on the field of battle; and, on the morning of the 13th, leaving a small guard at the Meeting-house to collect and protect the wounded, we again moved forward towards Baltimore, on approaching which it was found to be defended by extremely strong works on every side, and immediately in front of us by an extensive hill, on which was an entrenched camp, and great quantities of artillery, and the information we collected, added to what we observed, gave us to believe there were at least within their works from 15 to 20,000 men. Colonel Brook lost no time in reconnoitring these defences, after which he made his arrangement for storming, during the ensuing night, with his gallant little army, the entrenched camp in our front, notwithstanding the difficulties which it presented.—The subsequent communications which we opened with you, however, induced him again to relinquish the idea, and therefore yesterday morning the army retired leisurely to the Meeting-house, where it halted for some hours to make the necessary arrangements respecting the wounded and the prisoners taken on the 12th, which being completed, it made a further short movement in the evening towards the place where it had disembarked, and where it arrived this morning for re-embarkation, without suffering the slightest molestation from the enemy, who, in spite of his superiority of number, did not even venture to look at us during this slow and deliberate retreat.

As you, sir, were in person with

the advanced frigates, sloops, and bomb vessels, and as, from the road the army took, I did not see them after quitting the beach, it would be superfluous for me to make any report to you respecting them. I have now, therefore, only to assure you of my entire satisfaction and approbation of the conduct of every officer and man employed under me, during the operations above detailed, and to express to you how particularly I consider myself indebted to Captain Edward Crofton (acting captain of the Royal Oak,) for the gallantry, ability, and zeal, with which he led on the brigade of seamen in the action of the 12th, and executed all the other services with which he had been intrusted since our landing; to Captain White (acting captain of the Albion,) who attended me as my aid-de-camp the whole time, and rendered me every possible assistance; to Captains Sullivan, Money, and Ramsay, who commanded divisions of the brigade of seamen; to Lieutenant James Scott of the Albion, whom I have had such frequent cause to mention to you on former occasions, and who in the battle of the 12th commanded a division of seamen, and behaved most gallantly, occasionally also acting as an extra aid-de-camp to myself. Captain Robyns, who commanded the marines of the fleet, and who was severely wounded during the engagement, I also beg leave to recommend to your favourable notice and consideration, as well as Lieutenant George C. Urmston, of the Albion, whom I placed in command of the smaller boats, to endeavour to keep up a communication between the army and navy, which he effected by great perseverance, and thereby rendered us most essential service. In short, sir, every individual seemed animated with equal anxiety to distinguish himself by good conduct on this occasion, and I trust therefore the whole will be deemed worthy of your approbation.

Captain Nourse, of the Severn, was good enough to receive my flag for this service; he rendered me great assistance in getting the ships to the different stations within the river; and when the storming of the fortified hill was contemplated, he hastened to my assistance with a reinforcement of seamen and marines; and I should consider myself wanting in candour and justice, did I not particularly point out, sir, to you, the high opinion I entertain of the enterprize and ability of this valuable officer, not only for his conduct on this occasion, but on the very many others on which I have employed him, since with me in the Chesapeake.

I have, &c. G. Cockburn, Rear-Admiral.

Vice-Admiral the Hon. Sir Alexander Cochrane, K.B. Commander-in-Chief, &c. &c. &c.

His Majesty's ship Tonnant, Chesapeake, Sept. 12, 1814.

Sir,—In my dispatch of the 2d instant, recounting the success of our expedition against Washington, I acquainted you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that the winds had been unfavourable for the return of the ships which were detached up the Potowmac, under Captain J. A. Gordon of the Sea-horse, to co-operate against the capital; but that I had heard of their having accomplished the destruction of Fort Washington. I have now the honour not only to confirm this report, but to transmit for their lordships' information, a copy of Captain Gordon's detail of his proceedings, in which his further success has exceeded my most sanguine expectations; having forced

the populous city of Alexandria to capitulate, and having brought down the river in triumph, through a series of obstacles and determined opposition, a fleet of twenty-one enemy's vessels. The difficuties which presented themselves to these ships in ascending the river, impeded by shoals and contrary winds, and the increased obstacles which the enemy had prepared against their return, with a confident hope of obstructing their descent, were only to be overcome by the most indefatigable exertions.

I trust, therefore, that the resolution and gallantry displayed by every one employed upon this service, which deserve my warmest applause, will be further honoured by the approbation of their lordships. I have, &c.

ALEX. COCHRANE,
Vice-admiral, Commander-in-Chief.

Seahorse, Chesapeake,
Sept. 9, 1814.

SIR,—In obedience to your orders, I proceeded into the river Potowmac, with the ships named in the margin, on the 17th of last month; but from being without pilots to assist us through that difficult part of the river called the Kettle-Bottoms, and from contrary winds, we were unable to reach Fort Washington until the evening of the 27th. Nor was this effected but by the severest labour. I believe each of the ships was not less than 20 different times a-ground, and each time we were obliged to haul off by main strength; and we were employed warping for five whole successive days, with the exception of a few hours, a distance of more than fifty miles.

The bomb-ships were placed on the evening of the 27th, and immediately began the bombardment of the fort, it being my intention to attack it with the frigates at day-light the following morning. On the bursting of the first shell, the garrison were observed to retreat; but supposing some concealed design, I directed the fire to be continued. At eight o'clock, however, my doubts were removed by the explosion of the powder-magazine, which destroyed the inner buildings, and at daylight on the 28th we took possession. Besides the principal fort, which contained two fifty-two pounders, two thirty-two pounders, and eight twenty-four pounders, there was a battery on the beach of five eighteen-pounders, a martello tower, with two twelve-pounders, and loop-holes for musketry, and a battery in the rear of two twelve and six six-pound field-pieces. The whole of these guns were already spiked by the enemy, and their complete destruction, with their carriages also, was effected by the seamen and marines sent on that service, in less than two hours. The populous city of Alexandria thus lost its only defence; and, having buoyed the channel, I deemed it better to postpone giving any answer to a proposal made to me for its capitulation until the following morning, when I was enabled to place the shipping in such a position as would ensure assent to the terms I had decided to enforce.

To this measure I attribute their ready acquiescence, as it removed that doubt of my determination to proceed, which had been raised in the minds of the inhabitants by our army having retired from Washington: this part of our proceedings will be further explained by the accompanying documents.

The Hon. Lieutenant Gordon of this ship was sent on the evening of the 28th, to prevent the escape of any of the vessels comprised in the capitulation, and the whole of those which were sea-worthy, amounting to 21 in number, were fitted and loaded by the 31st.

Captain Baker, of the Fairy, bring-

ing your orders of the 27th, having fought his way up the river past a battery of five guns and a large military force, confirmed the rumours, which had already reached us, of strong measures having been taken to oppose our return; and I therefore quitted Alexandria without waiting to destroy those remaining stores which we had not the means of bringing away.

Contrary winds again occasioned us the laborious task of warping the ships down the river, in which a day's delay took place, owing to the Devastation grounding. The enemy took advantage of this circumstance to attempt her destruction by three fire-vessels, attended by five row boats; but their object was defeated by the promptitude and gallantry of Captain Alexander, who pushed off with his own boats, and being followed by those of the other ships, chased the boats of the enemy up to the town of Alexandria. The cool and steady conduct of Mr John Moore, midshipman of the Seahorse, in towing the nearest fire-vessel on shore, whilst the other were removed from the power of doing mischief by the smaller boats of the Devastation, entitles him to my highest commendation.

The Meteor and the Fairy, assisted by the Anna Maria dispatch boat, a prize gun-boat, and a boat belonging to the Euryalus, with a howitzer, had greatly impeded the progress of the enemy in their works; notwithstanding which, they were enabled to increase their battery to eleven guns, with a furnace for heating shot. On the 3d, the wind coming to the N. W. the Etna and the Erebus succeeded in getting down to their assistance, and the whole of us, with the prizes, were assembled there on the 4th, except the Devastation, which, in spite of our utmost exertion in warping her, still remained five miles higher up the river. This was the moment when the enemy made his greatest efforts to effect o[illegible] destruction.

The Erebus being judiciously placed by Captain Bartholomew in an admirable position for harassing the workmen employed in the trenches, was attacked by three field-pieces, which did her considerable damage before they were beaten off. And another attempt being made to destroy the Devastation with fire-vessels, I sent the boats under Captain Baker to her assistance: nothing could exceed the alacrity with which Captain Baker went on this service, to which I attribute the immediate retreat of the boats and fire-vessels. His loss, however, was considerable, owing to their having sought refuge under some guns in a narrow creek thickly wooded, from which it was impossible for him to dislodge them.

On the 5th, at noon, the wind coming fair, and all my arrangements being made, the Seahorse and Euryalus anchored within short musket-shot of the batteries, while the whole of the prizes passed betwixt us and the shoal; the bombs, the Fairy, and Erebus, firing as they passed, and afterwards anchoring in a favourable position for facilitating, by means of their force, the further removal of the frigates. At three P. M. having completely silenced the enemy's fire, the Seahorse and Euryalus cut their cables, and the whole of us proceeded to the next position taken up by the troops, where they had two batteries, mounting from fourteen to eighteen guns, on a range of cliffs of about a mile in extent, under which we were of necessity obliged to pass very close. I did not intend to make the attack that evening, but the Erebus grounding within range, we were necessarily called into action. On this occasion the fire of the Fairy had the most decisive effect, as well as that of the Erebus, while the bombs threw their shells with excellent precision, and the guns

of the batteries were thereby completely silenced by about eight o'clock.

At day-light on the 6th I made signal to weigh, and so satisfied were the whole of the parties opposed to us of their opposition being ineffectual, that they allowed us to pass without further molestation. I cannot close this detail of operations, comprising a period of 23 days, without begging leave to call your attention to the singular exertion of those whom I had the honour to command, by which our success was effected. Our hammocks were down only two nights during the whole time; the many laborious duties which we had to perform were executed with a cheerfulness which I shall ever remember with pride, and which will ensure, I hope, to the whole of the detachments, your favourable estimation of their extraordinary zeal and abilities.

To Captain Napier I owe more obligations than I have words to express. The Euryalus lost her bowsprit, the head of her foremast, and the heads of all her topmasts, in a tornado which she encountered on the 25th, just as her sails were clued up, whilst we were passing the Flats of Maryland Point, and yet, after twelve hours work on her refittal, she was again underweigh, and advancing up the river. Captain Napier speaks highly of the conduct of Lieutenant Thomas Herbert on this as well as on every other of the many trying occasions which have called his abilities into action. His exertions were also particularly conspicuous in the prizes, many of which, already sunk by the enemy, were weighed, masted, hove down, caulked, rigged, and loaded, by our little squadron, during the three days which we remained at Alexandria.

It is difficult to distinguish amongst officers who had a greater share of duty than often falls to the lot of any, and which each performed with the greatest credit to his professional character. I cannot omit to recommend to your notice the meritorious conduct of Captains Alexander, Bartholomew, Baker, and Kanah, the latter of whom led us through many of the difficulties of the navigation; and particularly to Captain Roberts, of the Meteor, who, besides undergoing the fatigues of the day, employed the night in coming the distance of ten miles to communicate and consult with me upon our further operations preparatory to our passing the batteries.

So universally good was the conduct of all the officers, seamen, and marines of the detachment, that I cannot particularise with justice to the rest; but I owe it to the long-tried experience I have had of Mr Henry King, first lieutenant of the Seahorse, to point out to you, that such was his eagerness to take the part to which his abilities would have directed him on this occasion, that he even came out of his sick bed, to command at his quarters, whilst the ship was passing the batteries; nor can I ever forget how materially the service is indebted to Mr Alexander Louthian, the master, for both finding and buoying the channel of a navigation, which no ship of similar draft of water had ever before passed with their guns and stores on board, and which, according to the report of a seaman now in this ship, was not accomplished by the President American frigate, even after taking her guns out, under a period of 42 days.

Enclosed is a list of killed and wounded, and also of the vessels captured.

I have, &c.

JAMES A. GORDON, Captain.

To Sir Alexander Cochrane, Commander-in-chief, &c.

Downing-street, Oct. 9.

Major Addison arrived yesterday with a dispatch from Lieutenant-General Sir J. C. Sherbrooke, K.B. addressed to Earl Bathurst, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, of which the following is a copy :—

Castine, at the entrance of the Penobscot, Sept. 18, 1814.

My Lord,

I have now the honour to inform your lordship, that after closing my dispatch on the 26th ultimo, in which I mentioned my intentions of proceeding to the Penobscot, Rear-Admiral Griffith and myself lost no time in sailing from Halifax, with such a naval force as he deemed necessary, and the troops as per margin, to accomplish the object we had in view.

Very early in the morning of the 30th, we fell in with the Rifleman sloop of war, when Captain Pearse informed us, that the United States frigate the Adams had got into the Penobscot; but from the apprehension of being attacked by our cruizers, if she remained at the entrance of the river, she had run up as high as Hamden, where she had landed her guns, and mounted them on shore for her protection.

On leaving Halifax, it was my original intention to have taken possession of Machias, on our way hither; but on receiving this intelligence, the admiral and myself were of opinion that no time should be lost in proceeding to our destination, and we arrived here very early on the morning of the 1st instant.

The fort of Castine, which is situated upon a peninsula of the eastern side of the Penobscot, near the entrance of that river, was summoned a little after sun-rise, but the American officer refused to surrender it, and immediately opened a fire from four 24-pounders upon a small schooner that had been sent with Lieut.-Col. Nicolls (commanding royal engineers) to reconnoitre the work.

Arrangements were immediately made for disembarking the troops; but before a landing could be effected, the enemy blew up his magazine, and escaped up the Majetaquadous River, carrying off in the boats with them two field-pieces.

As we had no means of ascertaining what force the Americans had on this peninsula, I landed a detachment of royal artillery, with two rifle companies of the 60th and 98th regiments, under Colonel Douglas, in the rear of it, with orders to secure the isthmus, and to take possession of the heights which command the town; but I soon learned that there were no regulars at Castine, except the party which had blown up the magazine and escaped, and that the militia which were assembled there had dispersed immediately on our landing.

Rear-Admiral Griffith and myself turned our attention to obtaining possession of the Adams, or, if that could not be done, to destroying her. The arrangement for this service having been made, the rear-admiral entrusted the execution of it to Captain Barrie, royal navy, and as the co-operation of a land force was necessary, I directed Lieut.-Colonel John, with a detachment of artillery, the flank companies of the 29th, 62d, and 98th regiments, and one rifle company of the 60th, to accompany and co-operate with Captain Barrie on this occasion; but as Hamden is twenty-seven miles above Castine, it appeared to me a necessary measure of precaution first to occupy a post on the western bank, which might afford support, if necessary, to the force going up the river, and at the same time prevent the armed population, which is very numerous to the southward and westward, from

annoying the British in their operations against the Adams.

Upon enquiry I found that Belfast, which is upon the high road leading from Hamden to Boston, and which perfectly commands the bridge, was likely to answer both these purposes, and I consequently directed Major-General Gosselin to occupy that place with the 29th regiment, and to maintain it till further orders.

As soon as this was accomplished and the tide served, Rear-Admiral Griffith directed Captain Barrie to proceed to his destination, and the remainder of the troops were landed that evening at Castine.

Understanding that a strong party of militia from the neighbouring township had assembled at about four miles from Castine, on the road leading to Blue Hill, I sent out a strong patrole on the morning of the second, before day-break. On arriving at the place, I was informed that the militia of the county had assembled there on the alarm guns being fired at the fort at Castine upon our first appearance, but that the main body had since dispersed, and returned to their respective homes. Some stragglers were however left, who fired upon our advanced guards, and then took to the woods, a few of whom were made prisoners. No intelligence having reached us from Captain Barrie on Saturday night, I marched with about 700 men and two light field-pieces upon Buckston at three o'clock on Sunday morning the 4th instant, for the purpose of learning what progress he had made, and of affording him assistance if required. This place is about 18 miles higher up the Penobscot than Castine, and on the eastern bank of the river. Rear-Admiral Griffith accompanied me on this occasion; and as we had reason to believe that the light guns which had been taken from Castine were secreted in the neighbourhood of Buckston, we threatened to destroy the town unless they were delivered up, and the two brass three-pounders on travelling carriages were in consequence brought to us in the course of the day, and are now in our possession.

At Buckston we received very satisfactory accounts of the success which had attended the force employed up the river. We learned, that Captain Barrie had proceeded from Hamden up to Bangor; and the admiral sent an officer in a boat from Buckston to communicate with him, when finding there was no necessity for the troops remaining longer at Buckston, they marched back to Castine the next day.

Having ascertained that the object of the expedition up the Penobscot had been attained, it was no longer necessary for me to occupy Belfast; I therefore, on the evening of the 6th, directed Major-General Gosselin to embark the troops and to join me here.

Macchias being the only place now remaining where the enemy had a post between the Penobscot and Pasmaquoddy Bay, I ordered Lieut.-Col. Pilkington to proceed with a detachment of royal artillery and the 29th regiment to occupy it; and as naval assistance was required, Rear-Admiral Griffith directed Captain Parker, of the Tenedos, to co-operate with Lieut.-Colonel Pilkington on this occasion.

On the morning of the 9th, Captain Barrie, with Lieut.-Colonel John, and the troops which had been employed with him up the Penobscot, returned to Castine. It seems the enemy blew up the Adams, on his strong position at Hamden being attacked; but all his artillery, two stands of colours, and a standard, with several merchant vessels, fell into our hands. This, I am happy to say, was accomplished with very little loss on our part; and your lordship will perceive, by the return sent herewith, that the only

officer wounded in this affair is Capt. Gell, of the 29th grenadiers.

Herewith I have the honour to transmit a copy of the report made to me by Lieut.-Colonel John on this occasion, in which your lordship will be pleased to observe that the lieut.-colonel speaks very highly of the gallantry and good conduct displayed by the troops upon this expedition, under very trying circumstances; and I beg to call your lordship's attention to the names of those officers upon whom Lieut.-Colonel John particularly bestows praise. The enterprise and intrepidity manifested by Lieut.-Colonel John, and the discipline and gallantry displayed by the troops under him, reflect great honour upon them, and demand my warmest acknowledgments; and I have to request your lordship will take a favourable opportunity of bringing the meritorious and successful services performed by the troops employed on this occasion under the view of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

As Rear-Admiral Griffith will no doubt make a detailed report of the naval operations on this occasion, I forbear touching upon this subject, further than to solicit your lordship's attention to that part of Colonel John's report, in which he "attributes the success of this enterprise to the masterly arrangements of Captain Barrie, royal navy, who conducted it."

I have much pleasure in reporting to your lordship, that the most perfect unanimity and good understanding has prevailed between the naval and military branches of the service during the whole progress of this expedition.

I feel it my duty to express, in the strongest terms, the great obligations I am under to Rear-Admiral Griffith, for his judicious advice and ready co-operation on every occasion; and my thanks are likewise due to all the captains of the ships employed, for the assistance they have so willingly afforded the troops; and from which the happiest results have been experienced.

I have reason to be well satisfied with the gallantry and good conduct of the troops; and have to offer my thanks to Major-General Gosselin, Colonel Douglas, and the commanding officers of corps, for the alacrity shewn by them, and the strict discipline which has been maintained.

To the heads of departments, and to the officers of the general and of my personal staff, I am much indebted for the zealous manner in which they have discharged their respective duties.

Major Addison, my military secretary, will have the honour of delivering this dispatch. He has been with me during the whole of these operations, and is well enabled to afford your lordship any further information you may require. I have entrusted the colours and standard taken from the enemy to Major Addison, who will receive your lordship's commands respecting the further disposal of them, and I take the liberty of recommending him as a deserving officer to your lordship's protection.

I have, &c. (Signed)

J. C. Sherbrooke.

N.B. The returns of killed, wounded, and missing, and of artillery and ordnance stores taken, are enclosed.

September 18.

P. S. The Martin sloop of war having been delayed, affords me an opportunity of informing your lordship, that I have received a private communication from Lieut.-Col. Pilkington, acquainting me that he had landed at some distance from Macchias on the evening of the 10th instant, and after a very difficult night's march, that he had taken possession of the fort, without loss, early the next morning.

Twenty-four pieces of cannon, of different calibres, fell into our hands on this occasion, more than half of which the enemy had rendered unserviceable.

Brigadier-Gen. Brewer, who commanded the militia in this district, and some other respectable persons, had sent a letter addressed to Lieut.-Col. Pilkington and Capt. Parker, of which the enclosed, No. 4, is a copy, and the next day was appointed to receive these gentlemen, for the purpose of accepting the terms therein offered. Lieut.-Col. Pilkington says, that as soon as this is done, he shall transmit me his official report, which I will forward to your lordship by the first opportunity. The lieutenant-colonel further mentions the great assistance he received from Captain Parker, of the royal navy, and the naval forces employed under him; and says, that the conduct of the troops is deserving of great praise.

I have great pleasure in congratulating your lordship upon the whole of the country between Penobscot River and Passamaquoddy Bay being now in our possession.

(Signed) J. C. SHERBROOKE.

(Enclosure No. I.)

Bangor, on the Penobscot River, Sept. 8, 1814.

Sir,—In compliance with your excellency's orders of the 1st instant, I sailed from Castine with the detachment of royal artillery, the flank companies of the 29th, 62d, and 89th regiments, and one rifle company of the 7th battalion 60th regiment, which composed the force your excellency did me the honour to place under my command, for the purpose of co-operating with Captain Barrie, of the royal navy, in an expedition up this river.

On the morning of the 2d, having proceeded above the town of Frankfort, we discovered some of the enemy on their march towards Hamden, by the eastern shore, which induced me to order Brevet-Major Croasdaile, with a detachment of the 98th, and some riflemen of the 60th regiment, under Lieutenant Wallace, to land and intercept them, which was accomplished, and that detachment of the enemy (as I have since learned) were prevented from joining the main body assembled at Hamden. On this occasion the enemy had one man killed, and some wounded. Major Croasdaile re-embarked without any loss. We arrived off Bald-Head Cove, three miles distant from Hamden, about five o'clock that evening, when Capt. Barrie agreed with me in determining to land the troops immediately. Having discovered that the enemy's picquets were advantageously posted on the north side of the cove, I directed Brevet-Major Riddle, with the grenadiers of the 62d, and Captain Ward, with the rifle company of the 60th, to dislodge them, and take up that ground, which duty was performed under Major Riddle's directions, in a most complete and satisfactory manner by about seven o'clock; and before ten at night, the whole of the troops, including eighty marines under Captain Carter, (whom Captain Barrie had done me the honour to attach to my command,) were landed and bivouacked for the night, during which it rained incessantly. We got under arms at five o'clock this morning; the rifle company forming the advance, under Capt. Ward; Brevet-Major Keith, with the light company of the 62d, bringing up the rear; and the detachment of marines, under Capt. Carter, moving upon my flanks, while Captain Barrie, with the ships and gun-boats under his command, advanced at the same time up the river, on

my right, towards Hamden. In addition to the detachment of royal artillery under Lieut. Garston, Captain Barrie had landed one six-pounder, a six and half-inch howitzer, and a rocket apparatus, with a detachment of sailors under Lieutenants Symonds, Botely, and Slade, and Mr Sparling, master of his majesty's ship Bulwark.

The fog was so thick, it was impossible to form a correct idea of the features of the country, or to reconnoitre the enemy, whose number were reported to be 1400, under the command of Brigadier-General Blake. Between seven and eight o'clock, our skirmishers in advance were so sharply engaged with the enemy, as to induce me to send forward one half of the light company of the 29th regiment, under Captain Coaker, to their support. The column had not advanced much further before I discovered the enemy drawn out in a line, occupying a very strong and advantageous position in front of the town of Hamden, his left flanked by a high hill commanding the road and river, on which were mounted several heavy pieces of cannon; his right extending considerably beyond our left, resting upon a strong point d'appui, with an 18-pounder and some light field-pieces in advance of his centre, so pointed as completely to rake the road, and a narrow bridge at the foot of a hill, by which we were obliged to advance upon his position. As soon as he perceived our column approaching, he opened a very heavy and continued fire of grape and musketry upon us; we however soon crossed the bridge, deployed, and charged up the hill to get possession of his guns, one of which we found had already fallen into the hands of Captain Ward's riflemen in advance. The enemy's fire now began to slacken, and we pushed on rapidly, and succeeded in driving him at all points from his position; while Captain Coaker, with the light company of the 29th, had gained possession of the hill on his left, from whence it was discovered that the Adams frigate was on fire, and that the enemy had deserted the battery which defended her.

We were now in complete possession of the enemy's position above, and Captain Barrie, with the gun-boats, had secured that below the hill. Upon this occasion twenty pieces of cannon fell into our hands of the naval and military force, the return of which I enclose; after which Captain Barrie and myself determined on pursuing the enemy towards Bangor, which place we reached without opposition; and here 2 brass 3-pounders, and 3 stand of colours, fell into our possession. Brigadier-General Blake, also in this town, surrendered himself prisoner, and with other prisoners, to the amount of 121, were admitted to their paroles. Eighty prisoners taken at Hamden are in our custody. The loss sustained by the enemy I have not had it in my power correctly to ascertain; report states it to be from 30 to 40 in killed, wounded, and missing.

Our own loss, I am happy to add, is but small, viz. one rank and file, killed; one captain, seven rank and file, wounded; one rank and file, missing. Captain Gell, of the 29th, was wounded when leading the column, which deprived me of his active and useful assistance; but, I am happy to add, he is recovering.

I have, &c. (Signed)
HENRY JOHN, Lieut.-Col.

Admiralty-office, Oct. 8.

Captain Senhouse, of his majesty's sloop the Martin, has arrived this afternoon at this office, bringing a dispatch from Rear-Admiral Griffith,

addressed to John Wilson Croker, Esq. of which, and of its enclosures, the following are copies:—

His Majesty's ship Endymion, off Castine, entrance of the Penobscot River, Sept. 9, 1814.

Sir,—My letter of the 23d of August, from Halifax, by the Rover, will have made you acquainted with my intention of accompanying the expedition then about to proceed under the command of his Excellency Sir John Sherbrooke, K. B. for this place.

I have now the honour to inform you, that I put to sea on the 26th ultimo, with the ships and sloop named in the margin, and ten sail of transports, having the troops on board, and arrived off the Metinicus Islands on the morning of the 31st, where I was joined by the Bulwark, Tenedos, Rifleman, Peruvian, and Picton. From Captain Pearce, of the Rifleman, I learned that the United States frigate Adams had a few days before got into Penobscot; but not considering herself in safety there had gone on to Hamden, a place 27 miles higher up the river, where her guns had been landed, and a position was fortifying for her protection.

Towards evening the wind being fair, and the weather favourable, the fleet made sail up the Penobscot bay, Captain Parker, in the Tenedos, leading. We passed between the Metinicus and Green Islands about midnight, and steering through the channel formed by the Fox Islands and Owl's Head, ran up to the eastward of Long Island, and found ourselves at daylight in the morning in sight of the fort and town of Castine. As we approached, some shew of resistance was made, and a few shots were fired; but the fort was soon after abandoned and blown up. At about eight a. m. the men of war and transports were anchored a little to the northward of the peninsula of Castine, and the smaller vessels taking a station nearer in for covering the landing, the troops were put on shore, and took possession of the town and works without opposition.

The general wishing to occupy a post at Belfast, on the western side of the bay, (through which the high road from Boston runs), for the purpose of cutting off all communication with that side of the country, the Bacchante and Rifleman were detached with the troops destined for this service, and quiet possession was taken, and held, of that town, as long as was thought necessary.

Arrangements were immediately made for attacking the frigate at Hamden, and the general having proffered every military assistance, six hundred picked men under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel John, of the 60th regiment, were embarked the same afternoon, on board his majesty's sloops Peruvian and Sylph, and a small transport. To this force were added the marines of the Dragon, and as many armed boats from the squadron as was thought necessary for disembarking the troops and covering their landing, and the whole placed under the command of Captain Barrie, of the Dragon; and the lieut.-col. made sail up the river at 6 o'clock that evening.

I have the honour to enclose Capt. Barrie's account of his proceedings; and, taking into consideration the enemy's force, and the formidable strength of his position, too much praise cannot be given him, the officers, and men under his command, for the judgment, decision, and gallantry with which this little enterprise has been achieved.

So soon as accounts were received from Captain Barrie that the Adams

was destroyed, and the force assembled for her protection dispersed, the troops stationed at Belfast were embarked, and arrangements made for sending them to take possession of Macchias, the only place occupied by the enemy's troops between this and Passamaquoddy Bay. I directed Captain Parker, of his majesty's ship Tenedos, to receive on board Lieut.-Colonel Pilkington, deputy adjutant-general, who is appointed to command, and a small detachment of artillery and riflemen, and to take under his command the Bacchante, Rifleman, and Picton schooner, and proceed to the attack of that place. He sailed on the 6th instant, and most likely, by this time, the troops are in possession of it. After destroying the defences they are directed to return here.

The inhabitants of several townships east of this have sent deputations here to tender their submission to the British authority; and such of them as could give reasonable security that their arms would be used only for the protection of their persons and property, have been allowed to retain them. This indulgence was absolutely necessary in order to secure the quiet and unoffending against violence and outrage from their less peaceable neighbours, and for the maintenance of the peace and tranquillity of the country. All property on shore, bona fide belonging to the inhabitants of the country in our possession, has been respected. All public property, and all property afloat, has been confiscated.

Sir John Sherbrooke conceiving it to be of importance that the government should be informed, without delay, of our successes here, has requested that a vessel of war may take his dispatches to England.

I have, in compliance with his wishes, appropriated the Martin for that service, and Captain Senhouse will take a copy of this letter to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

I have the honour, &c.

EDW. GRIFFITH.

To Vice-Admiral the Hon.
Sir Alexander Cochrane,
K. B. &c.

His Majesty's sloop Sylph, off Bangor, in the Penobscot, Sept. 3, 1814.

Sir,—Having received on board the ships named in the margin, a detachment of twenty men of the royal artillery, with one five and half-inch howitzer, commanded by Lieut. Garston; a party of eighty marines, commanded by Captain Carter, of the Dragon; the flank companies of the 29th, 62d, and 98th regiments, under the command of Captains Gell and Coaker, Majors Riddel, Keith, and Croasdaile, and Captain M'Pherson; also a rifle company of the 7th battalion of the 60th regiment, commanded by Capt. Ward; and the whole under the orders of Lieut.-Colonel John, of the 60th regiment; I proceeded agreeably to your order, with the utmost dispatch, up the Penobscot. Light variable winds, a most intricate channel, of which we were perfectly ignorant, and thick foggy weather, prevented my arriving off Frankfort before two p. m. of the 2d inst. Here Colonel John and myself thought it advisable to send a message to the inhabitants; and having received their answer, we pushed on towards Hamden, where we received intelligence that the enemy had strongly fortified himself. On our way up, several troops were observed on the east side of the river making for Brewer; these were driven into the woods without any loss on our side, by a party under the orders of Major Croasdaile, and the guns from the boats. The enemy had one killed and several wounded.

At five p. m. of the 2d instant, we

arrived off Ball's Head Cove, distant three miles from Hamden.

Colonel John and myself landed on the south side of the Cove, to reconnoitre the ground and obtain intelligence. Having gained the hills, we discovered the enemy's picquets advantageously posted near the highway leading to Hamden, on the north side of the Cove.

We immediately determined to land one hundred and fifty men, under Major Riddel, to drive in the picquets and take up their ground. This object was obtained by seven o'clock, and notwithstanding every difficulty, the whole of the troops were landed on the north side of the Cove by ten o'clock; but it was found impossible to land the artillery at the same place. The troops bivouacked on the ground taken possession of by Major Riddel. It rained incessantly during the night. At day-break this morning the fog cleared away for about a quarter of an hour, which enabled me to reconnoitre the enemy by water; and I found a landing-place for the artillery about two-thirds of a mile from Ball's Head. Off this place the troops halted till the artillery were mounted, and by six the whole advanced towards Hamden.

The boats under the immediate command of Lieutenant Pedler, the first of the Dragon, agreeable to a previous arrangement with Colonel John, advanced in a line with the right flank of the army. The Peruvian, Sylph, Dragon's tender, and Harmony transport, were kept a little in the rear in reserve.

Our information stated the enemy's force at fourteen hundred men, and he had chosen a most excellent position on a high hill. About a quarter of a mile to the southward of the Adams frigate he had mounted eight 18-pounders. This fort was calculated to command both the highway, by which our troops had to advance, and the river. On a wharf close to the Adams, he had mounted fifteen 18-pounders, which completely commanded the river, which at this place is not above three cables' length wide, and the land on each side is high and well wooded.

A rocket boat under my immediate direction, but manœuvred by Mr Ginton, gunner, and Mr Small, midshipman of the Dragon, was advanced about a quarter of a mile a-head of the line of boats.

So soon as the boats got within gunshot, the enemy opened his fire upon them from the hill and wharf, which was warmly returned. Our rockets were generally well-directed, and evidently threw the enemy into confusion. Mean time our troops stormed the hill with the utmost gallantry. Before the boats got within good grape-shot of the wharf battery, the enemy set fire to the Adams, and he ran from his guns the moment our troops carried the hill.

I joined the army about ten minutes after this event. Colonel John and myself immediately determined to leave a sufficient force in possession of the hill, and to pursue the enemy, who was then in sight of the Bangor road, flying at full speed. The boats and ships pushed up the river, preserving their original position with the army. The enemy was too nimble for us, and most of them escaped into the woods on our left.

On approaching Bangor, the inhabitants, who had opposed us at Hamden, threw off their military character, and as magistrates, select men, &c. made an unconditional surrender of the town. Here the pursuit stopped.

About two hours afterwards, Brigadier-General Blake came into the town to deliver himself as a prisoner.

The general and other prisoners, amounting to one hundred and ninety-one, were admitted to their parole.

Enclosed I have the honour to forward you lists of the vessels we have captured or destroyed, and other necessary reports. I am happy to inform you our loss consists only of one seaman, belonging to the Dragon, killed; Captain Gell, of the 29th, and seven privates, wounded; one rank and file missing.

I cannot close my report without expressing my highest admiration of the very gallant conduct of Colonel John, the officers, and soldiers under his command; for, exclusive of the battery before mentioned, they had difficulties to contend with on their left which did not fall under my observation, as the enemy's field-pieces in that direction were masked. The utmost cordiality existed between the two services, and I shall ever feel obliged to Colonel John for his ready co-operation in every thing that was proposed. The officers and men bore the privations inseparable from our confined means of accommodation with a cheerfulness that entitles them to my warmest thanks.

I can form no estimate of the enemy's absolute loss. From different stragglers I learn, that, exclusive of killed and missing, upwards of thirty lay wounded in the woods.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ROBERT BARRIE, Captain of his Majesty ship Dragon.

CAPITULATION.

To Capt. Hyde Parker, commanding the naval force, and Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew Pilkington, commanding the land force of his Britannic Majesty, now at Macchias.

Gentlemen,—The forces under your command having captured the forts in the neighbourhood of Macchias, and taken possession of the territory adjacent within the county of Washington, and the situation of the country being such between the Penobscot river and the Passamaquoddy bay, as to preclude the hope that an adequate force can be furnished by the United States for its protection; we propose a capitulation, and offer for ourselves and in behalf of the officers and soldiers of the brigade within the county of Washington, to give our parole of honour, that we will not, directly or indirectly, bear arms, or in any way serve against his Britannic Majesty King George the Third, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his successors and allies, during the present war between Great Britain and the United States, upon condition we have your assurance, that while we remain in this situation, and consider ourselves under the British government until further orders, we shall have the safe and full enjoyment of our private property, and be protected in the exercise of our usual occupations.

JOHN BREWER, Brigadier-Gen. 2d brigade, 10th division, for the officers and soldiers of the 3d regiment in the said brigade.

JAMES CAMPBELL, Lieut.-Col. commanding 1st regiment, 2d brigade, 10th division, for himself, officers, and soldiers in the said regiment.

These terms have been granted and approved of by us,

HYDE PARKER, Captain of his Majesty's ship Tenedos.

A. PILKINGTON, Lieut.-Colonel, commanding.

Macchias, Sept. 13.

Downing-Street, Oct. 24, 1814.

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, addressed to Earl Bathurst by Lieutenant-General Sir J. Sherbrooke, K. B. was yesterday received at this office :—

Halifax, Sept. 28, 1814.

My Lord,—Having now received Lieutenant-Colonel Pilkington's official report of the capture of Macchias, I do myself the honour of forwarding it for your lordship's information.

I beg leave to call the attention of your lordship to the zeal and activity displayed by Lieutenant-Colonel Pilkington on this occasion, as well as the discipline and good conduct evinced by the officers and troops under his command in the execution of this service.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. C. SHERBROOKE.

Macchias, Sept. 14, 1814.

Sir,—I have the honour to acquaint your excellency, that I sailed from Penobscot Bay with the brigade you was pleased to place under my command, consisting of a detachment of royal artillery, with a howitzer, the battalion companies of the 29th regiment, and a party of the 7th battalion 60th foot, on the morning of the 9th instant, and arrived at Bucks Harbour, about ten miles from this place, on the following evening.

As the enemy fired several alarm guns on our approaching the shore, it was evident he was apprehensive of an attack; I therefore deemed it expedient to disembark the troops with as little delay as possible; and Captain Hyde Parker, commanding the naval force, appointed Captain Stanfell to superintend this duty, and it was executed by that officer with the utmost promptitude and decision.

Upon reaching the shore, I ascertained that there was only a pathway through the woods by which we could advance and take Fort O'Brien, and the battery in reverse; and as the guns of these works commanded the passage of the river upon which the town is situated, I decided upon possessing ourselves of them, if practicable, during the night.

We moved forward at ten o'clock p. m. and after a most tedious and harassing march, only arrived near to the fort at break of day, although the distance does not exceed five miles.

The advanced guard, which consisted of two companies of the 29th regiment, and a detachment of riflemen of the 60th regiment, under Major Todd, of the former corps, immediately drove in the enemy's picquets, and upon pursuing him closely, found the fort had been evacuated, leaving their colours, about five minutes before we entered it. Within it, and the battery, there are two 24-pounders, three 18-pounders, several dismounted guns, and a blockhouse. The party which escaped amounted to about seventy men of the 40th regiment of American infantry, and thirty of the embodied militia; the retreat was so rapid, that I was not enabled to take any prisoners. I understand there were a few wounded, but they secreted themselves in the woods.

Having secured the fort, we lost no time in advancing upon Macchias, which was taken without any resistance, and also two field-pieces.

The boats of the squadron under the command of Lieutenant Bouchier of the royal navy, and the royal marines under Lieut. Welchman, were detached to the eastern side of the river, and were of essential service in taking two field-pieces in that quarter.

Notwithstanding that the militia were not assembled to any extent in

the vicinity of the town, I was making the necessary arrangements to advance into the interior of the country, when I received a letter from Brigadier General Brewer, commanding the district, wherein he engages that the militia forces within the county of Washington shall not bear arms, or in any way serve against his Britannic majesty, during the present war. A similar offer having been made by the civil officers and principal citizens of the county, a cessation of arms was agreed upon, and the county of Washington has passed under the dominion of his Britannic majesty.

I beg leave to congratulate you upon the importance of this accession of territory which has been wrested from the enemy: it embraces about one hundred miles of sea-coast, and includes that intermediate tract of country which separates the province of New Brunswick from Upper Canada.

We have taken twenty-six pieces of ordnance, serviceable and unserviceable, with a proportion of arms and ammunition, returns of which are enclosed; and I have the pleasing satisfaction to add, that this service has been effected without the loss of a man on our part.

I cannot refrain from expressing, in the strongest manner, the admirable steadiness and good conduct of the 29th regiment, under Major Hodge. The advance, under Major Todd, are also entitled to my warmest thanks.

A detachment of 30 seamen from his majesty's ship Bacchante, under Mr Bruce, master's mate, were attached to the royal artillery under the command of Lieutenant Daniell, of that corps, for the purpose of dragging the howitzer, as no other means could be procured to bring it forward; and to their unwearied exertions, and the judicious arrangement of Lieutenant Daniell, I am indebted for having a five and a half inch howitzer conveyed through a country the most difficult of access I ever witnessed.

To Captain Parker, of his majesty's ship Tenedos, who commanded the squadron, I feel every obligation; and I can assure you the most cordial understanding has subsisted between the two branches of the service.

I have the honour to be, &c.

A. Pilkington, Lieut.-Col.
Deputy-Adj.-General.

To Lieut.-Gen. Sir J. C. Sherbrooke, K.B. &c.

Downing-Street, Nov. 16.

Extract of a dispatch from Lieutenant-General Sir George Prevost, Bart. to Earl Bathurst, dated

Head quarters, Montreal, Sept. 30, 1814.

I have the honour to transmit to your lordship the enclosed copy of a dispatch I have received from Lieut.-General Drummond, reporting the result of a sortie made by the enemy, with a large proportion of his force, from Fort Erie, on the 17th instant, in which the very superior numbers of the American army were at length repulsed with very great loss, by the intrepid valour and determined bravery of the division of troops under the lieutenant-general's command. A copy of Major-General De Watteville's report, and the return of killed, wounded, and missing, on the occasion, are annexed; and although in this affair we have suffered a considerable loss, it will be satisfactory to your lordship to learn that Lieut.-General Drummond represents the conduct and spirit displayed by the officers and men engaged as deserving of his highest commendation.

Extract of a letter from Lieutenant-General Drummond to Lieutenant-General Sir G. Prevost, dated

Camp before Fort Erie,
Sept. 19, 1814.

My letter to your excellency of the 17th gave a short account of the result of an attack made by the enemy on my batteries and position on that day. I have now the honour to transmit a copy of Major-General De Watteville's report, together with a return of killed, wounded, and missing on that occasion.

To the information which your excellency will derive from those documents, I have to add, that as soon as the firing was heard I proceeded towards the advance, and found the troops had moved from the camp, and the Royals and 89th had been pushed by Major-General De Watteville into the wood on the right towards No. 3 battery, and that the 82d was moving to the support of the batteries on the left. At this moment it was reported to me that the enemy had gained possession of the batteries No. 2 and 3, and that our troops were falling back; a report which the approach of the fire confirmed (your excellency will have in recollection, that the whole line of operations lay in a thick wood;) I immediately directed Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell to detach one wing of the 6th regiment to support the 82d in an attack which I ordered to be made for the recovery of battery No. 2. I directed Major-General De Watteville to superintend this movement; Major-General Stovin took the direction of the troops and guns left in reserve. I threw forward the Glengarry light infantry into the wood in front of the centre, to check the advance of the enemy and support the troops retiring from that point; both these movements were executed to my entire satisfaction, and being combined with a judicious attack made by Lieut.-Col. Gordon, with part of the first brigade, consisting of the 1st battalion of the Royal Scots, supported by the 89th, the enemy was every where driven back, and our batteries and entrenchments regained, not, however, before he had disabled the guns in No. 3 battery and exploded its magazine. The enemy did not again attempt to make a stand, but retreated in great disorder to the fort, and was followed by our troops to the glacis of the place.

To Major-General De Watteville's report I must refer your excellency for the cause of the enemy's success in the first instance, viz. the overwhelming number of the enemy, to which we had only the King's and De Watteville's regiments to oppose. The spirit which the troops displayed in all the subsequent operations deserves the highest commendations, and entitles them to my warmest approbation. I have only to regret that the scene of action (a thick wood) was so unfavourable to the display of the valuable qualities which are inherent in British troops. The charge made by the 82d regiment under Major Proctor, and detachments of the 6th under Major Taylor, led to the recovery of the battery No. 2, and very much decided the precipitate retrograde movement made by the enemy from the different points of our position, of which he had gained a short possession.

Major General De Watteville reports most favourably of the steadiness evinced by the 1st battalion Royal Scots, under Lieutenant Colonel Gordon, (commanding 1st brigade) and the remains of the 2d battalion 89th, under Captain Basden. I myself witnessed the good order and spirit with which the Glengarry light infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Battersby, pushed into the wood, and by their superior fire drove back the enemy's light troops. Lieut.-Col. Pearson, in-

specting field-officer, accompanied this part of his demi-brigade, and I am sorry to say, received a severe, though I hope not a dangerous wound. To Major-General De Watteville, who commanded in camp, and by whom the first directions were given and arrangements made, I am under great obligations for the judgment displayed by him, and for his zeal and exertions during the action.—My acknowledgments are also due to Major-General Stovin, who arrived at my head quarters a few hours before the attack, for the assistance I received from him. I cannot sufficiently appreciate the valuable assistance which I have received from Col. Myers, deputy-quarter-master-general, and Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey, deputy-adjutant-general, during the present service, and which have been of the more importance, as, from my own state of health of late (in consequence of my wound), I have not been able to use those active exertions which I otherwise might. I avail myself of this opportunity of again expressing my sincere concern at the loss which this division of the army sustained, by the accident which deprived it of the services of Major General Couran, from whose energy and ability much was justly to be expected. To Major Glegg, assistant-adjutant general, to Captains Chambers and Powell, deputy-assistants quarter-master-general; to Captain Foster, military secretary; Lieutenant-Colonel Hagerman, provincial aide-de camp, and to Lieutenant Nesfield, 89th regiment, acting aide-de-camp, who have rendered me every assistance in their respective situations, my best acknowledgments are due; they are likewise due to Major D'Alton, brigade major, with the right division, for his uniform correctness, zeal, and attention to his duty.

To Lieut-Col. Campbell, of the 6th regiment, I am also much indebted, as well in his capacity of commanding-officer of that excellent corps, as in that of senior officer of the reserve of this division. Colonel Fischer, of De Watteville's regiment, and Lieutenant-Colonel Ogilvie, of the King's, are entitled to my thanks. The zeal and exertions of Major Phillott, commanding the royal artillery; Captains Walker and Sabine, and the officers and men of that corps, have been unremitting, and merit every commendation. I have reason to be pleased with the activity and zeal which Major Lisle, and the officers and men of the squadron of the 19th light dragoons, have uniformly displayed.

The enemy, it is now ascertained, made the sortie with his whole force, which, including the militia volunteers by which he has lately been joined, could not consist of less than five thousand. About two hundred prisoners fell into our hands, and I cannot estimate the enemy's loss in killed and wounded at less than that number.

The dreadful state of the roads and of the weather, it having poured with rain almost incessantly for the last ten days, renders every movement of ordnance or heavy stores exceedingly difficult. By great exertions the commanding artillery officer has succeeded in moving the battery guns and mortars, with their stores, &c. towards the Chippawa, to which place I mean to withdraw them for the present.

Camp, before Fort Erie,
Sept. 19, 1814.

Sir,—I have the honour to report to you, that the enemy attacked, on the 17th, in the afternoon, at three o'clock, our position before Fort Erie, the second brigade, under Colonel Fischer, composed of the 8th and De Watteville's regiments, being on duty.

Under cover of a heavy fire of his artillery from Fort Erie, and much favoured by the nature of the ground,

and also by the state of the weather, the rain falling in torrents at the moment of his approach, the enemy succeeded in turning the right of our line of picquets without being perceived, and with a very considerable force attacked both the picquets, and support in their flanks and rear; at the same time another of the enemy's columns attacked in front the picquets between No. 2 and No. 3 batteries, and, having succeeded in penetrating by No. 4 picquet, part of his force turned to his left, and thereby surrounded our right, and got almost possession of No. 3 battery. The enemy then directed his attacks with a very superior force towards No. 2 battery, but the obstinate resistance made by the picquets, under every possible disadvantage, delayed considerably his getting possession of No 2. battery, in which, however, he at last succeeded.

As soon as the alarm was given, the 1st brigade being the next for support, composed of the Royal Scots, the 82d, and 9th regiments, under Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon, received orders to march forward; and also the light demi-brigade, under Lieutenant-Colonel Pearson, the 6th regiment remaining in reserve, under Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell. From the Concession-road the Royal Scots, with the 89th as support, moved by the New-road, and met the enemy near the block-house, on the right of No. 3 battery, whom they engaged, and by their steady and intrepid conduct checked his further progress. The 82d regiment, and three companies of the 6th regiment were detached to the left, in order to support No. 1 and 2 batteries; the enemy having at that time possession of No. 2 battery, and still pushing forward seven companies of the 82d, under Major Proctor, and the three companies of the 6th, under Major Taylor, received directions to oppose the enemy's forces, and immediately charged them with the most intrepid bravery, driving them back across our entrenchments, and also from No. 2 battery, thereby preventing their destroying it, or damaging its guns in a considerable degree; Lieutenant-Colonel Pearson, with the Glengarry light infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Battersby, pushed forward by the centre road, attacked and carried with great gallantry the new entrenchment then in full possession of the enemy.

The enemy being thus repulsed at every point was forced to retire with precipitation to their works, leaving prisoners and a number of their wounded in our hands. By five o'clock the entrenchments were again occupied, and the line of picquets established as it had been previous to the enemy's attack.

I have the honour to enclose a return of casualties, and the report of the officer commanding the royal artillery, respecting the damage done to the ordnance and the batteries, during the time they were in the enemy's possession.

I have, &c.

L. De Watteville, Major-Gen.

Return of casualties of the right division of the army, in action with the enemy, camp before Fort Erie, Sept. 17, 1814.

General total,—1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 7 serjeants, 105 rank and file, killed; 3 lieutenant-colonels, 3 captains, 10 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 13 serjeants, 1 drummer, 147 rank and file, wounded; 2 majors, 4 captains, 3 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 1 adjutant, 1 assistant-surgeon, 21 serjeants, 2 drummers, 280 rank and file, missing.

Extract of a letter from Sir G. Prevost to Earl Bathurst, dated

Head quarters, Montreal, Oct. 4, 1814

I have the honour to transmit to

your lordship the enclosed extract of a letter I have just received from Lieutenant-General Drummond :—

Extract of a letter from Lieutenant-General Drummond to his Excellency Lieut.-Gen. Sir George Prevost, dated

District Head quarters, Falls of Niagara, Sept. 24.

The troops fell back at 8 o'clock on the evening of the 21st to the position alluded to in my letter of that date, and bivouacked for the night under torrents of rain. Soon after daylight, on the 22d, the enemy discovered our movements, and pushed out his picquets posted on the plain opposite Black Rock, and immediately retreated, after exchanging a few shots, without attempting to molest them. Having waited until two o'clock, (as well for the purpose of giving battle to the enemy should he have ventured out, as of giving time for the movement of all incumbrances behind the Black Creek,) I ordered the troops to retire across Frenchman's Creek, and the bridge over that creek to be destroyed. A cavalry picquet was left to watch this brigade; and the troops then proceeded to take up their cantonments. The whole of the movements has this day been completed; and the troops are now in comfortable quarters, where it is my intention to give them a few days repose.

Foreign-Office, Dec. 26, 1814.

Mr Baker arrived this afternoon at this office, with a treaty of peace and amity between his majesty and the United States of America, signed at Ghent, on the 24th instant, by Admiral Lord Gambier, Henry Goulburn, Esq., and Williams Adams, Esq., D. D. L., plenipotentiaries of his majesty; and by John Quincy Adams, J. A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell, and Albert Gallatin, Esqrs. plenipotentiaries on the part of the said United States.

APPENDIX II.—STATE PAPERS.

APPENDIX II.

STATE PAPERS.—BRITISH.

The humble Addresses of the House of Commons to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, on the African Slave Trade; with his Royal Highness's Answers.

Tuesday, 3d May, 1814.

Resolved, *nemine contradicente*,

That a humble address be presented to his royal highness the Prince Regent, to assure his royal highness, that this House, relying, with perfect confidence, on the solemn assurances received by parliament in 1806 and 1810, that his majesty's government would employ every proper means to obtain a convention of the powers of Europe for the immediate and universal abolition of the African slave trade, beg leave humbly and earnestly to represent to his royal highness, that the happy and glorious events which promise the general pacification of Christendom, the present union and assembly of its greatest sovereigns, and the great and generous principles which they proclaim as the rule of their conduct, afford a most auspicious opportunity for interposing the good offices of Great Britain to accomplish the above noble purpose, with the weight which belongs to her rank among nations, to the services which she has rendered to European independence, and to the unanimous and zealous concurrence of her parliament and people.

That we feel ourselves authorized, by our own abolition of this trade, of the guilty profits of which we enjoyed the largest share, by the fellowship of civilization, of religion, and even of common humanity, to implore the other members of the commonwealth of Europe to signalize the restoration of its order and security by the prohibition of this detestable commerce, the common stain of the Christian name, a system of crimes by which the civilized professors of a beneficent religion spread desolation and perpetuate barbarism among helpless savages, whom they are bound, by the most sacred obligations of duty, to protect, to instruct, and to reclaim:

Humbly to represent to his royal highness, that the high rank which this kingdom holds among maritime and colonial states imposes a very serious duty upon the British government at this important juncture; and that unless we interpose with effect, to procure a general abolition, the practical result of the restoration of

peace will be, to revive a traffic which we have prohibited as a crime, to open the sea to swarms of piratical adventurers, who will renew and extend, on the shores of Africa, the scenes of carnage and rapine in a great measure suspended by maritime hostilities; and the peace of Christendom will kindle a thousand ferocious wars among wretched tribes, ignorant of our quarrels and of our very name:

That the nations who have owed the security of their navigation to our friendship, and whom we have been happy enough to aid in expelling their oppressors and maintaining their independence, cannot listen without respect to our voice raised in the cause of justice and humanity; and that among the great states, till of late our enemies, maritime hostility has in fact abolished the trade for twenty years, no interest is engaged in it, and the legal permission to carry it on would practically be a new establishment of it, after a full developement of its horrors:

That we humbly trust, that in the moral order by which Divine Providence administers the government of the world, this great act of atonement to Africa may contribute to consolidate the safety and prolong the tranquillity of Europe, that nations may be taught a higher respect for justice and humanity by the example of their sovereigns; and that a treaty, sanctioned by such a disinterested and sacred stipulation, may be more profoundly reverenced, and more religiously observed, than even the most equitable compacts for the regulation of power or the distribution of territory.

Ordered—That the said address be presented to his royal highness the Prince Regent by such members of this House as are of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

His Royal Highness's most gracious Answer.

Friday, 3d June, 1814.

Mr Bathurst reported to the House, that their address of the 3d day of May last, respecting the abolition of the African slave trade, had been presented to his royal highness the Prince Regent; and that his royal highness was pleased to receive the same very graciously, and had commanded him to acquaint the House, that it would be the earnest endeavour of his royal highness to accomplish the object of it.

Monday, June 27, 1814.

Resolved, *nemine contradicente,*

That a humble address be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, representing to his royal highness, that, while we learn with great satisfaction the successful exertions of his royal highness in obtaining the consent of the government of Sweden, and still more that of Holland, to an immediate and unqualified abolition of the slave trade, we are bound in duty to express the deep regret of this House, that the late unanimous address of this House, praying his royal highness to interpose his good offices to obtain a convention of the powers of Europe for the immediate and universal abolition of the African slave trade, to which address his royal highness was pleased to return so gracious an answer, has failed to produce those consequences which this House and the country had most anxiously and with confidence anticipated:

That the objects to the attainment of which that address was directed, do, in the opinion of this House, so deeply affect the best interests of Europe, and the happiness and civilization of Africa, as to render it our im-

perious duty again to press them on the attention of his royal highness:

That, although the government of France, whether from the effect of partial and colonial interests, or from not being sufficiently aware of the enormities attendant on the slave trade, have not agreed to a stipulation for the immediate abolition of it; yet that the consent of that government to abolish the trade in five years, and to unite its efforts with those of his Britannic majesty, at the approaching congress, to induce all the powers of Christendom to decree its abolition, so that it shall cease universally at that time,—together with the disposition the French government is supposed to have manifested, to subject their own slave trade to some restrictions during the intervening period; above all, that government's distinct and unequivocal recognition of the radical injustice of the traffic in slaves, induce the House to entertain a confident hope, that further stipulations, with a view to the abolition or limitation of the slave trade, may be obtained at the approaching congress:

That, independently of the unspeakable evils to Africa which must arise from the permission of this nefarious traffic on the most extended scale for a further term of five years, and of the increased inducements for carrying it on which will then exist, it is obvious that new and formidable obstacles to the execution of our own laws against the slave trade must be created, that occasions of differences with those powers will be multiplied, that the evils and miseries produced in Africa, from the multitudes of human beings obtained by fraud or by violence being forcibly dragged into perpetual slavery in a foreign land, must be most lamentable and extensive; but they will be particularly afflicting in those parts with which his majesty's dominions have of late had the greatest intercourse, because the restoration of the French settlements and their dependencies, with the right of an unrestrained slave trade, must subject those populous and extensive districts, where, by the laudable exertions of Great Britain, peaceful industry and social happiness have been in some measure produced, to a renewal of the miseries inseparable from this odious traffic: the colony of Sierra Leone, also, whence European knowledge, the blessings of order, and the arts of peace, have begun to diffuse themselves through the neighbouring country, will be deprived of its beneficial influence, and even be exposed to imminent danger of ruin:

That, with a direct view to the considerations and points above stated, this House humbly, but most earnestly, implores his royal highness to endeavour to obtain, if possible, from the government of France some diminution of the term permitted to the slave trade; but, in any case, its restriction, at least within certain limits, and its total exclusion from the parts of Africa where the exertions of Great Britain have already succeeded in suppressing the trade, that the inhabitants of those regions may be left in the enjoyment of that exemption from its ravages which they have so recently and so happily obtained:

That this House feels most deeply anxious that no exertion should be omitted in the approaching congress, to procure a final and universal extinction of the slave trade, because it conceives that no opportunity can ever again be expected to occur so favourable, for effacing from the character of Europe its most opprobrious stain, or for delivering the unoffending but much-injured inhabitants of Africa from the heaviest of all possible calamities, from intestine war, excited too often by the basest avarice, and the fiercest passions raging without inter-

mission, and productive only of unmixed evil, and of invincible and interminable barbarism, and from practices which, having been exposed to the public eye, have induced the legislature to class slave traders among the vilest of criminals.

That, to produce a universal condemnation of this murderous system, displayed as its horrors now are to the view of mankind, it appears to be only necessary to appeal to those feelings which must exist in every mind capable of reflection, and not steeled against the claims of humanity and justice: That, as this system insults and outrages those sacred and fundamental principles which are common to every sect and denomination of Christians, it cannot be doubted that every Christian state is required to take part in its condemnation; those who have participated in its guilt being bound to abandon and to reprobate it; while none who enjoy the privilege of innocence are thereby either deprived of the right, or exempted from the obligation, of joining in the sentence:

That this house, therefore, again expressing its profound regret that more has not been accomplished in this great work, and convinced that by the endeavours of his royal highness, exerted with renewed energy, much may still be effected in the appointed congress, humbly but most urgently entreats his royal highness, that the most strenuous exertions be there made, on the part of this country, to obtain, as far as may be possible, the objects which have been specified, and that all proper means may be used for urging on the assembled powers the duty, the expediency, and the lasting glory of promulgating to all the world, as the judgment of the states of Europe, a general and solemn engagement, under the most binding and effectual sanctions, that this traffic, the foul and formidable enemy of the happiness and civilization of Africa, will, at a definite and fixed period, certainly not more distant than five years, be abolished utterly and for ever

Ordered—That the said address be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent by such members of this house as are of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

His Royal Highness's most gracious Answer.

Monday, 11*th July*, 1814.

Lord Viscount Castlereagh reported to the House, that their address of the 27th day of June last, respecting the African slave trade, had been presented to his royal highness; and that his royal highness had been pleased to receive the same very graciously, and had commanded him to acquaint this House, that he would not omit any favourable occasion for giving effect to the wishes of the House on this important subject.

Letter of the Princess of Wales to the Prince Regent.

Sir,—I am once more reluctantly compelled to address your royal highness, and to enclose for your inspection copies of a note which I had the honour to receive from the queen, and of the answer which I have thought it my duty to return to her majesty. It would be in vain for me to enquire into the reasons of the alarming declaration made by your royal highness, that you have taken the fixed and unalterable determination never to meet me upon any occasion either in public or private; of these your royal highness is pleased to state yourself to be the only judge. You will perceive, by my answer to her majesty, that I

have only been restrained by motives of personal consideration towards her majesty from exercising my right of appearing before her majesty at the public drawing-rooms to be held in the ensuing month. But, sir, lest it should be by possibility supposed that the words of your royal highness can convey any insinuation from which I shrink, I am bound to demand of your royal highness what circumstances can justify the proceeding you have thus thought fit to adopt?

I owe it to myself, to my daughter, and to the nation, to which I am deeply indebted for the vindication of my honour, to remind your royal highness of what you know, that, after open persecution and mysterious enquiries upon undefined charges, the malice of my enemies fell entirely upon themselves; that I was restored by the king, with the advice of his ministers, to the full enjoyment of my rank in his court, upon my complete acquittal: since his majesty's lamented illness, I have demanded, in the face of parliament and the country, to be proved guilty or to be treated as innocent; I have been declared, what I am, innocent; I will not submit to be treated as guilty.

Sir, your royal highness may possibly refuse to read this letter: but the world must know that I have written it, and they will see my real motives for foregoing, in this instance, the rights of my rank; occasions, however, may arise (one, I trust, is far distant) when I must appear in public, and your royal highness must be present also. Can your royal highness have contemplated the full extent of your declaration? has your royal highness forgotten the approaching marriage of our daughter, and the possibility of our coronation?

I waive my rights, in a case where I am not absolutely bound to assert them, in order to relieve the queen, as far I can, from the painful situation in which she is placed by your royal highness, not from any consciousness of blame, not from any doubt of the existence of those rights, or of my own worthiness to enjoy them.

Sir, the time you have selected for this proceeding is calculated to make it peculiarly galling; many illustrious strangers are already arrived in England, amongst others, as I am informed, the illustrious heir of the house of Orange, who has announced himself to me as my future son-in-law; from their society I am unjustly excluded; others are expected, of rank equal to your own, to rejoice with your royal highness in the peace of Europe; my daughter will, for the first time, appear in the splendour and publicity becoming the approaching nuptials of the presumptive heiress of this empire: this season your royal highness has chosen for treating me with fresh and unprovoked indignity; and, of all his majesty's subjects, I alone am prevented, by your royal highness, from appearing in my place to partake of the general joy, and am deprived of the indulgence in those feelings of pride and affection permitted to every mother but me. I am, sir,

Your royal highness's
faithful wife,

C. P.

Connaught Place, May 26, 1814.

The Letter of the Queen to the Princess of Wales.

Windsor Castle, May 23, 1814.

The queen considers it to be her duty to lose no time in acquainting the Princess of Wales, that she has received a communication from her son the Prince Regent, in which he states that, her majesty's intention of holding two drawing-rooms in the ensuing month having been notified to the

public, he must declare that he considers that his own presence at her court cannot be dispensed with, and that he desires it may be distinctly understood, for reasons of which he alone can be the judge, to be his fixed and unalterable determination not to meet the Princess of Wales upon any occasion, either in public or private.

The queen is thus placed under the painful necessity of intimating to the Princess of Wales the imposibility of her majesty's receiving her royal highness at her drawing-rooms.

CHARLOTTE R.

Letter of the Princess of Wales to the Queen.

Madam,—I have received the letter which your majesty has done me the honour to address to me, prohibiting my appearance at the public drawing-rooms which will be held by your majesty in the ensuing month, with great surprise and regret.

I will not presume to discuss with your majesty topics which must be as painful to your majesty as to myself.

Your majesty is well acquainted with the affectionate regard with which the king was so kind as to honour me, up to the period of his majesty's indisposition, which no one of his majesty's subjects has so much cause to lament as myself, and that his majesty was graciously pleased to bestow upon me the most unequivocal and gratifying proof of his attachment and approbation by his public reception of me at his court, at a season of severe and unmerited affliction, when his protection was most necessary to me. There I have since uninterruptedly paid my respects to your majesty; I am now without appeal or protection: but I cannot so far forget my duty to the king and to myself, as to surrender my right to appear at any public drawing-room to be held by your majesty.

That I may not, however, add to the difficulty and uneasiness of your majesty's situation, I yield, in the present instance, to the will of his royal highness the Prince Regent, announced to me by your majesty, and shall not present myself at the drawing-rooms of the next month.

It would be presumptuous in me to attempt to enquire of your majesty the reasons of his royal highness the Prince Regent for this harsh proceeding, of which his royal highness can alone be the judge. I am unconscious of offence; and in that reflection I must endeavour to find consolation for all the mortifications I experience, even for this, the last, the most unexpected, and the most severe: the prohibition given to me alone to appear before your majesty, to offer my congratulations upon the happy termination of those calamities with which Europe has been so long afflicted, in the presence of the illustrious personages who will, in all probability, be assembled at your majesty's court, with whom I am so closely connected by birth and marriage.

I beseech your majesty to do me an act of justice, to which, in the present circumstances, your majesty is the only person competent, by acquainting those illustrious strangers with the motives of personal consideration towards your majesty, which alone induce me to abstain from the exercise of my right to appear before your majesty; and that I do now, as I have done at all times, defy the malice of my enemies to fix upon me the shadow of any one imputation which could render me unworthy of their society or regard.

Your majesty will, I am sure, not be displeased that I should relieve myself from the suspicion of disrespect

towards your majesty, by making public the cause of my absence from court, at a time when the duties of my station would otherwise peculiarly demand my attendance.

I have the honour to be,
Your majesty's most obedient daughter-in-law and servant,
C. P.

Connaught House, May 24, 1814.

The Queen to the Princess of Wales.

Windsor Castle, May 25, 1814.

The queen has received this afternoon the Princess of Wales's letter of yesterday, in reply to the communication which she was desired by the Prince Regent to make to her; and she is sensible of the disposition expressed by her royal highness not to discuss with her topics which must be painful to both.

The queen considers it incumbent upon her to send a copy of the Princess of Wales's letter to the Prince Regent; and her majesty could have felt no hesitation in communicating to the illustrious strangers, who may possibly be present at her court, the circumstances which will prevent the Princess of Wales from appearing there, if her royal highness had not rendered a compliance with her wish to this effect unnecessary, by intimating her intention of making public the cause of her absence.

CHARLOTTE R.

The Princess of Wales to the Queen.

The Princess of Wales has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a note from the queen, dated yesterday; and begs permission to return her best thanks to her majesty for her gracious condescension in the willingness expressed by her majesty to have communicated to the illustrious strangers, who will in all probability be present at her majesty's court, the reasons which have induced her royal highness not to be present.

Such communication, as it appears to her royal highness, cannot be the less necessary on account of any publicity which it may be in the power of her royal highness to give to her motives; and the Princess of Wales, therefore, entreats the [illegible]tive good offices of her majesty upon an occasion wherein the Princess of Wales feels it so essential to her that she should not be misunderstood.

C. P.

Connaught Place, May 26, 1814.

The Queen to the Princess of Wales.

Windsor Castle, May 27, 1814.

The queen cannot omit to acknowledge the receipt of the Princess of Wales's note of yesterday, although it does not appear to her majesty to require any other reply than that already conveyed to her royal highness's preceding letter.

CHARLOTTE R.

Protest against the Rejection of Lord Grenville's Motion upon the French Slave Trade.

June 30.—DISSENTIENT,—Because, in the article of the treaty of peace lately concluded at Paris, respecting the African slave trade, a public interest of the first importance has been sacrificed, and, as we firmly believe, without any necessity or adequate cause; this inhuman traffic being, under the sanction of that article, revived and continued in the colonies which we have surrendered to France, for

the term of five years; and an immense district on the continent of Africa, which had been entirely relieved from it, again exposed to all the evils which must flow from its re-establishment.—Because, deeply impressed with the horrors of a commerce which the humanity of the legislature had prohibited, and which is described, in the article above referred to, as repugnant to the principles of natural justice, and of an enlightened age, this house had unanimously addressed his Royal Highness the Prince Regent to employ the whole weight and influence of this country, in the late negociations for peace, to procure its general and entire abolition; and because it is incumbent on ministers to show from what causes the endeavours which it was their duty to make for the attainment of this important object have failed, under circumstances which were undeniably most highly favourable to their success.—Because, this proof can only be given by the production of the papers which have passed during the late negociation upon this subject, as was admitted to be usual in cases of failure, and because no sufficient reason for withholding such information, in the present instance, was given in the debate.

AUGUSTUS FREDERICK, WILLIAM FREDERICK, GREY, LAUDERDALE, GRENVILLE, VASSAL HOLLAND.

Prorogation of Parliament.

July 30.—At two o'clock his Royal Highness the Prince Regent came from Carlton-house in state, to prorogue parliament.

The speaker, attended by about 40 members, soon afterwards appeared at the bar. The speaker addressed his royal highness in a speech of some length. He commenced by noticing the importance of the period at which they had met, and of the events during their session, of which, though distant, they had not been idle spectators. They had proceeded in their usual course to correct errors which experience showed them had crept into our old institutions; to originate new measures experimentally; and to collect information, which, though not immediately acted upon, would be the basis for progressive improvements hereafter. With regard to their financial arrangements, they had, without having recourse to new burthens upon the people, been enabled to sustain, on the extended scale to which it had been raised, the mighty military establishments of the country. From these great establishments in the south, co-operating with the powerful efforts in the northern nations, and from their joint exertions, had sprung those glorious events, which had ended in the overthrow of that enormous military despotism—the disgrace of our times. He then paid a compliment to the wisdom, justice, and ability, with which our military affairs had been conducted at home, and the consummate skill and bravery which abroad had contributed so much to the happy termination of the contest. The speaker then adverted to our efforts in concluding a peace, not less prosperous than the war had been glorious; a peace which had demonstrated the justice of our diplomatic system, and raised our national fame as high in policy as in arms. He eulogized the temperance and firmness displayed on this occasion, and characterized the peace as equally honourable and advantageous to all the contracting powers. Peace restored, commerce revived, and thrones re-established, furnished well-founded hopes that the same master-hand which had accomplished these things, would be equally visible in the approaching congress,

and only cease in its endeavours when it had left the world in a state of universal happiness. The right hon. gentleman concluded by alluding to the contest with America, and observing, that however desirous of peace we might be, it neither could nor ought to be attained by any compromise of our maritime rights.—He then presented the three million vote of credit bill, to which the Prince Regent gave the royal assent in person.

The Prince Regent then addressed the parliament:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I cannot close this session of parliament without repeating the expression of my deep regret at the continuance of his majesty's lamented indisposition. When, in consequence of that calamity, the powers of government were first intrusted to me, I found this country engaged in a war with the greater part of Europe. I determined to adhere to that line of policy which his majesty had adopted, and in which he had persevered under so many and such trying difficulties. The zealous and unremitting support and assistance which I have received from you, and from all classes of his majesty's subjects; the consummate skill and ability displayed by the great commander, whose services you have so justly acknowledged; and the valour and intrepidity of his majesty's forces by sea and land; have enabled me, under the blessing of Divine Providence, to surmount all the difficulties with which I have had to contend. I have the satisfaction of contemplating the full accomplishment of all those objects for which the war was either undertaken or continued; and the unexampled exertions of this country, combined with those of his majesty's allies, have succeeded in effecting the deliverance of Europe from the most galling and oppressive tyranny under which it has ever laboured. The restoration of so many of the ancient and legitimate governments of the continent affords the best prospect of the permanence of that peace which, in conjunction with his majesty's allies, I have concluded: and you may rely on my efforts being directed, at the approaching congress, to complete the settlement of Europe, which has been already so auspiciously begun; and to promote, upon principles of justice and impartiality, all those measures which may appear to be best calculated to secure the tranquillity and happiness of all the nations engaged in the late war. I regret the continuance of hostilities with the United States of America. Notwithstanding the unprovoked aggression of the government of that country, and the circumstances under which it took place, I am sincerely desirous of the restoration of peace between the two nations upon conditions honourable to both. But, until this object can be obtained, I am persuaded you will see the necessity of my availing myself of the means now at my disposal, to prosecute the war with increased vigour.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I thank you for the liberal provision which you have made for the services of the present year. The circumstances under which the war in Europe has been concluded, and the necessity of maintaining for a time a body of troops in British pay upon the continent, have rendered a continuation of our foreign expenditure unavoidable. You may rely, however, upon my determination to reduce the expences of the country as rapidly as the nature of our situation will permit.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is a peculiar gratification to me to be enabled to assure you, that full

justice is rendered throughout Europe to that manly perseverance, which, amidst the convulsions on the continent, has preserved this country against all the designs of its enemies, has augmented the resources and extended the dominions of the British empire, and has proved in its result as beneficial to other nations as to our own. His majesty's subjects cannot fail to be deeply sensible of the distinguished advantages which they have possessed; and I am persuaded that they will ascribe them, under Providence, to that constitution which it has now for a century been the object of my family to maintain unimpaired, and under which the people of this realm have enjoyed more of real liberty at home, and of true glory abroad, than has ever fallen to the lot of any nation.

The lord chancellor then declared parliament to be prorogued to the 27th of August next.

STATE PAPERS.—FOREIGN.

Kiel, Jan. 14.

Treaty of Peace between his Majesty the King of Sweden on the one part, and his Majesty the King of Denmark on the other.

In the name of the most holy and ever blessed Trinity:

His Majesty the King of Sweden, and his Majesty the King of Denmark, impressed with a wish to put an end to the calamities of the war which has unfortunately subsisted between them, by means of a salutary peace, and to restore good understanding between their states, have for this purpose, and upon bases which will secure the duration of peace, respectively appointed the following Plenipotentiaries, viz. his Majesty the King of Sweden, the Baron Gustaf Von Wetterstedt, Court Chancellor, Commandant of the Polish Order of the Star, Knight of the Prussian Red Eagle of the First Class, Member of the Swedish Academy; and his Majesty the King of Denmark, Mr Edmund Von Bourke, Great Cross of the order of Danebrog, and Knight of the White Eagle; who, having exchanged their full powers in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:—

Art. I. There shall henceforward be peace, friendship, and good understanding between his Majesty the King of Sweden and his Majesty the King of Denmark; the high contracting parties shall do every thing in their power to maintain perfect harmony between each other, their respective states and subjects, and avoid all measures which might be prejudicial to the peace happily restored between them.

Art. II. As his Majesty the King of Sweden has unalterably determined, in no respect to saparate the interests of the allies from his own, and as his Majesty the King of Denmark

is desirous that his subjects may again enjoy all the blessings of peace; and as his Majesty has also received, through the instrumentality of his Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Sweden, positive assurance on the part of the courts of Russia and Prussia, of their amicable disposition to restore their old connections of friendship with the Danish court, such as they existed before the breaking out of hostilities; so they solemnly charge and bind themselves on their side to neglect nothing that may tend to a speedy peace between his Majesty the King of Denmark, and their Majesties the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia; his Majesty the King of Sweden engages to use his mediation with his high allies, that this salutary object may be as speedily as possible attained.

Art. III. His Majesty the King of Denmark, for the purpose of giving a manifest proof of his wish to renew the closest relations with the high allies of his Swedish Majesty, and in the full conviction that the most earnest wishes are cherished on their side to restore a speedy peace, as they have solemnly declared before the breaking out of hostilities, engages to take an active part in the common cause against the Emperor of the French, to declare war against that power; and in consequence to join an auxiliary Danish corps to the Army of North Germany, under the orders of his Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Sweden; and all this according to and in pursuance of the convention that has been settled between his Majesty the King of Denmark, and his Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland.

Art. IV. His Majesty the King of Denmark, for himself and his successors, renounces for ever and irrevocably all his rights and claims on the kingdom of Norway, together with possession of the bishopricks and dioceses of Christiansand, Bergenhuus, Aggerhuus, and Drontheim, besides Nordland and Finmark, as far as the frontiers of the Russian empire.

These bishopricks, dioceses, and provinces, constituting the kingdom of Norway, with their inhabitants, towns, harbours, fortresses, villages, and islands, along the whole coast of that kingdom, together with their dependencies, (Greenland, the Ferroe Isles, and Iceland, excepted); as well as all privileges, rights, and emoluments thereto belonging, shall belong in full and sovereign property to the King of Sweden, and make one with his united kingdom. For this purpose his Majesty the King of Denmark binds himself in the most solemn manner, as well for him as for his successors and the whole kingdom, henceforward to make no claim, direct or indirect, on the kingdom of Norway, or its bishopricks, dioceses, islands, or any other territory thereto belonging. All the inhabitants, in virtue of this renunciation, are released from the oath which they have taken to the King and Crown of Norway.

Art. V. His Majesty the King of Sweden binds himself on the other hand, in the most solemn manner, to cause the inhabitants of the kingdom of Norway and its dependencies, to enjoy in future, all the laws, franchises, rights and privileges, such as they have hitherto subsisted.

Art. VI. As the whole debt of the Danish monarchy is contracted, as well upon Norway as the other parts of the kingdom, so his Majesty the King of Sweden binds himself, as Sovereign of Norway, to be responsible for a part of that debt, proportioned to the population and revenue of Norway. By public debt it is to be understood that which has been contracted by the Danish government, both at home and abroad

The latter consists of Royal and State obligations, bank-bills, and paper money formerly issued under royal authority, and now circulating in both kingdoms.

An exact account of this debt, such as it was on the 1st of Jan. 1814, shall be taken by commissioners appointed to that effect by both crowns, and shall be calculated upon a just division of the population and revenues of the kingdoms of Norway and Denmark. These commissioners shall meet at Copenhagen, within one month after the exchange of the ratification of this treaty, and shall bring this affair to a conclusion as speedily as possible, and at least before the expiration of the present year; with this understanding, however, that the King of Sweden, as sovereign of Norway, shall be responsible for no other portion of the debt contracted by Denmark, than that for which Norway was liable before its separation.

Art. VII. His Majesty the King of Sweden, for himself and his successors, renounces irrevocably and for ever, in behalf of the King of Denmark, all rights and claim to the dukedom of Swedish Pomerania, and the principality of the island of Rugen.

These provinces, with all their inhabitants, towns, havens, fortresses, villages, islands, and all their dependencies, privileges, rights and emoluments, shall belong in full sovereignty to the crown of Denmark, and be incorporated with that kingdom.

For this purpose his Majesty the King of Sweden engages, in the most solemn manner, both for himself, his successors, and the whole Swedish kingdom, never to make any claim, direct or indirect, on the said provinces, islands, and territory; the inhabitants whereof, in virtue of this renunciation, are released from the oath which they have taken to the King and crown of Denmark.

Art. VIII. His Majesty the King of Denmark solemnly engages in like manner, to secure to the inhabitants of Swedish Pomerania, the islands of Rugen and their dependencies, their laws, rights, franchises, and privileges, such as they now exist, and are contained in the acts of the years 1810 and 1811.

As the Swedish paper-money has never been current in Swedish Pomerania, so his Majesty the King of Denmark engages to make no alteration in this respect, without the knowledge and consent of the states of the Province.

Art. IX. As his Majesty the King of Sweden, by the 6th Article of the Treaty of Alliance, entered into at Stockholm, the 3d of March, 1813, with his majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland, bound himself to open, for the period of 20 years, reckoning from the date of the exchange of the ratification of the treaty, the port of Stralsund, as an *entrepot* for all colonial produce, merchandise, and manufactures, brought from England and her colonies, in English or Swedish vessels, upon payment of one per cent. *ad valorem* on the goods thus introduced, and an equal duty on their removal from thence; so his Majesty the King of Denmark engages to fulfil this existing agreement, and to renew the same in his treaty with Great Britain.

Art. X. The public debt, which is contracted by the Royal Pomeranian Chamber, remains chargeable on the King of Denmark, as sovereign of the dukedom of Pomerania, who takes upon himself the stipulations agreed upon for the reduction of the said debt.

Art. XI. The King of Denmark recognises the donations which the King of Sweden has given on the domains and revenues in Swedish Pomerania and the isle of Rugen, and which amount to the yearly sum of 48,000 Pomeranian rix dollars; his Majesty

also binds himself to maintain the donatories in the full and undisturbed possession of their rights and revenues, so that they may receive, sell, or make over the same, and that all may be paid them without any hinderance, and without duties and expences under whatsoever name.

Art. XII. Their Majesties the King of Sweden and the King of Denmark mutually engage never to divert from their original destination monies appropriated to objects of beneficence or public utility, in the countries thus reciprocally obtained by the present treaty, namely, the kingdom of Norway and the dukedom of Swedish Pomerania, with their respective dependencies.

The King of Sweden, in pursuance of this mutual agreement, engages to support the Universities of Norway, and the King of Denmark that of Grieswald.

The payment of all public offices, both in Norway and Pomerania, is to remain a charge, upon the acquiring power, reckoning from the day of taking possession.

Pensioners are to receive the pensions assigned to them by the preceding government without interruption or change.

Art. XIII. As the King of Sweden, so far as is practicable, and as depends upon him, wishes that the King of Denmark may receive compensation for the renunciation of the kingdom of Norway, of which his Majesty has given satisfactory proof in the cession of Swedish Pomerania and the Isle of Rugen, so his Majesty will use all his endeavours with the allied powers to secure, in addition, at a general peace, a full equivalent to Denmark for the cession of Norway.

Art. XIV. Immediately upon the signing of the present treaty, an account of the same shall be sent, with all possible speed, to the Generals and armies, in order that hostilities may wholly cease on both sides, both by sea and land.

Art. XV. The high contracting parties engage, that immediately after the signing of the present treaty, all contributions and requisitions of whatever kind and denomination, shall immediately cease, so as that even those which shall have been already ordered shall not be enforced. It is likewise agreed, that all property which has been sequestered by the Army of North Germany, shall be restored to the owners. Herefrom are excepted such ships and ship-ladings as belonged to subjects of the King of Sweden and his allies, and have been brought into the harbours of the Duchies of Sleswyk and Holstein; these shall remain with their present owners, who shall dispose of them as they think fit.

[This article then arranges the mode in which the places in Holstein and Sleswyk, possessed by the allied troops, are to be evacuated by them.]

Immediately on the signing of the present treaty the Swedish troops shall enter into Norway, and take possession of all the strong places there. His Majesty the King of Denmark binds himself to give the necessary orders to that effect.

The Swedish troops shall deliver up Swedish Pomerania, and the Isle of Rugen, to the troops of the King of Denmark, as soon as the fortresses of Frederickshall, Konigswinger, Frederickstadt, and Aggerhuus, have been taken possession of by the Swedish troops.

DANISH DECLARATION.

By the care of the Danish government, the war, which already for fifteen years had devastated Europe, had not disturbed the repose of the Da-

nish nation; when the King, for a moment, saw himself under the necessity of using defensive means, partly for the protection of his subjects' commerce, and partly for the security of his provinces bordering on Germany. The attack made by the English on his Majesty's capital, and carrying off the Danish fleet in the year 1807, put an end to the happy tranquillity which his Majesty had until then been enabled to preserve for his subjects. The Danish States at that time had the same common enemy with France, and the consequence was, that an alliance was sought, and concluded, with that power. The Emperor, openly and directly, promised men and money; and a numerous army immediately moved into the provinces belonging to his Majesty the King. It was agreed that the expence of its support should be defrayed by the French government, and this amounted to a sum of several millions of rix-dollars. Without undertaking any thing, however, this army remained a burthen longer than the Danish government thought requisite. The expence of its support remained unpaid, and the requests of Denmark on this point were equally fruitless, as those concerning the announced requisitions in money. The situation of the state, whose resources were already diminished by the naval war, and by these novel disbursements, became totally exhausted; and again suffered a most prejudicial influence from the shutting of the continental ports, which was represented as one of the means for obtaining a general peace. The annexation of the Hanse Towns and contiguous provinces to the French empire became afterwards a most heavy burthen, with regard to the commercial intercourse with Germany. Its effects extended even to literary connections. Earnest professions, which were frequently renewed, had given hopes that these obstacles, which were so directly contrary to the good understanding which his Majesty did all in his power to remain in with the French government, would have been removed, but these hopes always remained unfulfilled. Whilst the French army was retreating in the winter between 1812 and 1813, the imperial troops, which, according to a particular agreement, were to have remained for the protection of the frontiers of Holstein, were drawn away. As the French government had at the same time declared its intention of entering into negociations for peace with all its enemies, the King deemed it important for him to make overtures of peace to Great Britain. The alliance with France was now becoming of no utility. The King would willingly have prevented the cities of Hamburgh and Lubeck from falling into the hands of the French, in order to keep the war from his own frontiers, and save from destruction those cities whose interest stood in such direct connection with those of his subjects; but his Majesty was obliged to desist from the prosecution of this plan: his interests, therefore, required that he should accept the offer made him, of renewing the alliance with France, and to give it a larger extension, in order to assure him of a powerful assistance against those sovereigns who had not hesitated to declare that they would support the demands of Sweden, which were so inimical to the integrity of his States.

The King, on his part, conscientiously performed the stipulations of the treaty. Whilst his auxiliary troops were fighting by the side of the French they received only a part of the pay, which, according to the agreement, was their due; and his Majesty's subjects suffered a considerable loss, as well by the embargo laid on their property, which was deposited in the

cities of Lubeck and Hamburgh, of which the French government took to itself the privilege of disposal, as by taking away the funds of the Bank in the last-mentioned city. The promises of restoration given, in consequence of the complaints thereon made, remained, equally with the reclamations made on the subject, without effect.

It was assured by the treaty, that 20,000 men should be in readiness to protect the Duchies and Jutland; but Marshal d'Eckmuhl quitted the position which covered those provinces, and retreated with all the troops under his command to Hamburgh, leaving the King's troops to their fate, and who were not able to withstand the superior force which was moving forward to effect an entrance into the country. The enemy's irruption into the Duchies, together with the loss of the fortresses, was followed by the King's being forsaken by an ally on whose assistance he had reasonable grounds for placing a reliance.

His Majesty has been under the necessity of consenting to the greatest sacrifices, to protect the remaining part of his states from invasion, with which they were threatened by the combined troops of several powers, and for the purpose of again recovering possession of those provinces which had fallen into the enemy's power.

He recalled his Minister at the court of the French Emperor, and declared to the Minister of his Imperial Majesty residing at his court, that he could no longer consider him as being in that capacity, and that opportunity should be given him for his return to France.

His Majesty likewise declares, that he will join the sovereigns united against France, in order to assist in bringing about a general peace, for which all the nations of Europe are languishing, and which is so necessary for the Danish States.

Middelfurt, Jan. 17, 1814.

Proclamation of Prince Christian Frederick.

Norwegians,—You have been informed that his Majesty King Frederick VI., notwithstanding the love he bears you, (which we have thankfully to acknowledge,) has been compelled, by the intrigues of the Swedish government, supported by numerous armies, to renounce his claims to the throne of Norway.

With rage you have heard, that you are surrendered to a government which has entertained the ignominious thought that flattering words and vain promises could induce you to infidelity towards your king; even so, as when they, in the midst of peace, wantonly exercised the barbarous enmity of endeavouring to starve you, and thereby shake your courage, which they knew ever to have been undaunted. She now conceives you capable of the weakness, that you would expose yourself to the same unfortunate fate and yoke under which Sweden's sons groan, to answer the ambition of a stranger, and fight abroad for foreign money! But the free people of Norway can fix their own destiny! Swear to found the independence of Norway! Call God to witness your sincerity, and supplicate the benediction of heaven on your dear country. It is God's will, loyal Norwegians, that I, the Hereditary Prince of Denmark's throne, should be at this conjuncture amongst you, that through the harmony which reigns in your hearts you may be saved.

I have the public voice for independence, for serious and unlimited

resistance against foreign violence. Inspired as I am for Norway's happiness and honour, it is a sufficient inducement to me to remain amongst this faithful people as long as I can be useful to their independence, and maintain tranquillity and order. Appointed by Providence to conduct at present the reins of this realm, I shall protect, with a firm hand, and without regarding dangers or difficulties, the security of Norway and its laws.

An independent assembly of the most enlightened men of the nation shall, by means of a wise constitution, give renewed strength to this country in order to withstand its public and private enemies; and it will depend upon them whether I shall continue the trust now reposed in me by the wish of the nation.

Beloved people of Norway, I have already received numerous proofs of your attachment and confidence. I shall ever feel myself happy and safe amongst you. I shall strive to revive your commerce, the sources of opulence. Nothing will be nearer to my heart than to keep far from you the scenes of raging war; but when foreign force attempts to violate the liberty and independence of this State, then we shall evince that there is sufficient power within us to revenge insults, and courage to prefer death to shameful subjugation. Grief and affection we will readily overcome, if implacable enemies refuse us peace. Within this state but one sentiment must prevail,—to make every sacrifice for our country,—to preserve Norway's honour, and give it its ancient brilliancy. Our efforts will then be crowned by God with success, and Norway will again confirm the truth, that that nation is invincible which fears God, and adheres with zeal to its native country.

PROCLAMATION

Respecting the Relation which shall exist with other Nations, and the Abolition of Privateering.

Christiania, Feb. 16, 1814.

I, Christian Frederick, Regent of Norway, Prince of Denmark, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, make known, that as well myself as the nation of Norway at large, consider it as a great favour on the part of King Frederick VI., that before he absolved us from our oaths, he established peace between us and Great Britain. It shall always be my aim to maintain it with that and with other nations, and it is therefore solemnly declared, that,

1. Norway is at peace with all powers. That Power only is its enemy which may violate the independence of the nation, and invade with arms in their hands the borders or coasts of Norway.

2. Free access to the kingdom of Norway is allowed to the ships of war and merchant vessels of every nation.

3. The regulations respecting privateers and their prizes, of March 28, 1810, and supplements of 27th of August and December, are hereby annulled, and to be considered as having not been in effect since the 14th of January last. Any thing done since then, founded on these regulations, is revoked.

4. All prizes, or property, condemned or confiscated, since the 14th of January, shall immediately be restored.

6. All prisoners shall be delivered up *en masse*, and the private debts of the prisoners of Norway shall be paid.

7. Ships of any nation whatsoever, importing in the kingdom of Norway two-thirds of their cargoes in grain, or other provisions, are allowed (any

law or regulations to the contrary notwithstanding) to import any merchandizes they think proper, paying the customary duties. In this last case even,

8. Fish will be allowed to be exported in such vessel to the extent of two-thirds of its cargo.

Treaty of Alliance between his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, his Majesty of all the Russias, his Majesty the King of the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the King of Prussia; signed at Chaumont, March 1, 1814.

In the name of the most holy and indivisible Trinity.

Their Imperial and Royal Majesties the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, his Majesty the King of the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, having transmitted to the French government proposals for a general peace, and being at the same time animated with the wish, in case France should reject these proposals, to strengthen the mutual obligation existing between them for the vigorous prosecution of a war which is designed to relieve Europe from its long sufferings, and to secure its future repose, by the re-establishment of a just balance of power; and on the other hand, in case Providence should bless their peaceful views, to agree on the best means of securing the happy result of their exertions against every future attack:

Their Imperial and Royal Majesties above-named, have resolved to confirm this double agreement by a solemn treaty to be signed by each of the four powers, separately with the three others.

They have therefore named for their plenipotentiaries, his Imperial Apostolic Majesty, to negociate the conditions of this treaty with his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, Clemens Winzel Lotharius, Prince of Metternich Winneberg Ochsenhan, sen. Knight of the Golden Fleece, &c. Minister of State, and Minister for Foreign Affairs; and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, on his side, Charles Robert Count Nesselrode, his Privy Counsellor, Secretary of State, &c. who, having exchanged their full powers, have agreed on the following articles:

Art. I. The high contracting powers engage by the present treaty, in case France should refuse to accede to the terms of the peace proposed, to exert the whole force of their dominions for a vigorous prosecution of the war against France, and to employ it in the most perfect agreement, in order by this means to procure for themselves, and all Europe, a general peace, under the protection of which all nations may maintain, and securely enjoy, their independence and their rights.

Art. II. It is to be understood that this new agreement is not to make any change in the obligations already existing between the contracting Powers, concerning the number of troops to be employed against the common enemy; on the contrary, each of the four contracting courts again binds itself, by the present treaty, to keep in the field an army of 150,000 men always complete, in activity against the common enemy, and that exclusively of the garrisons of the fortresses.

Art. III. The high contracting Powers mutually engage to enter into no separate negociations with the common enemy, and to conclude neither peace, cessation of hostilities, nor any convention whatsoever, except by joint consent of them all.

They further engage never to lay down their arms till the object of the war, as they have agreed upon it among themselves, shall be fully obtained.

Art. IV. In order to obtain this great object as soon as possible, his Majesty the King of Great Britain engages to furnish a subsidy of 5,000,000l. sterling for the service of the year 1814, which will be equally divided between the three powers; and their Imperial and Royal Majesties further engage to settle before the 1st of January of every future year, in case (which God forbid) the war should continue so long, the advance in money that may be necessary in the course of the subsequent year.

The subsidy of 5,000,000l. herein specified, shall be paid at London in monthly instalments, and in equal proportions, to the Ministers of the respective Powers duly authorized to receive it.

In case peace should be concluded between the allied Powers and France before the end of the year, the subsidies calculated at the rate of 5,000,000l. per ann. shall be paid to the end of the month in which the definitive treaty shall be signed; and his Britannic Majesty promises, over and above the subsidies here stipulated, to pay to Austria and Prussia the amount of two months, and to Russia of four months, to defray the expenses of the march of their troops back to their own territories.

Art. V. The high contracting powers shall be mutually authorized to have officers duly commissioned with the Generals commanding those armies, who may freely correspond with their governments, and acquaint them of the military events, and of every thing relative to the operations of the armies.

Art. VI. Though the high contracting powers have reserved it to themselves, in the moment when peace shall be concluded with France, to consult with each other on the means by which they may most certainly secure to Europe, and reciprocally to each other, the maintenance of this peace, they have nevertheless thought it necessary, for the defence of their European possessions, in case of an interference to be apprehended from France, in the order of things resulting from the said peace, to make immediately a defensive convention.

Art. VII. For this end they mutually agree, that if the dominions of one of the high contracting powers should be threatened with an invasion from France, the rest shall leave no means untried to prevent such invasion by amicable mediation.

Art. VIII. But in case such endeavours should be fruitless, the high contracting powers engage to send to the party attacked an auxiliary army of 60,000 men.

Art. IX. This army shall consist of 50,000 foot and 10,000 horse, with a proportionate train of artillery and ammunition. Care should be taken that it shall take the field at the very latest in two months after it is called for, and in the manner most effectual for the power so attacked or threatened.

Art. X. As on account of the situation of the theatre of war, or for other reasons, it might be difficult for Great Britain to furnish the stipulated assistance in English troops within the appointed time, and keep them up to the full war complement, his Britannic Majesty reserves to himself the right to furnish his contingent to the power requiring it, either in foreign troops in his pay, or to pay an annual sum, at the rate of 20l. sterling for every foot soldier, and 30l. for every horseman, to the full amount of the stipulated contingent. The manner in which Great Britain will

have to afford assistance in every particular case shall be arranged by an amicable agreement between the British government and the power attacked or threatened, at the same time that the assistance is required. The same principle shall be extended to the number of troops which his Britannic Majesty engages to furnish by the first article of the present treaty.

Art. XI. The auxiliary army is under the immediate command of the General in Chief of the requiring power; but it shall be led by its own General, and employed in all military operations according to the rules of war. The pay of the auxiliary army to be at the charge of the Power requiring. The rations and portions of provisions, forage, &c. as also quarters, will be furnished as soon as the auxiliary army has passed its own frontiers, by the power requiring, and be supplied according to the same standard as it supplies its own troops, in the field and in quarters.

Art. XII. The military regulation and economy in the interior administration of the troops depends wholly on their own General. The trophies taken from the enemy belong to the troops which have gained them.

Art. XIII. The high contracting powers reserve to themselves the right, in case assistance herein stipulated should be found insufficient, to make, without loss of time, new arrangements for further assistance.

Art. XIV. The high contracting powers reciprocally promise, that in case one or other of them should be drawn into hostilities by furnishing the succour herein stipulated, neither the requiring party nor party engaged in war as an auxiliary, shall make peace, except with the consent of the other.

Art. XV. The engagements contracted by this treaty, shall by no means detract from those which the high contracting powers may have entered already into with other powers, nor hinder them from concluding alliances with other States, which may have for their object the attainment of the same happy result.

Art. XVI. In order to give greater effect to the above stipulated defensive arrangements by the union of the powers most exposed to a French invasion, for their common defence, the high contracting courts have resolved to invite those powers to join the present treaty of defensive alliance.

Art. XVII. As it is the object of the present treaty of defensive alliance to maintain the balance of power in Europe, to insure the repose and independence of the different powers, and to prevent the arbitrary violations of the rights and territories of other States, by which the world has suffered for so many years together, the contracting powers have agreed to fix the duration of the present treaty for 20 years, reserving it to themselves, if circumstances should require it, to proceed to the prolongation of it three years before its expiration.

Art. XVIII. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged within two months, or sooner if possible. In testimony whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed these presents, and affixed their seals. Done at Chaumont, March 1, (Feb. 17), 1814.

(Signed)
Prince de METTERNICH.
Count de NESSELRODE.

[The treaties signed the same day with the King of Great Britain, and the King of Prussia, are word for word the same as the above. The first is signed by Lord Castlereagh, his Britannic Majesty's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs; the second by Baron Hardenberg, Chancellor to his Prussian Majesty.]

DUTCH POLITICAL CONSTITUTION.

The Hague, March 3, 1814.

We, William, by the grace of God, prince of Orange Nassau, sovereign prince of the United Netherlands, &c. To all to whom these presents come greeting! Invited to the sovereignty of these states by your confidence and your attachment, we from the first declared, that we would undertake the same only under the guarantee of a wise constitution, which might secure your freedom against all possible abuses; and we have ever since continued to feel the necessity thereof. We regarded it, therefore, as one of the first and most sacred of our duties, to summon together some men of consideration, and to charge them with the weighty task of establishing a fundamental code, built upon your manners, your habits, and corresponding to the wants of the present time. They cheerfully took upon themselves this office, performed it with zeal, and have submitted to us the fruits of their uninterupted labours. After a carefull examination of this work, we have given it our approbation. But this does not satisfy our heart. It repects the concerns of the whole Netherlands. The whole Dutch people must be recognised in this important work. That people must receive the strongest possible assurance, that their dearest interests are sufficiently attended to therein; that religion, as the fountain of all good, is thereby honoured and maintained, and religious freedom disturbed by nothing of temporal concerns, but secured in the most ample manner; that the education of youth, and the spread of scientific knowledge, shall be attended to by the government, and freed from all those vexatious regulations which oppress the genius and subdue the spirit; that personal freedom shall no longer be an empty name, and dependent on the caprices of a suspicious and crafty police; that an impartial administration of justice, guided by fixed principles, secure to every man his property; that commerce, agriculture, and manufactures, be no longer obstructed, but have free course, like rich springs of public and private prosperity; that, therefore, no restraint be imposed on the domestic œconomy of the higher and lower classes of the state, but that they be conformable to the general laws and the general government; that the movements of the general government be not palsied by too great a zeal for local interests, but rather receive from it an additional impulse; that the general laws, by means of an harmonious co-operation of the two principal branches of the government, be founded on the true interests of the state; that the finances, and the arming of the people, the main pillars of the body politic, be placed in that central point, upon which the greatest and most invaluable privilege of every free people,—their independence,—may be firmly fixed. Which of you can doubt of this truth, after the terrible experience you have had of a foreign tyranny, which acknowledged no right when it wanted means for its own maintenance by violence; after having sighed, of late years, under the most oppressive yoke that ever was imposed since the Spanish times? Now at least you know the true value of those precious rights for which our fathers sacrificed their property and blood; of that happiness which they bequeathed to their descendants; and which we saw lost through the adversity of the times! Following, therefore, and deriving encouragement from their example, it becomes my duty, in imitation of those whose name I bear, and whose memory I honour, to restore that

which is lost: it is your duty to support me therein with all your efforts, that under the blessing of Divine Providence, who summons us to this task, we may leave our beloved country completely re-conquered and re-established to our children. In order to be enabled to judge whether the constitutional code thus framed, as before stated, be a means of attaining the above great object, we have thought it right that the said code be submitted for maturer consideration, to a numerous assembly of persons the most considerable and best qualified among you. We have for that purpose appointed a special commission who are to choose, out of a numerous list given in to us, six hundred persons, in due proportion to the population of each of the now existing departments. Honoured with your confidence, they shall, on the 28th of this month, assemble in the metropolis of Amsterdam, to come to a determination upon this weighty business. They shall in like manner, with the letter of convocation, receive the plan of the constitution, that they may be able to prepare their decision thereon with maturity and calmness of deliberation: and for the more effectual attainment of this object, a copy of the same shall be sent to each member previously. And as it is of the first importance that these members be possessed of the general confidence, we order that a list of the persons chosen for each department be made public, and that to all the inhabitants of the same, being housekeepers, an opportunity shall be afforded, by signing his name without any other addition, in a register which shall lie open in each canton for eight days, to disapprove of any such person or persons as he may deem unqualified. No inhabitant is deprived of this right, with the exception of domestic servants, valets, bankrupts, persons in a state of nonage, or under accusation. When it shall appear to us, from the summing up of the registers, that the majority are satisfied with the persons thus submitted to their election, we shall consider them as the representatives of the whole Dutch people, call them together, appear in the midst of them, and salute them as constituting the great assembly representing the United Netherlands. They shall then commence their labours in freedom, and give us an account of their progress by a committee appointed to that effect; and as soon as the adoption of the constitutional code is the result of their deliberations, we shall make the necessary arrangements for taking the oath prescribed to us by the constitution with all due solemnity, in the midst of the assembly, and after that be installed in state. In the adoption of these measures, worthy countrymen, you must feel convinced that the welfare of our beloved country is my first and only object; that your interests and mine are the same; and how can they be more manifestly promoted, than by the introduction of constitutional rules, in which you will find the guarantee of your dearest rights? They will furnish me with the advantage of conducting, on fixed principles, the charge and responsibility of government, assisted by the best and most intelligent of the citizens; and will secure to me the continuance of that affection, the expressions of which rejoice my heart, animate my courage, lighten my burthen, and bind me and my house for ever to our regenerated country.—Given at the Hague this 2d of March, 1814, and of our reign the 1st.

WILLIAM.

By command, A. R. FALCK,
Secretary of state.

Discourse of his Royal Highness the Prince Sovereign of the Netherlands, delivered to the Assembly of the Notables, on taking the Oath to the Constitution of the 30th of March, 1814.

Gentlemen,—I experience a lively satisfaction in perceiving my opinion with regard to the constitution confirmed by the declaration of so numerous an assemblage of honourable and enlightened men.

I feel equally sensible of the testimonies of zeal and of attachment which I have received on this solemn occasion, from this illustrious assembly.

The national honour, our interests well understood, the manifest protection granted to us by the Almighty, every thing, in short, must encourage us to persevere without relaxation in our efforts for the welfare of the country.

Precisely four months have expired this day since my return to the Netherlands; and during that short period, the progress which we have made in the important work of the restoration of the State, has greatly exceeded all that we might have dared to expect.

Foreign Powers have not confined themselves to applauding the recovery of our independent existence; they have also manifested, by deeds which must inspire us with boundless gratitude, their satisfaction at witnessing the sovereignty conferred upon my house.

The most important of our foreign relations,—those which subsist between us and the generous British nation,—will soon acquire, by the marriage of my eldest son, a new degree of intimacy and of reciprocal regard.

But what gives me the chief hope for the future, is the experience which I have acquired of the sentiments and of the good disposition of the nation itself.

Its devotion to the *good cause* has enabled me, notwithstanding the exhaustion of this country, and its dilapidated resources, to raise, in the space of a few weeks, more than 25,000 troops; the greater part of whom, well armed and equipped, will soon be collected on our frontiers, under the command of my two sons.

Its *unanimity* in all that concerns the great interests of the country has been displayed in the most marked manner by the prompt organization of the militia, the levy in mass, and the national guards, and as now also by the acceptance of the constitution.

I am persuaded, Gentlemen, that I shall only anticipate the wishes of you all, by immediately applying myself to the enforcement of that constitution, as well as by adopting all the measures, and establishing all the arrangements, without which its effects would remain long incomplete and imperfect.

That important task, therefore, shall be henceforward the main object of my attention: and in discharging it, I shall be guided by the same impartiality, and the same solicitude for the public welfare, which I have endeavoured hitherto to display in all the acts of my government.

As long as no inroad shall be made on the spirit or the letter of the constitution, the country will be sheltered from all dissentions, from all contests about authority, and all rivalry between the provinces. It allots to reasonable citizens all the liberty, to the sovereign all that extent of power, which they can respectively desire: at the same time that the people and the prince, the governors and the governed, find in its equitable and liberal arrangements, what is calculated to establish and secure their mutual agreement and co-operation.

In these sentiments, the fruits of a long and deliberate examination, and

which are still farther fortified and exalted by the solemnity of this memorable moment, I declare myself ready, in presence of this assembly, as representing the united Netherlands, to take the oath which the constitution has prescribed to the sovereign prince.

Swedish Declaration.

His Majesty the King of Sweden having declared to the people of Norway, by the proclamation addressed to them, that he reserved to them all the essential rights which constitute public liberty, and having engaged himself expressly to leave to the nation the faculty of establishing a constitution analogous to the wants of the country, and founded chiefly upon the two bases of national representation and the right of taxing themselves, these promises are now renewed in the most formal manner. The King will by no means interfere directly in the new constitutional Act of Norway, which must, however, be submitted for his acceptance. He wishes only to trace the first lines of its foundation, leaving to the people the right of erecting the rest of the building.

His Majesty is also invariably determined not to amalgamate the financial systems of the two countries. In consequence of this principle, the debts of the two crowns shall always remain separate from each other, and no tax shall be collected in Norway for the purpose of paying the debts of Sweden, and *vice versa*. The intention of his Majesty is not to suffer the revenue of Norway to be sent out of the country. The expence of administration being deducted, the rest shall be employed in objects of general utility, and in a sinking fund for the extermination of the national debt.

Circular Letter from the King of Denmark, addressed to the Magistrates, and the Inhabitants in general, of the Kingdom of Norway:—

The situation in which Denmark and Norway were at the end of last year, made it our duty as Sovereign to give up one of the sister kingdoms to prevent the ruin of both.

The treaty of peace concluded at Kiel on the 14th of January, this year, was the consequence.—By this we gave the solemn promise, which never has been, nor shall be broken on our side, to renounce all our claims to Norway, and to appoint commissioners to deliver the fortresses, the public money, domains, &c. to the plenipotentiaries named by the King of Sweden. We commanded his Highness Prince Christian, then governor of Norway, to execute in our name what we had promised. We gave him the most positive instructions, and on the 19th of January gave him our royal full powers for the persons whom he should appoint to execute the treaty. Then we released all the inhabitants of Norway from their allegiance, and impressed on them the duties which for the future they owed to the King of Sweden.

We have learnt with heartfelt grief that our nearest and most beloved relation, to whom we gave the government of Norway with unlimited confidence, instead of executing our commands, has ventured to neglect them, and even to declare Norway an independent kingdom, and himself the Regent of it; to refuse to give up what the King of Sweden had a right, according to the treaty, to demand; and finally, that he has even seized upon our ships of war which were in the harbours of Norway, has taken down the Danish flag, and hoisted another in its stead, and arrested their commanders, our servants.

Since, after the treaty of peace which we have signed, and the renunciation of our claims on Norway, we neither do nor will acknowledge in that kingdom any other authority than that of his Majesty the King of Sweden, we cannot but be highly displeased at what has been done there, contrary to the treaty and our express orders; and the more so, as every civil officer, from the highest to the lowest, who had been appointed by us, as well as every other of our subjects in Norway, is released from his allegiance and duties towards us, on the sole condition of fulfilling, as far as he is concerned, the stipulations of the treaty of peace.

At the same time that we make this known, we forbid every one of the officers whom we have nominated in Norway to accept or to retain any employment whatever in that kingdom in its present state; we recall all the civil officers in the kingdom of Norway who are not natives of that country, and who regard Denmark, or any of the countries belonging to it, as their own native country; and command them to return within four weeks from the time when they shall be made acquainted with this letter, under pain of forfeiting our favour, and all the rights, advantages, and privileges, which they do or might enjoy as native Danish subjects.

Given at our Court at Copenhagen,
April 13th, 1814.

Declaration of the Allied Powers on the Breaking Off of the Negociations at Chatillon.

The allied powers owe it to themselves, to their people, and to France, as soon as the negociations at Chatillon are broken off, publicly to declare the reasons which induced them to enter into negociations with the French government, as well as the causes of the breaking off of the negociations.

Military events to which history can produce no parallel, overthrew in the month of October last, the ill-constructed edifice erected on the ruins of states lately independent and happy, augmented by conquests from ancient monarchies, and held together at the expence of the blood, of the fortunes, of the welfare of a whole generation.

The allied sovereigns, led by conquest to the Rhine, thought it their duty to proclaim to Europe anew, their principles, their wishes, and their object. Far from every wish of domination or conquest, animated solely by the desire to see Europe restored to a just balance of the different powers, resolved not to lay down their arms till they had obtained the noble object of their efforts, they made known the irrevocableness of their resolutions by a public act, and they did not hesitate to declare themselves to the enemy's government in a manner conformable to their unalterable determination.

The French government made use of the frank declarations of the allied powers to express inclinations to peace. It certainly had need of the appearance of this inclination, in order to justify in the eyes of its people the new exertions which it did not cease to require.—But every thing, however, convinced the allied cabinets, that it merely endeavoured to take advantage of the appearance of a negociation, in order to prejudice the nation in its favour, but that the peace of Europe was very far from its thoughts.

The powers, penetrating its secret views, resolved to go and conquer, in France itself, the long-desired peace. Numerous armies crossed the Rhine; scarcely were they passed the first frontiers when the French Minister for Foreign Affairs appeared at the outposts.

All the proceedings of the French government had henceforth no other object, than to mislead opinion, to

blind the French people, and to throw on the allies the odium of all the miseries attendant on an invasion.

The course of events had given the allies a proof of the full power of the European league. The principles which, since their first union for the common good, had animated the counsels of the allied sovereigns, were fully developed; nothing more hindered them from unfolding the conditions of the reconstruction of the common edifice. These conditions must be such as were no hindrance to peace after so many conquests.

The only power calculated to throw into the scale indemnifications for France, England, could speak openly respecting the sacrifices which it was ready to make for a general peace. The allied sovereigns were permitted to hope that the experience of late events would have had some influence on a conqueror, exposed to the observation of a great nation, which was for the first time witness in the capital itself to the miseries he had brought on France.

This experience might have convinced him that the support of thrones is principally dependent on moderation and probity. The allied powers, however, convinced that the trial which they made must not endanger the military operations, saw that these operations must be continued during the negociations. The experience of the past, and afflicting recollections, shewed them the necessity of this step.—Their plenipotentiaries met those of the French government.

Mean time the victorious armies approached the gates of the capital. The government took every measure to prevent its falling into our hands. The plenipotentiary of France received orders to propose an armistice, upon conditions which were similar to those which the allies themselves judged necessary for the restoration of general peace. He offered the immediate surrender of the fortresses in the countries which France was to give up, on condition of a suspension of military operations.

The allied courts, convinced by 20 years' experience, that in negociations with the French cabinet, it was necessary carefully to distinguish the apparent from the real intention, proposed instead of this immediately to sign preliminaries of peace. This measure would have had for France all the advantages of an armistice, without exposing the allies to the danger of a suspension of arms. Some partial advantages, however, accompanied the first motions of an army collected under the walls of Paris, composed of the flower of the present generation, the last hope of the nation, and the remainder of a million of warriors, who, either fallen on the field of battle, or left on the way from Lisbon to Moscow, have been sacrificed for interests with which France had no concern. Immediately the negociations at Chatillon assumed another appearance. The French plenipotentiary remained without instructions, and went away instead of answering the representations of the allied courts. They commissioned their plenipotentiaries to give in the *projet* of a preliminary treaty, containing all the grounds which they deemed necessary for the restoration of a balance of power, and which a few days before had been presented by the French government itself, at a moment, doubtless, when it conceived its existence in danger. It contained the ground-work for the restoration of Europe.

France restored to the frontiers, which, under the government of its kings, had insured to it ages of glory and prosperity, was to have with the rest of Europe the blessings of liberty, national independence, and peace. It

depended absolutely on its government to end by a single word the sufferings of the nation, to restore to it with peace, its colonies, its trade, and the restitution of its industry.—What did it want more? The allies now offered, with a spirit of pacification, to discuss its wishes upon the subject of mutual convenience, which should extend the frontiers of France beyond what they were before the wars of the revolution.

Fourteen days elapsed without any answer being returned by the French government. The Plenipotentiaries of the allies insisted on the fixing of a day for the acceptance or rejection of the conditions of peace. They left the French Plenipotentiary the liberty to present a *contre projet* on condition that this *contre projet* should agree in spirit, and in its general contents, with the conditions proposed by the allied courts. The 10th of March was fixed by the mutual consent of both parties.—This term being arrived, the French Plenipotentiary produced nothing but pieces, the discussion of which, far from advancing the proposed object, could only have caused fruitless negociations. A delay of a few days was granted at the desire of the French Plenipotentiary. On March 15th, he at last delivered a *contre projet*, which left no doubt that the sufferings of France had not yet changed the views of its government. The French government, receding from what it had itself proposed, demanded, in a new *projet*, that nations, which were quite foreign to France, which a domination of many ages could not have amalgamated with the French nation, should now remain a part of it; that France should retain frontiers inconsistent with the fundamental principles of equilibrium, and out of all proportion with the other great powers of Europe; that it should remain master of the same positions and points of aggression, by means of which its government, to the misfortune of Europe and that of France, had effected the fall of so many thrones, and so many revolutions; that members of the family reigning in France should be placed on foreign thrones; the French government which, for so many years, has sought to rule no less by discord than by force of arms, was to remain the arbiter of the external concerns of the powers of Europe.

By continuing the negociations under such circumstances, the allies would have neglected what they owed to themselves, they would from that moment have deviated from the glorious goal they had before them, their efforts would have been turned solely against their people. By signing a treaty upon the principles of the French projet, the allies would have laid their arms in the hands of the common enemy; they would have betrayed the expectation of nations, and the confidence of their allies.

It is in a moment so decisive for the welfare of the world, that the allied sovereigns renew this solemn engagement, till they shall have attained the great object of their union.

France has to blame its government alone for its sufferings. Peace alone can heal the wounds which a spirit of universal dominion, unexampled in history, has produced. This peace shall be the peace of Europe; no other can be accepted. It is at length time that princes should watch over the welfare of the people without foreign influence, that nations should respect their natural independence, that social institutions should be protected from daily revolutions, property respected, and trade free.

All Europe has absolutely the same wish to make France participate in the blessings of peace; France, whose dismemberment the allied powers neither can nor will permit. The con-

fidence in their promises may be found in the principles for which they contend. But whence shall the sovereigns infer that France will take part in the principles that must fix the happiness of the world, so long as they see that the same ambition, which has brought so many misfortunes on Europe, is still the sole spring that actuates the government: that while French blood is shed in torrents, the general interest is always sacrificed to private?—Whence, under such circumstances, should be the guarantee for the future, if such a desolating system found no check in the general will of the nation? Then is the peace of Europe insured, and nothing shall in future be able to disturb it.

DEPOSITION OF NAPOLEON.

Extract from the Registers of the Conservative Senate. Sitting of April 3, under the Presidency of Senator Count Barthelemy.

The sitting which had been adjourned was resumed at 4 o'clock, when the Senator Count Lambrechts read the revised and adopted plan of the decree which passed in the sitting of yesterday. It is in the following terms:

The Conservative Senate, considering that in a constitutional monarchy, the monarch exists only in virtue of the constitution or social compact:

That Napoleon Buonaparte, during a certain period of firm and prudent government, afforded to the nation reasons to calculate for the future on acts of wisdom and justice; but that, afterwards, he violated the compact which united him to the French people, particularly in levying imposts and establishing taxes otherwise than in virtue of the law, against the express tenour of the oath which he had taken on his ascending the throne, conformable to Article 53 of the Act of the Constitution of the 28th Floreal, year 12:

That he committed this attack on the rights of the people, even in adjourning, without necessity, the Legislative Body, and causing to be suppressed, as criminal, a report of that Body, the title of which, and its share in the national representation, he disputed:

That he undertook a series of wars in violation of Article 50 of the Act of the Constitution of the 22d Frimaire, year 8, which purports, that declarations of war should be proposed, debated, decreed and promulgated in the same manner as laws:

That he issued, unconstitutionally, several decrees, inflicting the punishment of death; particularly the two decrees, of the 5th of March last, tending to cause to be considered as national, a war which would not have taken place but for the interests of his boundless ambition:

That he violated the constitutional laws by his decrees respecting the prisoners of the state:

That he annulled the responsibility of the Ministers, confounded all authorities, and destroyed the independence of judicial bodies:

Considering that the liberty of the press, established and consecrated as one of the rights of the nation, has been constantly subjected to the arbitrary control of the police, and that at the same time he has always made use of the press to fill France and Europe with misrepresentations, false maxims, doctrines favourable to despotism, and insults on foreign governments:

That acts and reports heard by the Senate have undergone alterations in the publication:

Considering that, instead of reigning according to the terms of his oath, with a sole view to the interest, and

happiness, and the glory of the French people, Napoleon completed the misfortunes of his country, by his refusal to treat on conditions which the national interests required him to accept, and which did not compromise the French honour:

By the abuse which he made of all the means intrusted to him in men and money:

By the abandonment of the wounded without dressings, without assistance, and without subsistence:

By various measures, the consequences of which were the ruin of the towns, the depopulation of the country, famine, and contagious diseases:

Considering that, for all these causes, the Imperial Government established by the *Senatus Consultum* of the 28th Floreal, year 12, has ceased to exist, and that the wish manifested by all Frenchmen calls for an order of things, the first result of which should be the restoration of general peace, and which should also be the era of a solemn reconciliation of all the states of the European Family:

The Senate declares and decrees as follows:

Art. 1. Napoleon Buonaparte has forfeited the throne, and the hereditary right established in his family is abolished.

2. The French people and the army are released from their oath of fidelity towards Napoleon Buonaparte.

3. The present decree shall be transmitted by a message to the Provisional Government of France, conveyed forthwith to all the departments and the armies, and immediately proclaimed in all the quarters of the capital.

[A similar resolution was, on the same day, adopted by the Legislative Body.]

Articles of the Treaty between the Allied Powers and his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon.

Art. 1. His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon renounces for himself, his successors and descendants, as well as for all the members of his family, all right of sovereignty and dominion, as well to the French empire, and the kingdom of Italy, as over every other country.

Art. 2. Their Majesties the Emperor Napoleon and Maria Louisa shall retain their titles and rank, to be enjoyed during their lives. The mother, the brothers, sisters, nephews, and nieces, of the Emperor, shall also retain, wherever they may reside, the titles of Princes of his family.

Art. 3. The Isle of Elba, adopted by his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon as the place of his residence, shall form, during his life, a separate principality, which shall be possessed by him in full sovereignty and property; there shall be besides granted in full property, to the Emperor Napoleon, an annual revenue of 2,000,000 francs, in rent charge, in the great book of France, of which 1,000,000 shall be in reversion to the Empress.

Art. 4. The Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, shall be granted, in full property and sovereignty, to her Majesty the Empress Maria Louisa; they shall pass to her son, and to the descendants in the right line. The Prince, her son, shall, from henceforth, take the title of Prince of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla.

Art. 5. All the powers engage to employ their good offices to cause to be respected, by the Barbary powers, the flag and the territory of the Isle of Elba, for which purpose the relations with the Barbary powers shall be assimilated to those with France.

Art. 6. There shall be reserved in the territories hereby renounced, to

his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, for himself and his family, domains or rent-charges in the great book of France, producing a revenue, clear of all deductions and charges, of 2,500,000 francs. These domains or rents shall belong, in full property, and to be disposed of as they shall think fit, to the Princes and Princesses of his family, and shall be divided amongst them in such a manner, that the revenue of each shall be in the following proportions, viz:—

	Francs.
To Madame Mere.........	300,000
To King Joseph and his Queen......................	500,000
To King Louis.............	200,000
To the Queen Hortense and to her children....	400,000
To King Jerom and his Queen.......................	500,000
To the Princess Eliza....	300,000
To the Princess Paulina	300,000
	2,500,000

The Princes and Princesses of the house of the Emperor Napoleon shall besides retain their property, moveable and immoveable, of whatever nature it may be, which they shall possess by individual and public right, and the rents of which they shall enjoy (also as individuals).

Art. 7. The annual pension of the Empress Josephine shall be reduced to 1,000,000, in domains, or in inscriptions in the great book of France; she shall continue to enjoy, in full property, moveable and immoveable, with power to dispose of it conformable to the French laws.

Art. 8. There shall be granted to Prince Eugene, Viceroy of Italy, a suitable establishment out of France.

Art. 9. The property which his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon possesses in France, either as extraordinary domain, or as private domain, attached to the crown, the funds placed by the Emperor, either in the great book of France, in the Bank of France, in the *Actions des Forets*, or in any other manner, and which his Majesty abandons to the crown, shall be reserved as a capital, which shall not exceed 2,000,000, to be expended in gratifications in favour of such persons, whose names shall be contained in a list to be signed by the Emperor Napoleon, and which shall be transmitted to the French government.

Art. 10. All the crown diamonds shall remain in France.

Art. 11. His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon shall return to the Treasury, and to the other public chests, all the sums and effects that shall have been taken out by his orders, with the exception of what has been appropriated from the Civil List.

Art. 12. The debts of the household of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, such as they were on the day of the signature of the present treaty, shall be immediately discharged out of the arrears due by the public Treasury to the Civil List, according to a list, which shall be signed by a Commissioner appointed for that purpose.

Art. 13. The obligations of the Mont-Napoleon, of Milan, towards all the creditors, whether Frenchmen or foreigners, shall be exactly fulfilled, unless there shall be any change made in this respect.

Art. 14. There shall be given all the necessary passports for the free passage of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, or of the Empress, the Princes and Princesses, and all the persons of their suites who wish to accompany them, or to establish themselves out of France, as well as for the passage of all the equipages, horses, and effects belonging to them. The Allied Powers shall, in consequence, furnish officers and men for escorts.

Art. 15. The French Imperial

guards shall furnish a detachment of from 1,200 to 1,500 men, of all arms, to serve as an escort to the Emperor Napoleon to Saint Tropes, the place of his embarkation,

Art. 16. There shall be furnished a corvette and the necessary transport-vessels to convey to the place of his destination his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon and his household; and the corvette shall belong, in full property, to his Majesty the Emperor.

Art. 17. The Emperor Napoleon shall be allowed to take with him and retain as his guard 400 men, volunteers, as well officers, as sub-officers and soldiers.

Art. 18. No Frenchman, who shall have followed the Emperor Napoleon or his family, shall be held to have forfeited his rights as such by not returning to France within three years; at least they shall not be comprised in the exceptions which the French government reserves to itself to grant after the expiration of that term.

Art. 19. The Polish troops of all arms, in the service of France, shall be at liberty to return home, and shall retain their arms and baggage, as a testimony of their honourable services. The officers, sub-officers, and soldiers, shall retain the decorations which have been granted to them, and the pensions annexed to those decorations.

Art. 20. The High Allied Powers guarantee the execution of all the articles of the present treaty, and engage to obtain that it shall be adopted and guaranteed by France.

Art. 21. The present act shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at Paris, within two days or sooner, if possible.

Done at Paris, the 11th of April, 1814.

(L. S.) The Prince DE METTERNICH.
(L. S.) J. F. Comte DE STADION.
(L. S.) ANDRE Comte DE RASOUMOUFFSKY.
(L. S.) CHARLES ROBERT Comte DE NESSELRODE.
(L. S.) CHAS. AUG. Baron DE HARDENBERG.
(L. S.) Marshal NEY.
(L. S.) CAULINCOURT.

Proclamation of the King of Spain.

Since the period when Divine Providence, in consequence of the spontaneous and solemn resignation of my august father, placed me on the throne of my ancestors, of which the kingdom took the oaths to me as heir by its procurators assembled in Cortes, according to the law and custom of the Spanish nation, practised in the most remote periods, and since that happy day on which I entered the capital amidst the most sincere demonstrations of affection and loyalty with which the people of Madrid came out to receive me, this display of love towards my royal person making a deep impression on the French hosts, who, under the cloak of friendship, had advanced as far as that city, being a presage of what that heroic population would one day perform for their King, and for their honour, and giving that example which the other parts of the kingdom have nobly followed: since that day, I determined in my royal mind to reply to sentiments so loyal, and to satisfy the great obligations which a king is under towards his subjects, to dedicate my whole time to the discharge of such august functions, and to repair the evils which the pernicious influence of a favourite had caused in the preceding reign.

My first labours were directed to the restoration of various magistrates and other persons, who had been arbitrarily removed from their functions; but the difficult state of affairs, and

the perfidy of Buonaparte, from the cruel effect of which I wished, by proceeding to Bayonne, to preserve my people, scarcely allowed time for more. The royal family being assembled there, an atrocious attack was perpetrated on the whole of it, and particularly on my person, unequalled in the history of civilised nations, both in its circumstances and in the series of events which took place there; and the sacred law of nations being there violated in the highest degree, I was deprived of my liberty, stripped of the government of my kingdoms, and conveyed to a palace with my very dear brother and uncle, which served as a sort of honourable prison for about the space of six years. Amidst this affliction, I had always present to my mind the love and loyalty of my people, and the consideration of the endless calamities to which they were exposed formed a great part of my griefs; inundated as they were with enemies, nearly destitute of all means of resistance, without King, and without a government previously established, which might put in motion and unite at its voice the force of the nation, direct its impulse, and avail itself of the resources of the State, to combat the forces which simultaneously invaded the Peninsula, and had treacherously got possession of its principal fortresses. In this lamentable situation, as the only remedy that remained, I issued, as well as I could, while surrounded by force, the Decree of the 5th of May, 1808, addressed to the Council of Castile, and in defect of it to any other Board or audience that might be at liberty, in order that the Cortes might be convoked, who had only to employ themselves on the spur of the moment, in raising the taxes and supplies necessary for the defence of the kingdom, remaining permanent for other events which might occur; but this my Royal Decree unfortunately was not known there; and although it was afterwards known, the provinces provided for the same object, as soon as the accounts reached them of the cruel tragedy perpetrated in Madrid on the memorable 2d of May, by the Chief of the French troops, through the instrumentality of the Juntas which they created. Next took place the glorious battle of Baylen: the French fled as far as Vittoria, and all the provinces, with the capital, proclaimed me, anew, King of Castile and Leon, in the metropolis, with the same formalities as the kings my august predecessors. This is a recent fact, of which the medals struck in all parts afford demonstrative proof, and which the people through whom I have passed since my return from France have confirmed by the effusion of *vivas* which moved the sensibility of my heart, where they are engraved never to be effaced. From the deputies nominated by the Juntas, the Central Junta was formed; who exercised in my royal name all the powers of sovereignty from Sept. 1808, till Jan. 1810; in which month was established the first Council of Regency, in whom the exercise of that power continued till the 24th of September in the same year: on which day were installed in the isle of Leon the Cortes called General and Extraordinary, when 104 Deputies took the oaths, in which they engaged to preserve for me my dominions as their sovereign; all which appears from the act certified by the Secretary of State Don Nicolas Maria de Sierra. But these Cortes, assembled in a manner never used in Spain, even in the most arduous cases, and in the most turbulent times of the minorities of Kings, in which the Assembly of Procurators were wont to be more numerous than in the common and ordinary Cortes, were not called the States of

the Nobility and Clergy, although the Central Junta had so ordered, this Decree having been artfully concealed from the Council of Regency, and also the fact that the junta had assigned to it the Presidency of the Cortes, a prerogative of the crown which the Regency would not have left to the decision of the Congress, if it had been acquainted therewith. In consequence of this, every thing remained at the disposal of the Cortes: who, on the very day of their installation, and by way of commencement to their acts, despoiled me of my sovereignty, which the same deputies had only a little before acknowledged, ascribing it nominally to the nation, in order to appropriate it to themselves, and then, upon such usurpation, to dictate to the nation such laws as they pleased, imposing upon it the yoke by which it should receive them compulsorily in a new Constitution, which the deputies established without authority of the provinces, people, or juntas, and without the knowledge of those provinces, which were said to be represented by substitutes from Spain and the Indies. This Constitution they sanctioned and published in 1812. This first attack upon the prerogatives of the throne, abusing the name of the nation, became, as it were, the basis of many other attacks which followed it; and in spite of the repugnance of many deputies, perhaps of the majority, they were adopted and raised to the rank of laws, which they called fundamental, by means of the shouts, threats, and violence of those who attended in the galleries of the Cortes, with which they alarmed and terrified; and that which was in truth the work of a faction, was clothed with the specious mask of the general will, and for such will, that of a few seditious persons, who in Cadiz, and afterwards in Madrid, occasioned affliction to all good citizens, made their own to pass. These facts are so notorious, that there is scarcely any one who is ignorant of them; and the very Diaries of the Cortes furnish ample proof of them. A mode of making laws so foreign to the Spanish nation, gave occasion to an alteration of the good laws under which, in other times, it was respected and happy. In truth, almost all the forms of the ancient constitution of the monarchy were innovated upon; and, copying the revolutionary and democratic principles of the French constitution of 1791, they sanctioned, not the fundamental laws of a moderate monarchy, but those of a popular government, with a chief, or magistrate, their mere delegated executor, and not a king, although they gave him that name, to deceive and seduce the unwary and the nation. Under the same want of liberty this new Constitution was signed and sworn to; and it is known to all, not only what passed with regard to the respectable Bishop of Orense, but also the punishment with which those were threatened who refused to sign and swear to it.

To prepare the public mind to receive such novelties, especially those regarding my royal person and the prerogatives of the crown, the public newspapers were resorted to as a means, some of which the Deputies of the Cortes conducted, and abused the liberty of the press, established by them to render the royal power odious, giving to all the rights of majesty the name of despotism—making king and despot synonimous terms,—and calling kings tyrants: while at the same time they cruelly persecuted every one who had the firmness to contradict them, or to dissent from this revolutionary and seditious mode of thinking: and in every thing democracy was affected, the army and navy, and all other establishments which, from time immemorial, had

been called royal, being stripped of that name, and national substituted, with which they flattered the people; who, however, in spite of these perverse arts, retained, by their natural loyalty, the good feelings which always formed their character. Of all this, since I have happily entered the kingdom, I have been acquiring faithful information and knowledge, partly from my own observations, and partly from the public papers, in which, up to this very day, representations of my arrival and my character are impudently circulated, so gross and infamous in themselves, that even with regard to any other individual they would constitute very heavy offences worthy of severe notice and punishment. Circumstances so unexpected have filled my heart with bitterness, which could only be alleviated by the demonstrations of affection from all those who hoped for my arrival, in order that by my presence an end might be put to these calamities, and to the oppression in which those were, who retained in their minds the remembrance of my person, and sighed for the true happiness of their country. I swear and promise you, true and loyal Spaniards, at the same time that I sympathise with the evils which you have suffered, you shall not be disappointed of your noble expectations. Your sovereign wishes to be so on your account, and in this he places his glory, that he is the sovereign of an heroic nation, who by their immortal deeds have gained the admiration of the world, and preserved their liberty and honour. I abhor and detest despotism—neither the intelligence and cultivation of the nations of Europe could now endure it, nor in Spain were its kings ever despots. Neither its good laws, nor constitution, authorised despotism; although, unfortunately, from time to time, as happens every where else, and in every thing human, there may have been abuses of power which no possible constitution can wholly guard against; nor were they the faults of the constitution which the nation had, but of individuals, and the effects of unpleasant but very rare circumstances, which gave occasion to them. However, in order to avert them, as effectually as human foresight will allow, namely, by preserving the honour of the royal dignity, and its rights, since those appertaining to it and to the people are equally inviolable, I will treat with the procurators of Spain and of the Indies; and order being restored, together with the good usages under which the nation has lived, and which the kings my predecessors established with its consent, every thing that relates to the good of my kingdoms shall be solidly and legitimately enacted, in Cortes legitimately assembled, as soon as it may be possible to do so, in order that my subjects may live prosperous and happy, in one religion, and under one government, strictly united by indissoluble ties. In this, and in this alone, consists the temporal felicity of a king and a kingdom, which enjoy the title of Catholic, by way of eminence; and immediately preparations shall be made for what may appear best towards the assembling of such a Cortes; in which, I trust, the bases of the prosperity of my subjects, in both hemispheres, may be confirmed. The liberty and security of persons and property shall be firmly secured by means of laws, which, guaranteeing public liberty and order, shall leave to all that salutary liberty whose undisturbed enjoyment distinguishes a moderate from an arbitrary and despotic government, and in which the citizens subject to the former ought to live. This just liberty all likewise shall enjoy, in order to communicate through the press their ideas and

thoughts, within those limits, however, which sound reason imperiously prescribes to all, that it may not degenerate into licentiousness; for the respect which is due to religion and the government, and that which men mutually owe towards each other can under no civilised government be reasonably permitted to be violated and trampled upon with impunity.

All suspicion, likewise, of any dissipation of the revenues of the State shall cease: those which are assigned for the expences required by the honour of my royal person and family, and that of the nation whom I have the glory to govern, being separated from the revenues which, by the consent of the kingdom, may be imposed and assigned for the maintenance of the state in all the branches of the administration. The laws, which shall in future serve as a rule of action to my subjects, shall also be enacted in concert with the Cortes, inasmuch as these bases may serve as an authentic declaration of my royal intentions in the government with which I am about to be vested, and will represent to all neither a despot nor a tyrant, but a king and a father of his subjects.

Having in like manner heard from the unanimous declaration of persons respectable for their zeal and knowledge, and from representations made to me from various parts of the kingdom, in which are expressed the repugnance and disgust with which both the constitution formed by the general and extraordinary Cortes, as well as the other political establishments recently introduced, are regarded in the provinces; considering also the mischiefs which have sprung therefrom, and would increase, should I assent to and swear to the said constitution; acting in conformity to such general and decided demonstrations of the wishes of my people, and also because they are just and well founded; I DECLARE, that my royal intention is, not only not to swear nor accede to the said constitution nor to any decree of the General and Extraordinary Cortes, and of the ordinary at present sitting, those, to wit, which derogate from the rights and prerogatives of my sovereignty, established by the constitution and the laws under which the nation has lived in times past, but to pronounce that constitution, and such decrees, null and of no effect, now, or at any other time, as if such acts had never passed, and that they are entirely abrogated, and without any obligation on my people and subjects, of whatever class and condition, to fulfil or observe them. And as he who should attempt to support them, and shall thus contradict my royal proclamation adopted with the above agreement and assent, will attack the prerogatives of my sovereignty, and the happiness of the nation, and will cause discontent and disturbance in my kingdoms, I declare, whoever shall dare to attempt the same will be guilty of HIGH TREASON, and as such subject to capital punishment, whether he perform the same by deed, by writing, or by words moving and exciting, or in any other way exhorting and persuading that the said constitution and decrees be kept and observed.

And in order that, until public order be restored, together with the system observed in the kingdom prior to the introduction of these novelties, for the attainment of which suitable measures shall be taken without delay, the administration of justice may not be interrupted, it is my will that in the mean time the ordinary Magistracies of towns shall be continued as now established, the courts of law, where there are such, and the audiencias, intendants, and other judicial tribunals; and in the political and administrative branches, the common councils of towns, according to their

present constitution, until the Cortes, who shall be summoned, being heard, the stable order of this part of the government of the kingdom be assented to. And from the day on which this my decree shall be published and communicated to the President for the time being of the Cortes at present met, the said Cortes shall cease their sittings; and their acts, with those of the preceding Cortes, together with whatever documents or dispatches shall be in their office of archives and secretaryship, or in the possession of any other individual whatever, shall be collected by the person charged with the execution of this my Royal Decree: and shall be deposited for the present in the Guildhall of the city of Madrid, the room in which they are placed being locked and sealed up: the books of their library shall be conveyed to the royal library; and whosoever shall endeavour to obstruct the execution of this my Royal Decree, in any way whatever, I also declare him guilty of High Treason, and that as such the punishment of death shall be inflicted upon him. And from this day shall cease in every tribunal of the kingdom all proceedings in any cause, now pending for any infraction of the Constitution, and those who, for such causes, have been imprisoned or arrested, shall be immediately set at liberty. Such then is my will, because the welfare and happiness of the nation require it.

Given at Valencia, the 4th of May, 1814.

I, THE KING.

Pedro de Macanaz, Secretary of Decrees.

As Captain General of New Castile, Political and Military Governor of the whole Province, and by order of his Majesty Don Ferdinand VII. whom God preserve, I cause it to be published.

FRANCISCO RAMON DE EGUAI Y. LETONA.

Madrid, May 11, 1814.

Treaty of Peace between the Allied Powers and France.

In the name of the most Holy and undivided Trinity.

His Majesty the King of France and Navarre, on the one part, and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and his Allies, on the other, being animated by an equal wish to put an end to the long agitations of Europe, and to the calamities of nations, by a solid peace, founded on a just distribution of force between the powers, and containing in its stipulations the guarantee of its duration; and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and his Allies, no longer wishing to exact from France, at the present moment, when, being replaced under the paternal government of her Kings, she thus offers to Europe a pledge of security and stability, conditions and guarantees which they had to demand with regret under her late government; their said Majesties have appointed Plenipotentiaries to discuss, conclude, and sign, a treaty of peace and friendship; that is, to say:—

His Majesty the King of France and Navarre, M. Charles Maurice Talleyrand-Perigord, Prince of Benevento, Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honour, Grand Cross of the Order of Leopold of Austria, Knight of the Order of St Andrew of Russia, of the Orders of the Black and Red Eagle of Prussia, &c. his Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, M. M. Prince Clement Wenceslas Lothaire of

Metternich-Winneburg-Ochsenhausen, Knight of the Golden Fleece, Grand Cross of the Order of St Stephen, Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honour, Knight of the Russian Orders of St Andrew, St Alexander Neusky, and St Anne, of the first class, Knight Grand Cross of the Prussian Orders of the Black and Red Eagle; Grand Cross of the Order of St Joseph of Wurtzburg, Knight of the Order of St Hubert of Bavaria, of that of the Gold Eagle of Wurtemberg, and many others; Chamberlain, actual Privy Counsellor, Minister of State, of Conferences, and for Foreign Affairs, of his Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic Majesty; and Count John Philip de Stadion Thannhausen and Warthausen, Knight of the Golden Fleece, Grand Cross of the Order of St Stephen, Knight of the Russian Orders of St Andrew, St Alexander Neusky, and St Anne of the first class, Grand Cross of the Prussian Orders of the Black and Red Eagle, Chamberlain, Privy Counsellor, Minister of State and Conferences to his Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic Majesty; who, after exchanging their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:—

Article I. There shall be, reckoning from this date, peace and friendship between his Majesty the King of France and Navarre, on the one part, and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and his Allies, on the other part, their heirs and successors, their respective states and subjects, in perpetuity.

The high contracting parties shall apply all their cares to maintain, not only between themselves, but also, as far as depends on them, between all the States of Europe, the good agreement and understanding so necessary to its repose.

Art. II. The kingdom of France preserves the integrity of its limits such as they existed at the period of the 1st of January, 1792. It shall receive besides an augmentation of territory comprised within the line of demarkation fixed by the following article:—

Art. III. On the side of Belgium, Germany, and Italy, the ancient frontier, such as it existed on the 1st Jan. 1792, shall be re-established, the same commencing from the North Sea, between Dunkirk and Newport, even unto the Mediterranean between Cagnes and Nice, with the following rectifications:—

1. In the department of Jemmappes, the cantons of Dour, Merbes-le-chateau, Beaumont, and Chimay, shall remain to France; the line of demarkation, where it touches the canton of the Dour, shall pass between that canton and those of Boussu and Parturage, as well as, farther on, between that of Merbes-le-Chateau, and those of Binch and Thuin.

2. In the department of the Sambre and Meuse, the cantons of Valcourt, Florennes, Beauraing, and Godume, shall belong to France; the demarkation, upon reaching this department, shall follow the line which separates the fore-mentioned cantons from the department of Jemmappes, and from the rest of that of the Sambre and Meuse.

3. In the department of the Moselle, the new demarkation, where it differs from the old, shall be formed by a line to be drawn from Perle as far as Fremersdorf, or by that which separates the canton of Tholey from the rest of the department of Moselle.

4. In the department of the Sarre, the cantons of Saarbruck and Arnwal shall remain to France, as well as that part of the canton of Lebach which is situated to the south of a line to be drawn along the confines of the vil-

lages of Herchenbach, Ueberhosen, Hilsbach, and Hall (leaving these different places without the French frontier) to the point where, taken from Querselle, (which belongs to France) the line which separates the canton of Arnwal and Ottweiller, reaches that which separates those of Arnwal and Lebach; the frontier on this side shall be formed by the line above marked out, and then by that which separates the canton of Arnwal from that of Bliescastel.

5. The fortress of Landau having, prior to the year 1792, formed an insulated point in Germany, France retains beyond her frontiers a part of the departments of Mont Tonnerre and the Lower Rhine, in order to join the fortress of Landau and its district to the rest of the kingdom. The new demarkation, proceeding from the point where, at Obersteinbach (which remains without the French frontier), the frontier enters the department of the Moselle, and that of Mont Tonnerre, joins the department of the Lower Rhine, shall follow the line which separates the cantons of Wissenburgh and Bergzabern (on the side of France) from the cantons of Pirmasens, Dahn, and Anweiler, (on the side of Germany) to the point where these limits, near the village of Wohnersheim, touch the ancient district of the fortress of Landau. Of this district, which remains as it was in 1792, the new frontier shall follow the arm of the river Queich, which in leaving this district near Queichheim (which rests with France), passes near the villages of Merlenheim, Kniltelsheim, and Belheim (also remaining French), to the Rhine, which thence continues the boundary between France and Germany. As to the Rhine, the Thalveg, or course of the river, shall form the boundary; the changes, however, which may occur in the course of the river, shall have no effect on the property of the isles which are found there. The possession of these isles shall be replaced under the same form as at the period of the treaty of Luneville.

6. In the Department of the Doubs, the frontier shall be drawn, so as to commence above La Ranconniere, near the Loell, and follow the crest of the Jura between Cerneaux Pequignot and the village of Fontenelles, so far as that summit of the Jura which lies about seven or eight miles to the north-west of the village of La Brevine, where it will turn back within the ancient limits of France.

Art. 7. In the department of the Leman, the frontiers between the French territory, the Pais de Vaud, and the different portions of the territory of Geneva, (which shall make a part of Swisserland,) remain as they were before the incorporation of Geneva with France. But the canton of Frangy, that of St Julien (with exception of that part lying to the north of a line to be drawn from the point where the river of La Laire enters near Chancey into the Genevese territory, along the borders of Seseguin, Laconex, and Seseneuve, which shall remain without the limits of France,) the canton of Regnier (with exception of that portion which lies eastward of a line following the borders of the Muraz, Bussy, Pers, and Cornier, which shall be without the French limits,) and the Canton of La Roche (with exception of the places named La Roche and Armanay, with their districts) shall rest with France. The frontier shall follow the limits of those different cantons and the lines separating those portion which France retains from those which she gives up.

Art. 8. In the department of Mont Blanc, France shall obtain the Subprefecture of Chambery, (with exceptions of the cantons de l'Hopital, St

Pierre d'Albigny, La Rocette and Montmelian,) the Subprefecture of Annecy, (with exception of that part of the canton of Faverges, situated to the east of a line passing between Ourechaise and Marlens on the French side, and Marthod and Ugine on the opposite side, and which then follows the crest of the mountains to the frontier of the canton of Thones.) This line, with the limits of the afore-named cantons, shall constitute the new frontier on this side.

On the side of the Pyrennees, the frontiers remain as they were, between the two kingdoms of France and Spain, on the 1st of January, 1792. There shall be appointed on the part of both, a mutual commission, to arrange their final demarcation.

France renounces all claims of sovereignty, supremacy, and possession over all countries, districts, towns, and places whatsoever, situated without the above-stated frontier. The principality of Monaco is replaced in the same situation as on the 1st of January, 1792.

The allied courts assure to France the possession of the principality of Avignon, the Venaisin, the county of Montbeliard, and all the enclosed districts once belonging to Germany, comprised within the above-indicated frontier, which had been incorporated with France before or after the 1st of January, 1792.

The powers preserve mutually the full right to fortify whatever point of their states they may judge fitting for their safety.

To avoid all injury to private property, and to protect on the most liberal principles the possessions of individuals domiciliated on the frontiers, there shall be named by each of the States adjoining to France, Commissioners, to proceed jointly with French Commissioners, to the demarcation of their respective boundaries. So soon as the office of these Commissioners shall be completed, instruments shall be drawn up, signed by them, and posts erected to mark the mutual limits.

Art. IV. To secure the communications of the town of Geneva with the other parts of the Swiss territory on the Lake, France consents that the road by Versoy shall be common to the two countries. The respective governments will have an amicable understanding on the means of preventing smuggling, the regulation of the posts, and the maintenance of the road.

Art. V. The navigation of the Rhine, from the point where it becomes navigable to the sea, and back, shall be free, so as to be interdicted to no person. Principles shall be laid down at a future Congress, for the collection of the duties by the States on the Banks, in the manner most equal and favourable to the commerce of all nations.

It shall be also enquired and ascertained at the same Congress, in what mode, for the purposes of more facile communication, and rendering nations continually less strangers to each other, this disposition may be extended to all rivers that in their navigable course separate or traverse different States.

Art. VI. Holland, placed under the sovereignty of the House of Orange, shall receive an increase of territory. The title, and the exercise of its sovereignty, cannot, under any circumstance, belong to a Prince wearing or designated to wear a foreign crown.

The German States shall be independent, and united by a federative league.

Independent Swisserland shall continue under its own government.

Italy, without the limits of the countries which shall return to Austria, shall be composed of Sovereign States.

Art. VII. The Island of Malta and its dependencies shall belong, in full possession and sovereignty, to his Britannic Majesty.

Art. VIII. His Britannic Majesty, stipulating for himself and his Allies, engages to restore to his most Christian Majesty, within periods afterwards to be fixed, the colonies, fisheries, factories, and establishments of every kind which France possessed on the 1st of January, 1792, in the seas or on the continents of America, Africa, and Asia, with the exception, nevertheless, of the islands of Tobago, St Lucia, and the Isle of France and its dependencies, namely, Rodrigue and the Sechelles, all which his most Christian Majesty cedes in full property and sovereignty to his Britannic Majesty, as also that part of St Domingo ceded to France by the peace of Basle, and which his most Christian Majesty retrocedes to his Catholic Majesty, in full property and sovereignty.

Art. IX. His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway, in consequence of arrangements entered into with his allies, and for the execution of the preceding Article, consents that the island of Guadaloupe be restored to his most Christian Majesty, and cedes all the rights which he might have to that island.

Art. X. His most Faithful Majesty, in consequence of arrangements entered into with his Allies, engages to restore to his most Christian Majesty, within a period hereafter fixed, French Guyana, such as it was on the 1st January, 1792.

The effect of the above stipulation being to revive the dispute existing at that period as to limits, it is agreed that the said dispute shall be terminated by an amicable arrangement, under the mediation of his Britannic Majesty.

Art. XI. The fortresses and forts existing in the colonies to be restored to his most Christian Majesty, in virtue of Articles VIII. IX. and X. shall be given up in the state in which they shall be at the time of the signature of the present treaty.

Art. XII. His Britannic Majesty engages to cause the subjects of his Most Christian Majesty to enjoy, in regard to commerce and the security of their persons and properties, within the limits of the British sovereignty on the continent of India, the same facilities, privileges, and protection, which are at present granted to the most favoured nations. On his side, his most Christian Majesty having nothing more at heart than the perpetuity of the peace between the two Crowns of France and England, and wishing to contribute, as much as in him lies, to remove henceforward such points of contact between the two nations as might one day alter a good mutual understanding, engages not to erect any work of fortification in the establishments to be restored to him, and which are situated within the limits of British sovereignty on the continent of India, and to place in those establishments only the number of troops necessary for the maintenance of the police.

Art. XIII. As to the French right of fishery on the grand bank of Newfoundland, on the coasts of the isle of that name and the adjacent isles, and in the Gulph of St Lawrence, every thing shall be restored to the same footing as in 1792.

Art. XIV. The colonies, factories, and establishments to be restored to his most Christian Majesty by his Britannic Majesty or his allies, shall be given up, viz. those in the seas of the North, or in the seas and on the continents of America and Afric, within three months, and those beyond the

Cape of Good Hope within six months, after the ratification of the present treaty.

Art. XV. The high contracting parties having reserved to themselves by the 4th Art. of the Convention of April 23, the regulation in the present definitive treaty of peace, of the fate of the arsenals and vessels of war, armed and not armed, which are in maritime fortresses, surrendered by France in execution of Art. 2. of the said convention, it is agreed that the said vessels and ships of war, armed and not armed, as also the naval artillery, the naval stores, and all the materials of construction and armament, shall be divided between France and the country where the fortresses are situated, in the proportion of two-thirds to France, and one-third to the powers to whom such fortresses shall appertain.

The vessels and ships which are building, and which shall not be ready for launching in six weeks after the present treaty, shall be considered as materials, and as such divided in the proportion above assigned, after being taken to pieces.

Commissaries shall be mutually appointed to arrange the division, and draw up a statement thereof, and passports shall be given by the allied powers, to secure the return to France of the French workmen, seamen, and agents.

The vessels and arsenals existing in the maritime fortresses which shall have fallen into the power of the allies, anterior to the 23d of April, are not included in the above stipulations, nor the vessels and arsenals which belonged to Holland, and in particular the Texel fleet.

The French government binds itself to withdraw, or cause to be sold, all that shall belong to it by the above-stated stipulations, within the period of three months after the division has been effected.

In future, the port of Antwerp shall be solely a port of commerce.

Art. XVI. The high contracting parties wishing to place and cause to be placed in entire oblivion the divisions which have agitated Europe, declare and promise, that in the countries restored and ceded by the present treaty, no individual of whatever class or condition shall be prevented, harassed, or disturbed in his person or property, under any pretext, or for his attachment either to any of the contracting parties or to governments which have ceased to exist, or for any other cause, unless for debts contracted to individuals, or for acts posterior to the present treaty.

Art. XVII. In all the countries which may or shall change masters, as well in virtue of the present treaty, as of arrangements to be made in consequence thereof, the inhabitants, both natives and foreigners, of whatever class or condition, shall be allowed a space of six years, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications, in order to dispose, if they think proper, of their property, whether acquired before or during the present war, and to retire to whatever country they please.

Art. XVIII. The Allied Powers, wishing to give his most Christian Majesty a new proof of their desire to cause to disappear, as much as lies in their power, the consequences of the period of calamity so happily terminated by the present peace, renounce *in toto*, the sums which the government had to re-demand of France, by reason of any contracts, supplies, or advances whatsoever, made to the French government in the different wars which have taken place since 1792.

His Most Christian Majesty, on his side, renounces every claim which he might make on the Allied Powers on similar grounds. In execution of

this article, the high contracting parties engage mutually to give up all titles, bonds, and documents, relating to debts which they have reciprocally renounced.

Art. XIX. The French government engages to cause to be liquidated and paid all sums which it shall find itself bound in duty to pay in countries beyond its territories, in virtue of contracts or other formal engagements entered into between individuals or private establishments, and the French authorities, both for supplies and legal obligations.

Art. XX. The high contracting powers, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, will appoint commissaries to regulate and effectuate the execution of the whole of the measures contained in Articles XVIII. and XIX. These commissaries shall employ themselves in the examination of the claims mentioned in the preceding Article, of the liquidation of the sums claimed, and of the mode which the French government shall propose for paying them. They shall also be charged with the giving up of the titles, obligations, and documents relative to the debts which the high contracting powers mutually renounce, in such way that the ratification of the result of their labours shall complete their reciprocal renunciation.

Art. XXI. The debts specially hypothecated in their origin on the countries which cease to belong to France, or contracted for their internal administration, shall remain a charge on these same countries. An account shall in consequence be kept for the French government, commencing with the 22d of December, 1813, of such of those debts as have been converted into the great book of the public debt of France. The titles of all such as have not been prepared for the inscription, nor have been yet inscribed, shall be given up to the governments of the respective countries. Statements of all these debts shall be drawn up by a mixed commission.

Art. XXII. The French government, on its side, shall remain charged with the repayment of all the sums paid by the subjects of the above-mentioned countries into the French chests, whether under the head of cautionments, deposits, or consignments. In like manner French subjects, servants of the said countries, who have paid sums under the head of cautionments, deposits, or consignments, into their respective treasuries, shall be faithfully reimbursed.

Art. XXIII. The titulars of places subjected to cautionments, who have not the handling of the money, shall be repaid with interest, until the full payment at Paris, by fifths, and annually, commencing from the date of the present treaty.

With regard to those who are accountable, the payment shall take place, at the latest, six months after the presentation of their accounts, the case of malversation alone excepted. A copy of the last account shall be transmitted to the government of their country to serve it for information and as a starting point.

Art. XXIV. The judicial deposits and consignments made into the chest of the sinking fund in execution of the law of the 28th Nivose, year 13 (18th of January, 1815), and which belong to the inhabitants of countries which France ceases to possess, shall be restored within a year, dating from the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, into the hands of the authorities of the said countries, with the exception of such deposits and consignments as French subjects are interested in; in which case they shall remain in the chest of the sinking

fund, not to be restored but on proofs resulting from the decisions of the competent authorities.

Art. XXV. The funds deposited by the communes and public establishments in the chest of the sinking fund, or in any other government chest, shall be repaid to them by fifths from year to year, reckoning from the date of the present treaty, with the deduction of advances which shall have been made to them, and saving the regular claims made upon these funds by creditors of the said communes and public establishments.

Art. XXVI. Dating from the 1st of January, 1814, the French government ceases to be charged with the payment of any pension, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, pension or retirement, or half-pay, to any individual, who is no longer a French subject.

Art. XXVII. The national domains acquired for a valuable consideration by French subjects in the *ci-devant* departments of Belgium, the left bank of the Rhine and of the Alps, without the ancient limits of France, are and remain guaranteed to the purchasers.

Art. XXVIII. The abolition of the *droits daubaine, detraction*, and others of the same nature in the countries which reciprocally stipulated it with France, or which had been antecedently annexed to it, is expressly confirmed.

Art. XXIX. The French government engages to cause to be restored the obligations and other titles which shall have been seized in the provinces occupied by the French armies or administrations; and in cases where restitution cannot be made, these obligations and titles are and remain annihilated.

Art. XXX. The sums which shall be due for all works of public utility not yet terminated, or terminated posterior to the 31st of December, 1812, on the Rhine, and in the departments detached from France by the present treaty, shall pass to the charge of future possessors of the territory, and shall be liquidated by the commission charged with the liquidation of the debts of the districts.

Art. XXXI. All archives, charts, plans, and documents whatsoever belonging to the countries ceded, and connected with their administration, shall be faithfully restored at the same time with the countries; or, if that be impracticable, within a period not more than six months after the surrender of the said countries.

Art. XXXII. Within a period of two months, all the Powers who have been engaged on both sides in the present war shall send Plenipotentiaries to Vienna, in order to regulate in a General Congress, the arrangements necessary for completing the dispositions of the present treaty.

Art. XXXIII. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged within a fortnight, or sooner if practicable.

In testimony whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, this 30th of May, in the year of our Lord, 1814.

(Signed)

(L. S.) The Prince of BENEVENT.
(L. S.) The Prince of METTERNICH.
(L. S.) J. P. Count STADION.

Additional Article.

The high contracting parties, wishing to efface all traces of the unfortunate events which have weighed heavily on their people, have agreed explicitly to annul the effects of the treaties of 1805 and 1809, in as far as they are not already actually annulled by the present treaty. In consequence of this declaration, his most Christian

majesty engages that the decrees issued against French, or reputed French subjects, being, or having been in the service of his imperial and royal apostolic majesty, shall remain without effect, a well as the judgments which may have passed in execution of those decrees.

The present additional article shall have the same force and effect as if it had been inserted in the patent treaty of this date. It shall be ratified, and the ratification shall be exchanged at the same time. In testimony whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed it, and affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris this 30th May, 1814.

(Signed)

(L. S.) The Prince of BENEVENT.
(L. S.) The Prince of METTERNICH.
(L. S.) Count STADION.

The same day, at the same time and place, the same treaty of definitive peace was concluded between France and Russia; between France and Great Britain; between France and Prussia; and signed, viz:—

The treaty between France and Russia:

For France, by M. Charles Maurice Talleyrand-Perigord, Prince of Benevent (*ut supra.*)

And for Russia, by M. M. Count Rasomouffsky, Privy Counsellor of his majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, knight of the orders of St Andrew, Saint Alexander Newsky, grand cross of that of St Wolodimir of the 1st class: and Charles Robert Count Nesselrode, privy counsellor of his said majesty, chamberlain, secretary of state, knight of the order of St Alexander Newsky, grand cross of that of St Wolodimir of the second class, grand cross of the order of Leopold of Austria, of that of the Red Eagle of Prussia, of the Polar Star of Sweden, and of the Golden Eagle of Wurtemberg.

The treaty between France and Great Britain:

For France, by M. Charles Maurice Talleyrand-Perigord, Prince of Benevent (*ut supra*);

And for Great Britain, by the Right Honourable Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, privy counsellor of his Majesty the King of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, member of his parliament, colonel of the regiment of Londonderry militia, and his principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, &c.

George Gordon, Earl of Aberdeen, Viscount Formartin, Lord Haddo, Tarvis, and Kellie, &c. one of the 16 Scotch Peers, Knight of the most ancient order of the Thistle, and his ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his imperial, royal, and apostolic majesty.

William Shaw Cathcart, Viscount Cathcart, Baron Cathcart and Greenock, counsellor of his said majesty, knight of the order of the Thistle, and of several Russian orders, general in his armies, and his ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his majesty the Emperor of Russia;

And the Hon. Charles William Stewart, knight of the most honourable order of the Bath, member of his parliament, knight of the Prussian orders of the Black and Red Eagle, and of many others, and his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to his majesty the King of Prussia.

The treaty between France and Prussia:

For France, by C. M. Talleyrand-Perigord, Prince of Benevent, (*ut supra.*)

And for Prussia by M. M. Charles Augustus Baron Hardenberg, chancellor of state to his majesty the King of Prussia, knight of the orders of the Black and Red Eagle, and of

many other orders, and Charles William Baron Humboldt, minister of state of his said majesty, and envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to his imperial, royal, and apostolic majesty.

With the following additional articles :—

Article Additional to the Treaty with Russia.

The Duchy of Warsaw having been under the administration of a provisional council established by Russia ever since that country was occupied by her arms, the two high contracting parties have agreed to appoint immediately a special commission, composed on both sides of an equal number of commissaries, who shall be charged with the examination and liquidation of their respective claims, and all the arrangements relative thereto.

The present additional article shall have the same force and effect, as if inserted verbatim in the patent treaty of this date. It shall be ratified, and the ratification exchanged at the same time; in testimony whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, this 30th of May, 1814.

(Signed)
(L. S.) The Prince of BENEV NT.
(L. S.) ANDREW COUNT RASUMOUFFSKY.
(L. S.) CHARLES ROBERT COUNT NESSELRODE.

Articles Additional to the Treaty with Great Britain.

Article I. His most Christian majesty, participating without reserve in all the sentiments of his Britannic majesty relative to a species of commerce which is equally repugnant to the principles of natural justice, and the rights of the times in which we live, engages to unite at a future congress, all his efforts to those of his Britannic majesty, in order to cause all the powers of Christendom to proclaim the abolition of the Slave Trade, in such manner that the said trade may cease universally, as it shall cease definitively, and in all events, on the part of France, within a period of five years, and that besides, pending the duration of this period, no trader in slaves shall be at liberty to import or sell them elsewhere, but in the colonies of the state to which he belongs.

Art. II. The British government and the French government will immediately appoint commissaries to liquidate their respective expences for the maintenance of prisoners of war, for the purpose of coming to an arrangement on the manner of paying off the balance which shall be found in favour of either of the two powers.

Art. III. The prisoners of war respectively shall be bound to discharge, before their departure from the place of their detention, the private debts which they may have there contracted, or at least to give satisfactory security.

Art. IV. There shall be on both sides, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty, a removal of the sequestration which, since the year 1792, may have been placed on the funds, revenues, debts, and all other effects whatever of the high contracting powers, or of their subjects.

The same commissaries mentioned in Art. II. shall employ themselves in the examination and liquidation of the claims of his Britannic majesty upon the French government, for the value of property, moveable or immoveable,

unduly confiscated by the French authorities, as well as for the total or partial loss of their debts or other property, unduly detained under sequestration since the year 1792.

France engages to treat in this respect the subjects of England with the same justice that the subjects of France have experienced in England; and the English government wishing, on its part, to concur in this new testimony that the allied powers have given to his most Christian Majesty of their desire to remove entirely the consequences of the epoch of misfortune, so happily terminated by the present peace, engages on its side (as soon as complete justice shall be done to its subjects,) to renounce the whole amount of the excess which may be found in its favour, relative to the maintenance of the prisoners of war, so that the ratification of the result of the labours of the undersigned commissioners, and the payment of the sums, as also the restitution of the effects which shall be adjudged to belong to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, shall render its renunciation complete.

Art. V. The two high contracting powers, desirous to establish the most amicable relations between their respective subjects, reserve to themselves a promise to come to an understanding and arrangement as soon as possible on their commercial interests, with the intention of encouraging and augmenting the prosperity of their respective states.

The present additional articles shall have the same force and validity as if they had been inserted in those words in the treaty of this day. They shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at the same time. In faith of which, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed them, and affixed the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the 30th of May, in the year of Grace 1814.

(Signed)
The Prince of BENEVENT.
(Signed) CASTLEREAGH.
(Signed) ABERDEEN.
(Signed) CATHCART.
(Signed)
CHARLES STEWART,
Lieut.-Gen.

Additional Article of the Treaty with Prussia.

Although the treaty of peace concluded at Basil, the 5th of April, 1795, that of Tilsit of the 9th of July, 1807, the convention of Paris of the 20th of September, 1808, as well as all the conventions and acts whatsoever, concluded since the peace of Basle between Prussia and France, are already in fact annulled by the present treaty, the high contracting parties have judged it nevertheless proper to declare again expressly, that the said treaties cease to be obligatory, both in the articles that are expressed, and those that are secret, and that they mutually renounce every right, and disengage themselves of every obligation which might result from them.

His Most Christian Majesty promises, that the decrees issued against French, or reputed French subjects, being or having been in the service of his Prussian Majesty, shall remain without effect; as also the judgments which may have been given in execution of those decrees.

The present additional article shall have the same force and validity as if it had been inserted in those words in the treaty of this day. It shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at the same time. In faith of which the respective plenipotentia-

ries have signed it, and affixed the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, 30th of May, in the year of our Lord 1814.

The Prince of BENEVENT.
CHARLES AUGUSTUS, Baron of HARDENBERG.
CHARLES WILLIAM, Baron de HUMBOLDT.

FRENCH CONSTITUTION.

Public Rights of the French.

Arts. 1, 2, 3, declare all Frenchmen, of whatever rank or title, equal in the eye of the law, equally admissible to civil and military employments, and contributing without distinction in proportion to their property to the burthens of the state.—Art. 4. guarantees personal liberty, so that no one be prosecuted or arrested but according to law.—Arts. 5 and 6, declare the catholic religion the religion of the state; but that every one shall profess his faith with equal freedom, and be protected in its exercise.—By Art. 7. The ministers of the Catholic and other Christian modes of worship alone receive their stipends from the royal treasury.—Art. 8. The French are entitled to publish and print their opinions, while conforming to the laws which will repress abuses of this liberty.—Art. 9. declares all property inviolable, that called national not excepted.—Art. 11. prohibits all enquiry into opinions or votes delivered before the Restoration.—By Art. 12. the conscription is abolished.

Forms of the King's Government.

Art. 13. The person of the king is sacred and inviolable; his ministers are responsible.—Art. 14. He is supreme head of the state; commands the sea and land forces; makes treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce; appoints to all public employments.—Art. 15. The legislative power is exercised collectively by the king, the Chamber of Peers, and the Chamber of Deputies of Departments.—By Art. 16 and 17, the king proposes laws, either to the peers or deputies; but tax-bills must first be proposed to the deputies. Every law to be discussed freely and decided by vote.—By Art. 19 and 20, the chambers are entitled to request the king to propose a law on any subject whatever, and to suggest what it should contain. This request must have been discussed in secret committee, and is not to be sent from the one chamber to the other, but after an interval of ten days.—Art. 21. If the proposition is adopted by the other chamber, it shall be transmitted to the king; if rejected, it cannot be re-introduced in the same session.—Art. 22. The king alone sanctions and promulgates laws.—Art. 23. The civil list to be fixed for the reign, by the first legislature assembled after the accession of the king.

Of the Chamber of Peers.

Arts. 24 and 25 declare this chamber an essential part of the legislature, to be convoked and closed at the same time as that of the deputies.—Art. 27. The king nominates the peers; their number is unlimited; they may be nominated for life, or rendered hereditary, as the king pleases.—Art. 28. Peers enter the chamber at the age of twenty-five, and have a deliberative voice at that of thirty. By arts. 29 and 30, the chancellor presides in the senate, and the princes of the blood are always peers by right of birth.—Art. 32. All the deliberations of the Chamber of Peers are secret.—Art. 33. The Chamber of Peers takes cognizance of the crimes of high treason and offences against the state. Peers only to be judged by their peers.

Of the Chamber of Deputies of Departments.

Art. 33. This chamber to be composed of deputies, chosen by the electoral colleges, whose organization shall be determined by law.—Arts. 36 and 37. Every department to have the same number of deputies as at present; the deputies to be chosen for five years, and the chamber to be renewed annually, by a fifth.—Art. 38. No deputy can be admitted into the chamber, unless he be forty years of age, and pay direct taxes to the amount of one thousand francs. By art. 40, the electors of the deputies must pay direct taxes to the amount of three hundred francs, and be at least thirty years of age.—By art. 41, the presidents of the electoral colleges are to be nominated by the king.—By art. 43, the king appoints the president of the Chamber of Deputies from a list of five members presented by the chamber.—Art. 44. The sittings of the chamber are public; but the demand of five members is sufficient for forming it into a secret committee.—Art. 45. The chamber divides into *bureaux* to discuss the *projets* which have been presented to it on the part of the king. Art. 46. No amendment can be made in a law, unless proposed in committee by the king, and unless transmitted to and discussed in the *bureaux*.—Art. 47 and 48. The Chamber of Deputies receives all propositions for taxes; and no tax can be imposed or levied, unless assented to by the two chambers, and sanctioned by the king.—Art. 49. The land-tax is voted only for a year; the indirect taxes may be voted for several years.—Art. 50. The king every year convokes the two chambers; he prorogues them, and may dissolve that of the deputies; but in this case, he must convoke a new one within the space of three months.—Art. 51. No personal restraint shall be laid upon any member of the house during the session, or within six weeks before or after it.—Art. 52. No member of the House can, during the session, be prosecuted or arrested for criminal matters, till the house has permitted his prosecution.—Art. 53. All petitions to either house must be presented in writing.

Of the Ministers.

Art. 54. The ministers may be members of the Chamber of Peers, or of that of the deputies. They have, moreover, a right to admission into either house, and must be heard whenever they desire it.—Art. 55. The Chamber of Deputies has a right to impeach the ministers before the peers, which alone are competent to try them. —Art. 56. They cannot be accused, except for high treason or peculation.

Of the Judicial Order.

Art. 57. All justice emanates from the king; it is administered in his name by judges whom he nominates and appoints.—Art. 58. The judges nominated by the king cannot be removed.—Art 59. The ordinary courts and tribunals actually existing are retained.—Art. 60. The present institution of the judges of commerce is preserved.—Art. 61. The office of justice of the peace is likewise retained. The justices of the peace, though nominated by the king, are removable.—Art. 62. No man can be taken out of the hands of his natural judges.—Art. 63. There cannot, of course, be created any extraordinary commissions and tribunals.—Art. 64. The pleadings in criminal matters may be published, unless their publicity be dangerous to good order and morals; and in this case the tribunals shall declare it by a judgment.—Art 65. The institution of juries is retained.—Art. 66. The penalty of the confiscation of property is abolished, and cannot be re-established.—Art. 67. The king has the

right of pardon, and that of commuting punishments.—Art. 68. The civil code, and the laws actually existing not contrary to the present charter, remain in force till they shall be legally abolished.

Particular Rights guaranteed by the State.

Art. 69. The military in active service, the officers and soldiers who have retired, the widows, officers, and soldiers pensioned, shall retain their ranks, honours, and pensions.—Art. 70. The public debt is guaranteed; all kinds of engagements contracted by the state, with its creditors, are inviolable.—Art. 71. The ancient nobility resume their titles; the new retain theirs. The king creates nobles at pleasure, but he confers on them only ranks and honours, without any exemption from the charges and duties of society.—Art. 72. The Legion of Honour is maintained; the king will fix its interior regulations and decorations.—Art. 73. The colonies shall be governed by particular laws and regulations.—Art. 74. The king and his successors shall swear at the ceremony of their anointment to the faithful observance of the present constitutional charter.

Temporary Articles.

Art. 75. The deputies of the departments of France, who sat in the legislative body at the time of the last adjournment, shall continue to sit in the House of Deputies till they are replaced.—Art. 76. The first renewal of one-fifth of the House of Deputies shall take place, at the latest, in the year 1816, according to the order fixed between the classes.

President of the United States of America..

A Proclamation.

Whereas it is manifest that the blockade, which has been proclaimed by the enemy, of the whole Atlantic coast of the United States, nearly two thousand miles in extent, and abounding in ports, harbours, and navigable inlets, cannot be carried into effect by any adequate force actually stationed for the purpose; and it is rendered a matter of certainty and notoriety, by the multiplied and daily arrivals and departures of the private armed vessels of the United States, and of other vessels, that no such adequate force has been so stationed; and whereas a blockade thus destitute of the character of a regular and legal blockade, as defined and recognized by the established law of nations, whatever other purposes it may be made to answer, forms no lawful prohibition or obstacle to such neutral and friendly vessels as may choose to visit and trade with the United States; and whereas it accords with the interest and the amicable views of the United States, to favour and promote, as far as may be, the free and mutually beneficial commercial intercourse of all friendly nations disposed to engage therein, and, with that view, to afford to their vessels destined to the United States a more positive and satisfactory security against all interruptions, molestations, or vexations whatever, from the cruizers of the United States; Now be it known, that I, James Madison, President of the United States of America, do, by this my proclamation, strictly order and instruct all the public armed vessels of the United States, and all private armed vessels commissioned as privateers, or with letters of marque and reprisals, not to interrupt, detain, or otherwise molest or vex, any vessels whatever, belonging to neutral powers, or the subjects or citizens thereof, which vessels shall be actually bound and proceeding to any port or place within the jurisdiction of the United States; but, on the contrary, to render to all such vessels all the aid and

kind offices which they may need or require.

Given under my hand and the seal of the United States, at the city of Washington, the 29th day of June, in the year [SEAL] one thousand eight hundred and fourteen, and of the Independence of the United States the thirty-eighth.

JAMES MADISON.

By the President,

JAMES MONROE.

Treaty of Peace between the Kings of France and Spain.

In the name of the most holy and undivided Trinity, his Majesty the King of Spain and the Indies, and his allies, on the one part, and his Majesty the King of France and Navarre, on the other part, being equally animated by a desire to put an end to the long agitations of Europe, and the calamities of nations, by a solid peace, founded on a just distribution of strength among the powers, and containing in its stipulations the guarantee of its duration; and his Majesty the King of Spain and the Indies, and his allies, not wishing, now that France is replaced under the paternal government of her kings, and that she thus furnishes a pledge of security and stability, to require of her conditions and guarantees which they would have felt regret in demanding of her under the late government; their said majesties have nominated to discuss, settle, and sign, a treaty of peace and amity, namely:

His Majesty the King of Spain and the Indies, Don Pedro Gomez Labrador, Knight of the Royal Spanish Order of Charles III. his Counsellor of State, &c.; and his Majesty the King of France and Navarre, M. Charles Maurice Talleyrand Perigord, Prince of Benevent, Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honour, Knight of the Golden Fleece, &c.; who, having exchanged their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed on the following articles:

Art. 1. Reckoning from this date, there shall be perpetual peace and amity between his Majesty the King of Spain and the Indies, and his allies, on the one part, and his Majesty the King of France and Navarre on the other part, their heirs and successors, their states and respective subjects. The high contracting parties will apply all their cares to maintain, not only between themselves, but also, as far as depends on them, between all the states of Europe, the harmony and good understanding so necessary to its repose.

[Here follow the articles contained in the treaty concluded on the 30th of May, between France and the allied powers.]

Additional Articles.

Art. 1. The property, of whatever kind, which Spaniards possess in France, or Frenchmen in Spain, shall be respectively restored to them in the state in which it was at the period of sequestration or confiscation. The removal of the sequestration shall extend to all property in this predicament, at what period soever it may have been sequestrated. The disputes respecting money matters, at present existing, or which may hereafter arise, between Spaniards and French, whether they began before the war or originated since, shall be adjusted by a mixed commission; and if these disputes fall under the exclusive cognizance of the courts of justice, the respective tribunals shall be exhorted on both sides to administer due and speedy justice.

Art. 2. A treaty of commerce shall be concluded as soon as possible between the two powers; and till this

treaty can be carried into effect, the commercial relations between the two countries shall be re-established on the footing on which they were in 1792.

The present additional articles shall have the same force and effect as if they were inserted word for word in the treaty of this day. They shall be ratified, and their ratifications exchanged at the same time. In faith of which the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed them, and affixed the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the 20th of July, in the year of grace 1814.

(Signed)
D. Pedro Gomez Labrador.
The Prince of Benevent.

Proclamation of the King of Sweden to the Norwegians.

At the moment when our well-beloved son, the Prince Royal of Sweden, is about to put himself at the head of our forces, by sea and land, in order to take possession of the kingdom of Norway, we cannot refuse to our paternal heart the satisfaction of once more opening the path of peace and conciliation to our misled subjects, before the calamities inevitable from the entrance of an armed force confound the innocent with the guilty.

Inhabitants of Norway! Your political existence has been irrevocably decided by the great results of the war, and sanctioned by the most solemn treaties. A few factious persons, who would deceive your truth and good faith, no longer have it in their power to oppose obstacles to the establishment in the north of a new order of things, which has been unanimously guaranteed by all the preponderating powers of Europe.

The incontestable rights of Sweden to the union of Norway have been too dearly purchased by the blood and patriotic efforts of our subjects, that we should hesitate a single instant to render them effectual, and to support them by all the means which Providence has placed at our disposal.

For all the sacrifices by which we have contributed to the general deliverance of Europe, we have desired no other reward but the future peace and tranquillity of the Scandinavian peninsula. It was to facilitate the happy union of Norway to Sweden, and to cement it by all the principles of honour and good faith, that we consented to restore to the King of Denmark the most valuable of his continental possessions, conquered and then occupied by our victorious troops and those of our allies. It was in consideration of this object, so much desired, that we hastened at once to put a stop to the payment of all the contributions which had already been imposed on the Danish provinces; that we solemnly renounced all the old claims which we were entitled to make on the court of Copenhagen in favour of our subjects, and that we added to these disinterested conditions of peace offers still more considerable, and sacrifices very painful to our heart, as an ulterior indemnity for the peaceable cession of Norway.

Unfortunately a single individual has hitherto disregarded all our efforts, and those of our august allies. That individual is the late governor of his Danish majesty, who takes upon him to abuse your confidence, in order to make you act criminally towards the powers who have sanctioned the union of the Scandinavian states, and who have all recognized the justice of our cause, and the moderation of our conduct.

In vain would Prince Christian rest upon the *independence* of your existing position; an independence equally contrary to your own interests, and to the invariable principles of sound po-

licy; for if the King of Denmark absolved you from your oath of fidelity to him, he imposed upon you at the same time the indispensable duty of contracting with us and the crown of Sweden, the same obligations which previously attached you to the Danish monarchy; and it was only in consequence of the assurances given us, that on our part concessions so important were yielded.

People of Norway! It is to the frankness of your national character that we again address these words of peace and confidence, before enforcing the justice of our cause by arms. In vain did we often summon Prince Christian to obey the voice of honour and of duty. In vain did we address to you proclamations which should have enlightened you as to our beneficent intentions, and dispersed all the illusions by which some intriguing and factious men hoped to conceal from you your true position in regard to the other powers of Europe.

Influenced, however, by the feelings of our paternal heart, to consider the Norwegians in no other light but as the ancient brothers of our Swedish subjects, we long flattered ourselves with being able to avoid every rigorous measure, that sooner or later the nation would loudly declare against the criminal audacity of a foreign prince, publicly disavowed by his own sovereign.

It was, therefore, to make trial of every measure of mildness towards our new subjects, that we have hitherto delayed establishing our legitimate right by force of arms. In this interval the governor of Norway took upon himself to constitute there a representation of the people conformable to his private views, but in no respect consistent with the ancient usages of Norway. Foreign agents, connected with this prince by mutual interests, have taken part in the deliberations of this assembly, where an armed force had more influence than the voice of patriotism and the freedom of opinion; and the results of this assembly have answered the intentions of its chief, rather than the true interests of the nation.

In such a state of affairs, a too great indulgence on our part could have no other effect but to encourage crime and the dark schemes of these enemies of public repose, who will never cease to labour against the happiness and independence of the Scandinavian peninsula. A prince equally a stranger to Sweden and to Norway, and solely attached to the interests of Denmark, has already authorized the most violent measures in order to constitute you rebels against your legitimate sovereign, and to place you in a state of open hostility with England, Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

A crisis like this ought not to last, and cannot last much longer, without becoming essentially dangerous to all the neighbouring states, which are uniting their efforts to suppress in its origin that spirit of faction and discord which already threatens to shut up from the north of Europe the beneficial effects of the general peace.

Invoking, therefore, the assistance of the Almighty in favour of the justice of our cause, we have ordered our well-beloved son, the Prince Royal, to advance with all our forces, supported by those of our allies, upon the frontiers of Norway, to take possession of that kingdom, and there to convoke in our name, and under our royal authority, an assembly of the states of the Norwegian people, who, after having been freely elected, will be entitled to deliberate on a new constitution, calculated to establish the future happiness of the nation, and which shall then be submitted to our royal approbation.

We repeat, on this occasion, with

pleasure, that far from desiring ever to infringe on any rights or privileges which our Norwegian subjects have enjoyed to the present hour, we continue them anew, and in the most solemn manner; persuaded that the happiness and the future tranquillity of the Scandinavian peninsula will require nothing of the two nations but the indissoluble union of their reciprocal interests.

We therefore, by these presents, declare the diet convoked by Prince Christian criminal and in contempt of our rights as well as those of all lawful sovereigns, and even of those of the Norwegian nation. We farther declare all the acts of authorities constituted by that diet null, and of no value nor obligation; and we expressly forbid all our Norwegian subjects to pay obedience to them, or to conform themselves to them, in any manner whatsoever. We alike order by these presents, all strangers who are now in Norway to depart from the kingdom forthwith, or to take the oath of submission and fidelity before our constituted authorities, under pain of being punished as rebels or spies.

And to manifest yet more our paternal sentiments for our new subjects, we promise, in the most solemn manner, favour and pardon to all our native subjects of Norway, who may have been considered until now, as seduced by foreigners, if they hasten to return to their duty as subjects, and to obey with zeal and submission all the laws and ordinances which we have caused to be published to that effect.

CHARLES.

Proclamation of the Prince Royal of Sweden to the Norwegians.

Norwegians,

Destined by nature to an union with the Swedish nation, your fate was decided when the King of Denmark ceded to Sweden, by the peace of Kiel, his rights over Norway. The advantages which your old sovereign derived from that peace are known to you. He obtained, immediately after its signature, the evacuation of the duchies of Schlesvig and Holstein, the restoration of the fortresses of Gluckstadt and Fredericsort, an acknowledgment of the Sound duties, the giving up of more than twelve millions of contributions imposed on the duchies, the renunciation of an equal sum for captures made during peace; a considerable sum in money, of which part has been paid: and finally, the promise of the cession of Pomerania, upon the surrender and occupation of the fortress of Kongswinger, Frederickshall, Frederickstadt, and Aggerhuus.

These great sacrifices were made to Denmark, only because she promised that you would peaceably, and without opposition, acknowledge the authority of the King of Sweden; and you will appreciate them, on reading the treaties which united Sweden, Russia, England, Prussia, and Austria, against the common enemy. Norwegians! If in this age these treaties could be eluded by civilized nations, good faith would no longer exist upon earth.

At the period when your government furnished to France some thousands of seamen to man ships of war, Sweden perceived the indispensable necessity of rendering herself independent of the continent; she refused to bow before the idol of the day, and confidently relying on herself, and on her constitutional laws, she dared to invoke them in favour of her children, and rejected the demand of an equal number of seamen: She did more, she united herself at a period the most critical recorded in our annals, with a monarch whose destruction Napoleon

had sworn. She feels proud, however, in having anticipated the resolution of so many other nations.

Norwegians! Small states are always moved by the more powerful: You cannot form an insulated government; and the plan of the man who misleads you is to unite one day the crown of Norway to that of Denmark; but nature, in accordance with sound policy, wills that the Norwegians and the Swedes should be friends and brothers. It is also as brothers that the Swedes wish to live with you. Sweden and Norway united, and lending each other mutual support, will present on every side an impregnable front. Insulated and disunited, they will have every thing to fear both from themselves and from others. Look at England,—that island, so famous, founded her prosperity on a similar union. That of Norway to Sweden is guaranteed by the first powers of the world.

An experience of many centuries proves that the divisions of the north always led to its ruin. This idea had struck the great Gustavus. After having laid the foundation of the peace of Europe, and consolidated the Protestant faith, his plan was to effect your union with Sweden: Death put an end to his design. Its consequences have been pernicious to you.

Norwegians! After the memorable battle of Leipsic, your interests must have told you, that your union with Sweden could alone constitute your happiness and establish your security. The great powers wish this union. All of them have recognized that it was time to put an end to the dissensions which must result from the separation of the two nations. Will you alone oppose the general will? Will you alone combat the Swedes and the sovereigns who have guaranteed your union with us? Their glory, their interests, the sanctity of treaties, in fine, demand its accomplishment.

I come in the midst of you, with the hope that you will treat as brothers that brave army which I lead back from a campaign as glorious as astonishing. Neither this army, nor that which has been for a year stationed on your frontiers, desire laurels which must be tinged with your blood. The Swedes are, like you, members of the Scandinavian family; and battles between the two nations are equally repugnant to nature, to reason, and to sound policy.

Norwegians! Suffer not yourselves to be heated by the instigations of the individuals who have only their personal interest in view. Sacrifice not the welfare of your country to the deceitful illusions which they present to you. Open your eyes to the dangers into which a criminal ambition is precipitating you. Sweden will not lay down her arms until she has effected an union necessary to her safety and repose. You may prevent the calamities of a war which can only be advantageous to your seducers. Look forward to the futurity which awaits you, and to the glory and prosperity which must ensue from an union of the two nations.

Norwegians! Reject, then, an influence and errors, equally unworthy of you; let the national will speak, and fix its laws under the ægis of an enlightened and beneficent monarch! He offers you, with the removal of every semblance of war, independence, liberty, and the guarantee of all your privileges. Your fidelity shall be the pledge; his virtues shall be your securities.

NORWAY.

Christiania, July 26.

On the 30th of June came the following envoys from the allied powers, through Sweden to Christiania, namely, General Baron de Steigentesch, for

Austria; Major-General Orloff, for Russia; Augustus J. Forster, for England; and Major Baron de Martens, for Prussia. Some days afterwards they had an audience of his majesty, and on the 7th inst. presented the following:

Note A.

The undersigned, charged by their respective courts with a special mission to his Highness Prince Christian Frederick of Denmark, have the honour to address to him the present official note.

The cession of Norway, produced by the treaty of Kiel, was guaranteed by the four powers, allies of Sweden. That decree of policy was irrevocably fixed. The allied sovereigns consider the union of Norway to Sweden as one of the bases of the new system of equilibrium, as a branch of indemnities which it is impossible to replace by any other.

The events which latterly occurred in Norway, the opposition which the decision of Europe found there, and the resolution which his highness has taken to put himself at the head of that opposition, determined the allies of Sweden to take the necessary steps for effecting the union of Norway. It is with this object that the undersigned have repaired to his highness.

They are charged to express to him the painful impression which his proceedings have produced on their sovereigns, to summon him formally to return within the line of his most sacred duties, and to declare to him, that should he refuse to yield to the general wish of Europe, which recals him to Denmark, an unequal war will arise in the north, and arms will infallibly produce what persuasion has in vain attempted. For this purpose the army of General Count Beningsen, as well as a corps of Prussian troops, have been placed at the disposal of Sweden, and the general blockade of Norway has been resolved upon in common concert with Great Britain.

At the same time the King of Denmark, compromised in the eyes of the monarchs, the guarantees of his word, and of the treaty of Kiel, was justly irritated against his late subjects for the non-execution of his will. His majesty resolved, in consequence, through the intermedium of the undersigned, to transmit his final orders to the prince the heir of his crown, who, in quality of first subject, is bound to set the example of obedience to his majesty's subjects in Norway, Danes by birth, who, by refusing to return, will become guilty of rebellion; and to the Norwegians, in fine, from whom, as a last proof of his affection, he should endeavour to avert the horrors of a destructive war.

The adoption of this resolution by his Danish majesty, and the orders which the undersigned have received from their respective courts, characterize the nature of their special mission. The undersigned deem themselves compelled to declare, that they are by no means mediators between Norway and Sweden, but rather commissioners (heralds at arms, if the expression may be used,) charged with carrying into execution in its full extent, the treaty of Kiel, and the stipulations guaranteed by their sovereigns.

However, the known character of his highness, the rectitude of his intentions, the general esteem of Europe for the Norwegian nation, and the wish to effect the union of the two kingdoms without the effusion of blood, have induced the undersigned to enter into modifications which they acknowledge are not within the literal meaning of their instructions; they have yielded to the wish to furnish his highness with the most honourable means of descending from the eminent place to which circumstances have un-

fortunately raised him; and they have with pleasure lent themselves to every arrangement which could prevent the character of his highness from suffering, and to stipulate immunities for the Norwegian people.

They have thought, that in so doing they in no respect departed from the liberal intentions of his Swedish majesty; but they could not regard the following arrangements to which they have acceded as articles stipulated and agreed upon, until they had received the assent of that monarch.

His Highness Prince Christian Frederick has positively declared, that he could only replace in the hands of the Diet the rights which he had received from the nation. The convocation of the diet was in consequence deemed necessary, and the time for effecting this convocation, and securing its deliberations, becomes the object of negociation. A truce was proposed by his highness; the undersigned were anxious to second his wishes; but the various conditions which they proposed were all successively rejected. At length, upon mature deliberation, they have the honour to submit to his highness the expression of intentions from which they cannot depart.

The basis of the armistice are:

1. A solemn engagement from his highness to the King of Sweden and his august allies, to resign into the hands of the nation assembled by its representatives, all the rights which he has received from it, and to employ all his influence with the people to induce them to consent to the union.

2. The country between the Glommen and the Swedish frontier shall be evacuated by the Norwegian troops, as well as the isles of Walcheren, and the fortresses of Frederickstadt, with its citadel, Frederickshall, Frederickstein, and Konigswinger. The country shall be declared neutral, and the fortresses shall be occupied by Swedish troops.

3. After the occupation of the fortresses, the blockade of Norway shall be raised, in respect to the ports of Christiania, Christiansand, and Bergen, with the necessary modifications, and during the period of the truce.

After giving in this ultimatum, with regard to which the undersigned demand a categorical answer, they also address themselves to his highness, in order to learn his resolution in regard to the letter of his Danish majesty.

They have, at the same time, the honour to declare to his highness, that whatever may be his answer to this official note, they will consider their negociations as terminated, and will demand their passports, whether for the purpose of continuing to bring about the union of the two kingdoms in a pacific manner, or to follow up an ineffectual negociation by more efficacious measures.

They seize with eagerness this opportunity of presenting to his royal highness the expression of their profound respect.

(Signed)

STEIGENTESCH. ORLOFF.
FORSTER. MARTENS.

Christiania, July 7, 1814.

To his Highness Prince Christian Frederick of Denmark.

The Answer of Prince Christian.

To the note from you, gentlemen, the envoys of the courts allied to Sweden, charged with a special mission to Norway, I hasten to reply conformably with my duties to the people of Norway, and to the regard due to the overtures you are commissioned to make.

The happiness of Norway is the

sole object of my actions. The Norwegian nation, delivered from the oath of fidelity to the King of Denmark, and not acknowledging his power to cede them in full sovereignty and property to the King of Sweden, as well as justly irritated by learning it was a principal condition that Swedish troops should take possession of fortresses never occupied by Danish troops during the union, wished to avail themselves of those rights, which in similar cases belong, according to public opinion, to every nation.

Aware of this general sentiment, which an inveterate hatred between bordering nations rendered more marked than ever, I perceived that internal disturbances and anarchy would result from a forced union: and I put myself at the head of the nation in order to prevent these calamities. The regard due to the sovereignty which resides in the nation itself, made me assemble a diet, and it formed a constitution calculated to consolidate the happiness of the people. Their affection and confidence offered me the crown, which I then thought it my duty to accept; and, desirous of contributing to the happiness of the people, I was persuaded that the independence of Norway, under a government which the nation itself had formed, and in alliance with Sweden guaranteed by the great powers, which should secure the repose of the north with that of the Norwegian people, who wish only to live free among their rocks, would be the most desirable state of things for Norway. I founded my hopes on the application, in our favour, of the same principles in support of which such generous efforts had been lavished in Germany and in Spain. The great powers of Europe have otherwise decided; the declarations which you have made, persuade me that the safety of Norway demands that we should yield to the law of the strongest; and I perceive that these same powers, not wishing to bring the calamities of war on Norway, are desirous of attending to every thing that may secure as much as possible the happiness of Norway united to Sweden. I even see it in my power to stipulate for the welfare of Norway, by the sacrifice of a situation personally flattering to me. I do not hesitate to make such sacrifice, in a manner worthy of a man of honour, worthy of the crown which I wear, and of the people who have conferred it on me.

You have recognized that it is only in the hands of the diet that I can resign my rights; and it is also only that assembly of the representatives of the nation which can decide, whether the nation should prefer an unequal struggle for its independence to the honourable conditions which shall be offered to Norway as a kingdom united to Sweden. I acknowledge it to be my duty to make known to the nation the dangers to which it is exposed, and to represent to it the advantages which must be secured to it on its acceding to a constitutional union with Sweden; but you know me sufficiently to be convinced, that, faithful to my engagements, I will never separate my faith from its, in the event of a brave though useless resistance against the united forces of Europe, being preferred to an honourable reconciliation, for which I shall employ all my credit. It is to this effect that I have written the letter to the King of Sweden, a copy of which is herewith subjoined, and by which I accede to your first basis for the truce which you also have deemed necessary, and which I demand of the King of Sweden, on honourable and admissible conditions.

To the second basis of the truce, I reply, that if the point at issue be the rupture of negociations which can alone

lead to an amicable union, I will accede to the evacuation of the country, between the Glommen and the Swedish frontier, as well as of the isles of Hualoerne, and the fortresses of Frederickstein and Frederickstadt, by the Norwegian troops, on condition that the territory, as well as the fortresses, be neutral during the armistice. Kongsvinger being on the north bank of the Glommen, and a league on this side of the neutralized ground, I think it will not be proper to insist on its evacuation. In regard to the occupation of the fortresses by Swedish troops, I deem it my duty to represent to you, that conditions which have once already animated the whole people to the defence of the country, ought not to be re-demanded, if it is wished to sooth the public mind; that the inevitable consequence of the entrance of Swedish troops would be a general rising of the people, and that, in that case, I must prefer war against the enemy to the civil war which I should have occasioned by outraging the constitution in the eyes of the whole nation by a criminal weakness. If the King of Sweden wish an amicable union and not war, he will not insist on this, and will accede to the proposal which I have made to him of leaving the two fortresses of Frederickstein and Frederickstadt in the custody of the citizens of these cities. The evacuation of these two fortresses by the Norwegian troops, which leaves them without the necessary defence, will give every military advantage to the Swedes; and when I consider the generous sentiments which should guide his Swedish majesty, I trust that that monarch will at the same time be satisfied to fix the neutral ground on the east bank of the Glommen, to a circle of three leagues around these fortresses.

With respect to the third basis, I must also observe to you, that the proposed raising of the blockade of Norway, which I consider as a condition inseparable from the truce, and as an unequivocal mark of the humanity and benevolence of the allied powers towards the people of Norway, must also be extended to all points of the coast, if it is wished that it be regarded as a real benefit. Any other condition would give rise to embarrassments and perpetual quarrels, which might too easily lead to a rupture of the armistice, and of the negociations consequent thereon. I have also demanded this of the King of Sweden, and I hope that he will acknowledge the truth of all these observations on the subject of the raising of the blockade, if it be wished to avoid every thing that might yet bring on a disastrous war in the North.

I will furnish Major-General Petersen, and my aide-de-camp Capt. Holsteen, with my full powers to conclude the truce at Frederickshall, or at Swinemund; and I sincerely wish that this negociation may be happily terminated, and be only preliminary to reconciliation and amicable union.

I demand the guarantee of the allied powers for the truce, and for the propositions regarding the basis of union, to which his Swedish majesty shall please to accede.

On the subject of the King of Denmark's letter, as to which I abstain from all reflection, I shall beg of you to take charge of my reply. It will contain in few words the declarations which my present position and my honour have required my making to you, and of which you have acknowledged the weight. It will shew his majesty that it is impossible for me to follow his orders until the Diet or the fate of arms shall have decided the future condition of Norway; and for the rest I must leave it to his wisdom and his conscience whether he

judge it proper to carry into effect his threats against me and the Danish officers, which, however, would change greatly my personal situation, and the line of conduct which I have resolved to pursue.

This note being the last which I shall have to hand over to you, gentlemen, envoys from the allied courts, I seize this opportunity of begging you to be persuaded of the very particular consideration with which I subscribe myself,

Your very affectionate,

CHRISTIAN FREDERICK.

(Signed) HOLTEN.

Christiania, July 13, 1814.

Letter to the King of Sweden.

Sir and Brother,

There is nothing on earth so valuable to me as the satisfaction of a good conscience This I have never forfeited; and I still desire that my conduct may be directed as honour and as duty prescribe.

It is with these sentiments I have been induced to place myself at the head of a people, who, released from their allegiance to their king, sigh only for independence, and have tendered to me all their affections and confidence. I have sworn to defend the constitution, and shall readily lay down my life in support of their rights and independence. I have not forgotten, however, that I am likewise responsible for their happiness.

Now that all Europe has declared against Norway, against that cause which I defend with no other means than those afforded by my country, such considerations present a necessity against which it would be impossible to contend.

That I have never been misled by personal motives, I shall evince by restoring the crown into the hands of the nation who conferred it on me. I choose rather to save Norway than to reign over her: but before I consent to separate myself from a people to whom I am at present united by the most sacred ties, I am anxious to secure their happiness by a guarantee of the constitution, and other stipulations, to serve as bases to the union with Sweden. I shall assemble the Diet, and make the conditions known to the nation. I shall point out to them all the perils to which they will be exposed by a brave but fruitless perseverance in the contest. If the nation accept the conditions, I shall instantly abdicate the throne; if they reject them, my fate shall not be separated from theirs. Before, however, I convoke the Diet, I desire that two important points may be previously arranged.

First, That the bases of the union be accepted by Sweden, under the guarantee of the four powers whose envoys are present.

Secondly, That the deliberations be free and mature, and to this end that a suspension of hostilities be agreed on.

I am sensible that the advantages to result from a suspension of arms demand sacrifices on my side. These sacrifices are expressed in the *projet* of armistice which I annex. The envoys of the allied powers have contended that the Swedish troops should occupy the fortresses; but I have not been able to concede this point, both because the constitution restrains me, and because I well knew, from the character of my nation, that they would not suffer, without opposition, the entrance of Swedish troops within their frontiers. I am compelled, therefore, to prefer the misfortunes of a foreign to the horrors of a civil war. I confidently rely, however, on your wisdom, sir, in assenting to the means of avoid-

ing a war which would render the projected union inadmissible, and entail upon the Swedish nation as many calamities as on the people whom you desire to govern, and whom you cannot conciliate so effectually as by measures of mildness, by a respect for public opinion, and a relaxation of the blockade; measures which will be considered as derived from your generosity, and your regard for the welfare of this people.

My situation is painful, but my affection for the Norwegians remains the same.

If you accept the terms of the armistice, and the bases of the union, I pledge my word to employ all the influence I possess in persuading the people of Norway to submit to the union as the only means of security in their power.

Honour me, sir, with your confidence. I have deserved it, in cheerfully subscribing myself,

Your majesty's, &c.

CHRISTIAN FREDERICK.

Christiania, July 13, 1814.

Note to the Envoys of the Allied Powers.

Note B.

Although you, gentlemen, envoys of the allied powers, charged with a special mission in Norway, have declared that you are not mediators between Norway and Sweden, it is doubtless inseparable from your character to be the guarantees of such stipulations as shall be agreed to between the two kingdoms. It is with this view that I invite you to give me the assurance that you will guarantee the bases of union which the King of Sweden may accept, as well as the armistice, in all the points that may be definitively arranged for the period of its duration.

If the commissioners of the allied powers acquiesce, I am equally desirous that they should assist in settling differences of a serious nature, which may arise during the armistice; and I shall submit to their decision whether the period ought to be so far prolonged as to enable the Diet to close its deliberations without interruption.

I require of you to guarantee, so long as the armistice shall continue, the raising of the blockade by the maritime forces of England and Russia, in order that commerce and free navigation, both with regard to importation and exportation, be restored to the ports of Norway, and likewise, that permission to ship grain and other provisions for Norway be immediately given in Denmark, and in the ports of the Baltic, as well as in England, Holland, and the White Sea. If the exportation of corn from Archangel for the province of Drontheim, for Nordland and Finmark, must be limited, I require 25,000 zetverts.

I would again call your attention to the situation of the King of Denmark, as it affects this country. You will admit that the King of Denmark has done the utmost in his power to carry the treaty of Kiel into effect. The evils which he assists in imposing upon his ancient subjects, who have given to him unexampled proofs of their fidelity, exceed those limits which humanity prescribes to sovereigns. It is fit that he revoke these rigorous measures. The circumstances in which I am placed direct my conduct; the King of Denmark can have no influence on the fate of Norway. It is consequently cruel to make him answerable; and I invite you to employ your good offices with your respective sovereigns to relieve him from this obligation, and that his subjects, after so many sufferings, may have no more

numerous and foreign armies to maintain.

I require your answer to this note, gentlemen, before you quit Norway, accompanied, be assured, by the good wishes of all those who have had the opportunity of knowing you, and who have learned to esteem you as highly as does

Your's, &c.
CHRISTIAN FREDERICK.
Christiania, July 13, 1814.

Answer of the Envoys to his Highness Prince Christian Frederick.

The undersigned have received the communications which his Highness Prince Christian Frederick of Denmark has thought proper to transmit to them.

In presenting their note of the 7th ultimo, they had flattered themselves, that in entering into the views of his Highness for the convocation of the Diet, and the negociation of an armistice, they would probably succeed in removing every considerable difficulty, and obtain a confidence which might admit their propositions without restriction. Not one of the three points, however, submitted by the undersigned, has been fully accepted as part of the bases of an armistice Each has suffered modifications which, if they do not annul the general effect, at least render doubtful the concurrence of his Swedish majesty.

Without entering into any details which could only give rise to fresh discussions, they feel themselves obliged to declare, that the concessions demanded as bases of the union are not compensated by any advantages afforded by the proposed armistice.

The undersigned are therefore compelled to rest their hopes of the success of their negociation upon the generosity of the King of Sweden; and painful as it is to see all their efforts for the accomplishment of a pacific union frustrated, they are still happy to submit entirely to the conscience of his Swedish majesty the acceptance of his highness's propositions, in order thereby to furnish him with an occasion of commencing by a signal benefit the exercise of his influence over Norway.

With respect to the guarantee of the bases of union, the armistice, and of all the points that shall be definitively arranged and accepted by Sweden, the undersigned are convinced, that none of the powers of whom they are the representatives, nor even Sweden herself, will object to this act of justice. Indeed, the raising the blockade, if his Swedish majesty shall consent to it, necessarily involves the revocation of all those belligerent measures which were taken against Norway. The observations added by his highness with respect to the painful situation of Denmark, induce the undersigned to remark, that the resolution of the prince to place himself at the head of an illegitimate opposition, is the sole cause of the misfortunes of his true country, and that he might at once have spared to Denmark the suspicions of the allied powers, and to the undersigned the chagrin of stating this in an official note.

At the close of this communication, the undersigned have the honour to ask of his highness, a last proof of his frankness, in the publication of their official notes as speedily as possible. They demand this on the principle that Norway should be informed of all the dangers to which she is exposed, and of the real object of their mission.

The departure of the undersigned being irrevocably fixed for Sunday the 17th of July, they have the honour to present to his highness their homage,

and the reiterated assurances of their profound respect.

STEIGENTESCH. FORSTER.
ORLOFF. MARTENS.
Christiania, July 15, 1814.

CONVENTION

Between his Royal Highness the Prince Royal of Sweden, in the name of the King of Sweden, on the one part, and the Norwegian Government on the other part, concluded at Moss, August 14, 1814.

Art. 1. His Royal Highness Prince Christian shall, as soon as possible, convoke the States General of the kingdom of Norway, according to the mode prescribed by the existing constitution. The Diet shall be opened on the last day of September; or, if this be impracticable, within the first eight days of October.

Art. 2. His Majesty the King of Sweden shall communicate directly with the Diet by one or more commissioners whom he shall appoint.

Art. 3. His Majesty the King of Sweden promises to accept the constitution framed by the deputies of the Diet of Ewswold. His majesty will propose such changes only as are necessary to the union of the two kingdoms, and engages to make none other but in concert with the Diet.

Art. 4. The promises of his Swedish majesty, and of the Prince Royal, to the Norwegian people, shall be strictly fulfilled, and confirmed by his majesty to the Norwegian Diet.

Art. 5. The Diet shall assemble at Christiania.

Art. 6. His Majesty the King of Sweden declares, that no person shall be molested, directly or indirectly, for any opinions heretofore expressed adverse to the union of the two kingdoms. The Norwegian civil and military functionaries, or those who are foreigners, shall be treated with all regard and courtesy. None of them shall be harassed for his opinion. Those who decline continuing their services shall be pensioned according to the laws of the country.

Art. 7. His Majesty the King of Sweden shall employ his good offices with his Majesty the King of Denmark, to procure the revocation of the ordinances or edicts promulgated since January 14, 1814, against the public functionaries, and the kingdom of Norway in general.

Done at Moss, August 14, 1814.
Ratified, CHRISTIAN FREDERICK.

Proclamation of Prince Christian to the Norwegians.

Norwegians!—When upon the dissolution of your union with Denmark, we took upon ourselves the direction of the affairs of Norway, it was to prevent your beloved country from being torn to pieces by civil war and faction. Your wishes called us to the throne of Norway. We obeyed the call.—Your confidence and your good cause demanded our participation. We resolved to make every personal sacrifice in order to secure you those benefits.

It is true we were aware of the dangers which threatened your hopes and our's in such an unequal contest, but we could not possibly conceive that the most powerful states of Europe would combine to oppose a noble and innocent people, whose reasonable wish was liberty, and whose only desire was independence. Meanwhile Sweden's powerful allies informed us by their envoys, that the union of Norway with Sweden was irrevocably determined on. It is known to you that we were willing to sacrifice our personal happy situation, if the great assembly of the nation should find it conducive to the

happiness of the country; but you likewise know that the conditions upon which an armistice was at that time offered, were such as we could not accede to them, till the fortune of war had been tried, because they were contrary to the fundamental laws. We saw with regret that our sincere endeavours to avoid a war in the north were fruitless.

The extensive frontiers and sea-coast of Norway made it necessary to divide the troops. Sweden made great exertions to arm at different points, and in the uncertainty on what part of the kingdom the attack might be expected, from which we could cover the interior provinces of the kingdom, and at the same time hasten to the assistance of snch points as were threatened or attacked, in all these respects Glommen seemed to present the most advantages.

On being informed of the enemy's invasion by Ide, Sletten, and Swinesund, we hastened to collect a corps at Rackestadt, in order by an attack from that side to stop the further progress of the enemy; but the unexpected surrender of Frederickstadt obliged us to take a position on the Glommen, the enemy having obtained a secure passage, so that the road to Christiania might be forced.

The enemy being superior at sea, had it in his power by frequent landings to turn our right flank.—A long blockade by the English and Swedish naval force had hindered us from furnishing our magazines in a sufficient manner: they were nearly exhausted, and want of the first necessaries threatened to break that courage which the superior force of the enemy could not bend. The deputies from the diet were not received by the English ministry, and therefore returned without any hope of assistance or a relaxation of the inimical measures of that kingdom. Under these circumstances Sweden proposed an armistice. Of the two fortresses, the occupation of which by Swedish troops had been refused by the negociations that were broken off, one was already in their hands, and the other cut off from all relief and bombarded. The fortune of war had declared against us, and the continuation of the contest would in such circumstances have led only to the total ruin of our country. To prevent this, and to give the nation an opportunity of learning the condition of the kingdom by a meeting of the diet, we repeated our offer of voluntarily retiring from that happy situation to which your confidence had called us.

The armistice and convention of the 14th inst. were signed, and in consequence thereof, we have, by our rescript of this day, directed to the chief magistrates, caused our extraordinary diet to be summoned to meet at Christiania, on Friday, the 7th of October, this year.

Beloved people of Norway, only imperious necessity—this you cannot doubt—could have induced us to take a step which your attachment to us renders doubly painful. Our desire was to deserve your love—our comfort is the conviction of your sentiments, and the consciousness that your welfare was the object of all our actions.

Given at Moss, Aug. 16, 1814, under our hand and the seal of the kingdom.

CHRISTIAN FREDERICK.

(L. S.) VON HOLTEN.

PROCLAMATION.—HANOVER.

George, Prince Regent, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, our Father and Sovereign, George III. &c.

The principles according to which

our ancestors, for centuries, governed their states, are a sufficient guarantee to our subjects, that it has never been our intention to take advantage of the overthrow of the Germanic constitution by the restriction of their rights. Since the deliverance of the electorate, the military circumstances in which Germany found herself placed, and the continual presence of foreign troops, prevented us from forming regular deliberations with our faithful states, as the measures which it was necessary to take would not allow of the least delay, and as most of the arrangements which they dictated were necessary to be executed according to the resolutions agreed upon between the allied sovereigns. Nevertheless, we have deliberated separately with the states of the different provinces on the affairs of the country, as often as was possible. Although the state may not have a complete constitution before the issue of the Congress of Vienna, which we hope will be fortunate, and although the resolutions which may be adopted at it may have a decisive influence over the internal relation of the German provinces of his majesty, yet we have wished not to defer any longer the entering upon discussions with all the United States of our provinces relative to the different objects which concern each in particular. It is natural, as has been proved by experience, that the separation of the different provinces should render extremely difficult the concurrence of the states, on questions which relate to the general affairs of the country, and that this separation must necessarily cause a considerable loss of time. But besides, the difference of opinions has hitherto rendered it impossible to have an unanimous resolution on the part of those states, either because the representatives of each province in particular did not possess the right of deliberating on the relations of the other provinces of the country, or because it was impossible to have an absolute majority of voices, on account of the distance of the different countries from each other.

This separation has produced as many different systems for taxation, and the modes for liquidating the debts of the country, as there were different states. It was necessary to consider as separate countries particular provinces of the same country, and this has interupted, here and there, a free communication between our subjects. The change of circumstances, and the injury done to the country by its occupation by the enemy, require ameliorations in the forming of the administration. We do not propose in any manner to change the constitution, as to matters which guarantee the rights and reciprocal relations between the sovereign and the subjects. We shall in this respect retain the constitution of the states in the different provinces, with such reservations and modifications as may be deemed necessary or useful. But as the rights of the states are confined to their respective provinces, and as the authority of the sovereign extends to all the country, which ought to be governed according to uniform principles, we are convinced that our faithful subjects will regard as a benefit, and as a proof of confidence on our part, that we should decree, as we do by these presents, that henceforth all the general affairs of the country which may be brought under discussion with the states, conformably to the constitution which has subsisted to the present time, shall be submitted to an assembly of the states of all the provinces, which shall adopt on such subjects a general resolution.

As the circumstances above mentioned, and even the uncertainty as to the extent of the frontiers of the country, do not permit, at the present time,

a final determination as to the manner in which the different provinces are to concur in forming a general assembly, we decree, for the present, that the states of all the provinces which now compose the electorate, shall form themselves, by means of representatives, into a general diet, on the 15th of December next, at Hanover. We expect that these deputies appear with full powers on the part of their constituents, to vote on the subjects which shall be submitted to their deliberation, without requiring subsequent instructions. Thus these deputies will be regarded as the representatives of the whole country, and not as the delegates of particular provinces or corporations. And to the end, that the chapters, aware of the limited number of their members, may choose such persons as enjoy their perfect confidence, we permit them to elect their deputies freely, without being obliged to confine themselves in their choice to the members of their own body. The towns will have the same liberty in this respect according to their particular constitution; and they will not be compelled to elect their syndics or magistrates. We reserve to ourselves to determine in a more precise manner, when the congress at Vienna, as well as these primary states general, shall be terminated, the mode of representation, and that of the election of the president, as well as of the deputies.—For this time the deputies will choose from amongst themselves a president, a syndic general, and a secretary.

George, Prince Regent.
Carlton-House, Aug. 12, 1814.

Treaty between Denmark and Prussia.

In the name of the most holy and undivided Trinity. His majesty the King of Denmark, and his majesty the King of Prussia, equally animated with a desire of re-establishing between their respective states, peace, union, and the good understanding which have been unfortunately interrupted, have for this purpose named and authorised plenipotentiaries; namely, his majesty the King of Denmark, the Sieur Christian Henry Augustus Count of Hardenberg Reventlau; and his majesty the King of Prussia, the Prince of Hardenberg; who, after having exchanged their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:—

I. There shall be in future peace, friendship, and good understanding between his majesty the King of Denmark, and his majesty the King of Prussia. The two high contracting parties shall employ the utmost attention to maintain a perfect harmony between their respective states and subjects, and shall carefully avoid every thing which may disturb the union so happily re-established.

II. All the relations which existed between Denmark and Prussia, and their respective subjects, shall be re-established from the day of the date of the present treaty on the same footing as before the last war.

III. In order to extend the commercial relations between the two countries, their majesties shall immediately conclude a treaty of commerce, founded on bases reciprocally advantageous.

IV. The high contracting parties confirm all the articles of the provisional convention, signed at Paris on the 2d of June, and particularly those which declare, that the claims which their respective subjects may have, either against the Danish government, or against the Prussian government, shall be examined and settled by a mixed commission, which shall assemble for that purpose at Copenhagen,

immediately after the ratification of the present treaty.

V. His majesty the King of Denmark having ceded Norway to Sweden, his majesty the King of Prussia shall employ conjointly with Sweden, Russia, and England, his good offices to procure to his majesty the King of Denmark a suitable indemnity, in addition to Pomerania, which has been ceded to him by Sweden.

VI. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged in the space of six weeks from the day of its date, or sooner if possible. In testimony whereof, we the undersigned, in virtue of our full powers, have signed the present treaty, and have affixed to it the seal of our arms.

Done at Berlin, this 25th of August, 1814.

(Signed)
CHARLES AUGUSTUS, Prince of HARDENBERG.
C. H. A. Count of HARDENBERG-REVENTLAU.

Act of the Acceptation of the Treaty of Alliance, concluded between the Cantons of the Swiss Confederation.

Whereas the deputies of the sovereign states of Switzerland, invested with full and sufficient authority to announce the will of their constituents on the new plan of a treaty of alliance, dated the 16th of August, 1814, as also on the convention concluded on the same day, terminated the objects of their mission, in the sitting of the 6th of September, and having endeavoured, in various private conferences, to remove the difficulties which stood in the way of an absolute union, have attained this day, the 8th of September, an object so important to the safety and welfare of the country at large:

The diet has in consequence decreed—

The treaty of alliance between the 19 cantons of Switzerland, of which the following is the tenour and effect, shall be signed and sealed as a true federal convention, in the forms heretofore used for the acts of the diet.

Federal Compact.

1. The nineteen sovereign cantons of Switzerland, viz. Zurich, Bern, Lucern, Uri, Schweitz, Glaris, Unterwalden, Zug, Friburg, Soleure, Basle, Schaffhausen, Appenzel, St Gall, Grisons, Argovia, Turgovia, Tessin, and Vaud, are united by the present treaty, for the preservation of their liberty and independence, and for their common safety against any attack from foreign powers, as well as for the maintenance of order and public tranquillity in the interior. They reciprocally guarantee their constitutions, such as they have been accepted by the chief authorities of each canton, in conformity to the principles of the treaty of alliance. They reciprocally guarantee their territory.

2. For the maintenance of this guarantee, and the neutrality of Switzerland, there shall be raised among the men of each canton, fit to bear arms, a contingent upon the calculation of two in each hundred. The troops shall be furnished by the cantons as follows:—Berne, 4184; Zurich, 3858; Vaud, 2964; St Gall, 2630; Argovia, 2416; Grisons, 2000; Tessin, 1084; Lucerne, 1784; Turgovia, 1670; Friburg, 1240; Appenzel, 972; Soleure, 904; Basle, 816; Schweitz, 602; Glaris, 482; Schaffhausen, 466; Unterwalden, 282; Zug, 250; Uri, 236;—making a total of 30,006 men.

This proportion is fixed for one year, and shall be revised by the diet in 1815, in order to its being corrected.

3. The cantons, in order to furnish

the means for defraying the expenses of war and of the confederation, shall contribute in the following proportions :—Bern, 91,695 francs ; Zurich, 77,153 ; Vaud, 59,273 ; St Gall, 39,481 ; Argovia, 52,212 ; Grisons, 12,000 ; Tessin, 18,039 ; Lucerne, 26,016 ; Turgovia, 25,052 ; Friburg, 13,591 ; Appenzel, 9728 ; Soleure, 13,097 ; Basle, 20,450 ; Schweitz, 3012 ; Glaris, 4823 ; Schaffhausen, 9327 ; Unterwalden, 1907 ; Zug, 149 ; Uri, 1184 ;—making a total of 490,507 francs.

These contributions are in like manner to continue in force for one year, and the diet shall decide anew, in 1815, on this subject, and on the appeals which each canton may find it expedient to make on the subject. A similar revision shall take place every twenty years, as well for the adjustment of the contributions as for the contingents of men.

In order to meet the expenses of war, there shall be established besides, a federal war treasury, the funds of which shall accumulate until they amount to a double contingent in money. This military chest shall be exclusively applied to defray the expenses arising from the movements of federal troops ; and, in case of emergency, one moiety of the charge shall be defrayed by the produce of a contingent in money according to the scale, and the other moiety paid out of the military chest.

To supply this military chest, duties shall be imposed on all foreign goods introduced, not being articles of the first necessity : these duties to be levied by the frontier cantons, which will make returns to the diet, according to the tariff and regulation to be fixed by the diet, which will also take care of the appropriation of the money.

4. In case of danger, external or internal, each canton is entitled to claim the aid of the confederates. When disturbances arise in any canton, notice must be sent to the chief place ; and if the danger continues, the diet, on the invitation of the government of the canton, shall take the necessary measures

5. All differences or claims between canton and canton, not provided for by the treaty of alliance, shall be decided by the confederation.

6. There must not be concluded between separate cantons any alliance unfavourable to the general confederation, or to the rights of other cantons. All recourse to arms in disputes between canton and canton is prohibited.

7. The confederation does homage to the principle, according to which, having recognised the nineteen cantons, there is no longer any subject in Switzerland ; and thus the enjoyment of rights cannot any longer be the exclusive privilege of any particular class of the citizens of a canton.

8. The diet, according to the provisions of the treaty of alliance, takes care of the affairs of the confederation, confided to it by the sovereign states. The diet is to consist of nineteen deputies, one from each canton, who shall vote according to their instructions ; each canton to have a voice by its deputy.

The diet declares war, concludes peace, makes alliances with foreign states ; but in these important matters two-thirds of the voices are required to determine—in all others an absolute majority. The diet is also to decide on treaties of commerce.

Treaties to furnish soldiers, or other minor engagements with foreign powers, may be contracted by the cantons severally, but without infringing the general confederation. All envoys from the confederation to be named by the diet.

Done at Zurich, the 8th September, 1814. In the name of the diet—its president, burgo-master of the canton of Zurich.

REINHART.
MOUSSON.

The Chancellor of the
Confederation.

Proclamation.

Hanover, Oct. 26.

We, George Prince Regent, in the name and on the behalf of our Father, his Majesty George the Third, by the grace of God King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King of Hanover, Duke of Brunswick and Luneburg, &c.

To all our subjects, prelates, knights, gentry, &c. greeting,—

Whereas, it was decided in the treaty of Paris, by the chief powers of Europe, and with our assent, not to restore the form of the ancient constitution of the German empire, but to establish in its place a confederation of all the independent German states, which should fulfil the object of securing the common country against foreign enemies, and against the abuses of arbitrary power in the interior; therefore, the abolishing of an elective head of the empire makes the electoral title hitherto borne by our royal house unsuitable to the new order of things. In choosing a title in place of that of Elector, we have considered that the Electors of the holy Roman Empire were in law considered equal to Kings, and that they enjoyed royal honours; that not only all the remaining ancient electoral houses, but also one of the new ones, which was inferior in rank to our's, have assumed the royal dignity; lastly, that we can be the less disposed in our German relations to abate of the splendour of our royal house, as it has filled for above a century one of the greatest thrones in the world, and has by this connection afforded manifold protection and support to Germany;—Considering all these circumstances, we have therefore resolved, imploring thereto the Divine blessing, to erect our German states into a kingdom, and to assume for them the title of King of Hanover. This step, previously approved by many powers, having been on the 12th of October communicated in a note, by our cabinet minister, Count Munster, our first plenipotentiary at the congress at Vienna, to the chief courts of Europe, we hereby command all our faithful subjects and public authorities, to employ in future in all acts, &c. instead of the old title, that of King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King of Hanover, Duke of Brunswick and Luneburg, &c.

Given at Carlton-house, this 26th day of October, 1814, in the 55th year of the reign of his Majesty, our Father.

Note by his Excellency Prince Repnin to the Saxon Authorities.

An official letter of the Minister of State Baron de Stein, dated October 21, informs me of a convention concluded on the 28th of September, at Vienna, in virtue of which his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, in concert with Austria and England, shall put into the hands of his Majesty the King of Prussia the administration of the kingdom of Saxony. I have received orders to consign the government of this country to persons provided with proper powers by his Majesty the King of Prussia, who shall present themselves; and to relieve the Russian imperial troops by the Prussian troops,

in order thus to operate the union of Saxony with Prussia, which will soon take place in a manner more formal and solemn, in order to establish fraternity between the two kingdoms.

This union is already of itself the guarantee of great and incontestable advantages for the two kingdoms, and for all Germany; but the benevolence and care of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, and the well-known humanity and goodness of his Majesty the King of Prussia, will yet more increase those happy results.

After certain preliminary deliberations, the object of which is the well-being of the whole and of the parts which compose the union, their majesties have, to wit, King Frederick William, in quality of future sovereign of the country, declared, that he has not the intention of incorporating Saxony to his estates as a province, but to unite it to Prussia under the title of the Kingdom of Saxony, to preserve it for ever in its integrity, to leave it in the enjoyment of those rights, privileges, and advantages, which the constitution of Germany shall secure to those of the kingdoms of Germany which make a part of the Prussian monarchy, and to change nothing in its present constitution; and his Majesty the Emperor Alexander has testified the private satisfaction which that declaration has caused him.

Treaty of Peace between his Majesty the King of Denmark and his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, concluded at Hanover on the 8th of February, and ratified at Vienna on the 16th of November, 1814.

In the name of the Holy Trinity, his Majesty the King of Denmark, and his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, equally animated by a wish to terminate the differences which for a short time have subsisted between them, and to restore on firm foundations that union and good understanding which so long prevailed between their respective states, have for that purpose named and authorised as plenipotentiaries, viz. his Majesty the King of Denmark, Mr Edmund Bourke, his chamberlain, &c. and his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, Baron Peter Suchtelen, general of engineers, &c. who, having exchanged their full powers, and found them in good and proper order, have agreed upon the following articles:—

Art. I. There shall be henceforward peace, friendship, and good understanding between his Majesty the King of Denmark and his Majesty the Emperor of Russia. Both the high contracting powers will pay the greatest attention to the maintaining of complete harmony between their respective states and subjects, and will carefully avoid every thing that might interrupt the harmony so happily restored.

II. The political relations, as well as the old treaties, which existed between the two powers before the war, that for a moment broke off their operation, are again restored to full effect by the present treaty, in so far as they do not militate against treaties which have recently been concluded between the Emperor of Russia and other sovereigns of the north.

III. The relations of navigation and commerce are again restored between the two states, the same as they existed before the war. They shall be subject to the same regulations, and enjoy the same advantages, as before the breaking out of the war.

IV. The sequestration laid on the property of both sovereigns, and of their respective subjects, as well as

the embargo laid on the shipping of both nations in the various ports of Russia and Denmark at the time when war was declared, shall be removed as soon as the present treaty is ratified.

V. The two high contracting parties formally bind themselves to conclude no separate peace with the common enemy.

Decree for re-establishing the Inquisition.

Madrid, July 25.—The king has just issued the following decree:—

The glorious title of *Catholic*, which distinguishes us from among all other Christian princes, is owing to the perseverance of the kings of Spain, who would never tolerate in their states any other religion than the catholic, apostolic, and Roman. This title imposes upon me the duty to render myself worthy of it by all the means which Heaven has placed within my power. The late troubles, and the war which has desolated during six years every province in the kingdom; the long abode which has been made in Spain by troops of different sects, almost all of whom were infected with sentiments of hatred towards our religion; the disorder which has been the infallible result of this; and the inattention with which the affairs of our holy religion have been treated during this unfortunate period; all these circumstances united have laid the field open to wicked persons, who have never experienced any check; dangerous opinions have been introduced, and have taken root in our states by the same means as they are spread in other countries. Wishing then to remedy so grievous an evil, and to preserve among my subjects the holy religion of Jesus Christ, which they have always revered, and in which they have lived, and always wish to live, either on account of the personal obligation of having no other imposed on the princes who reign over them by the fundamental laws, which I have promised and sworn to observe, or because this religion is the most certain means of sparing my people from intestine dissensions, and ensuring to them that tranquillity of which they stand in need, I have judged it necessary, under the present circumstances, that the tribunal of the holy office should resume its jurisdiction. Upon this subject, learned and virtuous prelates, many respectable corporations and grave personages, ecclesiastics and seculars, have represented to me that Spain is indebted to this tribunal for the good fortune of not having fallen, in the 16th century, into errors which have caused so many misfortunes among other nations; and that on the contrary, at that period, the sciences were here cultivated with distinction, and Spain produced a multitude of great men distinguished by their knowledge and their piety. It has further been represented to me, that the oppressor of Europe has not neglected to employ, as an efficacious method of introducing the corruption and discord which supported so well his projects, the suppression of this tribunal, under the vain pretext that it could exist no longer in consequence of the enlightened state of the present age, and that the pretended cortes, general and extraordinary, under the same pretext, and under the favour of the constitution, which they tumultuously decreed, abolished also the holy office, to the regret of the whole nation. For these causes, I have been earnestly supplicated to re-establish it in the exercise of its functions; and yielding to considerations so just, and to the wish manifested by my people, whose zeal for the religion of our an-

cestors has anticipated my orders, by hastening to recal spontaneously the subaltern inquisitors of some provinces, I have, therefore, resolved, that from this moment the supreme council of the Inquisition, and the other tribunals of the holy office, shall resume their authorities conformable to the concessions which have been made to them by the sovereign pontiffs, at the instance of my august predecessors, and by the prelates of the dioceses, and by the kings who have assured to them the full exercise thereof, observing in this double jurisdiction, ecclesiastical and civil, the ordonnances which were in force in the year 1808, and the laws which have, on different occasions, been made for obviating certain abuses. But, as independent of these ancient laws it may be proper to add new ones on this subject, and my intention being to perfect that establishment in such manner as to render it eminently useful to my subjects, it is my desire that, as soon as the said supreme council of the Inquisition shall be assembled, two of the members who compose it, joined to two of the members of the council of Castile, both appointed by me, shall examine the forms and mode of proceeding of the holy office, in its processes, and with respect to the censure and prohibition of books; and if they find that the interests of my subjects, or the claims of sound justice, require any reform or change, they will make a report to me, supported by their observations, in order that I may take the necessary resolutions.

July 21, 1814. I, THE KING.

[This decree is countersigned by his Excellency Don Pedro Macanaz, whose grandfather passed the greater part of his life in prison, at the commencement of the last century, and died in exile for having written against the Inquisition.]

AMERICA.

By the President of the United States of America.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas the enemy, by a sudden incursion, have succeeded in invading the capital of the nation, defended at the moment by troops less numerous than their own, and almost entirely of the militia; during their possession of which, though for a single day only, they wantonly destroyed the public edifices having no relation in their structure to operations of war, nor used at the time for military annoyance; some of these edifices being also costly monuments of taste and of the arts, and others repositories of the public archives, not only precious to the nation as the memorials of its origin and its early transactions, but interesting to all nations, as contributions to the general stock of historical instruction and political science. And whereas advantage has been taken of the loss of a fort, more immediately guarding the neighbouring town of Alexandria, to place the town within the reach of a naval force, too long and too much in the habit of abusing its superiority wherever it can be applied, to require, as the alternative of a general conflagration, an undisturbed plunder of private property, which has been executed in a manner peculiarly distressing to the inhabitants, who had inconsiderately cast themselves upon the justice and generosity of the victor. And whereas it now appears, by a direct communication from the British commander on the American station, to be his avowed purpose to employ the force under his direction, "in destroying and laying waste such

towns and districts upon the coast as may be found assailable;" adding to this declaration the insulting pretext that it is in retaliation for a wanton destruction committed by the army of the United States in Upper Canada, when it is notorious that no destruction has been committed, which, notwithstanding the multiplied outrages previously committed by the enemy, was not unauthorised, and promptly shown to be so; and that the United States have been as constant in their endeavours to reclaim the enemy from such outrages, by the contrast of their own example, as they have been ready to terminate, on reasonable conditions, the war itself. And whereas these proceedings and declared purposes, which exhibit a deliberate disregard of the principles of humanity and the rules of civilized warfare, and which must give to the existing war a character of extended devastation and barbarism, at the very moment of negociations for peace, invited by the enemy himself, leave no prospect of safety to any thing within the reach of his predatory and incendiary operations, but in manful and universal determination to chastise and expel the invader: Now, therefore, I, James Madison, president of the United States, do issue this my proclamation, exhorting all the good people thereof to unite their hearts and hands in giving effect to the ample means possessed for that purpose. I enjoin it on all officers, civil and military, to exert themselves in executing the duties with which they are respectively charged. And more especially, I require the officers commanding the respective military districts to be vigilant and alert in providing for the defence thereof; for the more effectual accomplishment of which they are authorized to call to the defence of exposed and threatened places portions of the militia most convenient thereto, whether they be or be not parts of the quotas detached for the service of the United States under requisitions of the general government. On an occasion which appeals so forcibly to the proud feelings and patriotic devotion of the American people, none will forget what they owe to themselves, what they owe to their country and the high destinies which await it; what to the glory acquired by their fathers, in establishing the independence which is now to be maintained by their sons, with the augmented strength and resources with which time and Heaven have blessed them.—In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be fixed to these presents.

Done at the city of Washington, the first day of September, in the year of our Lord 1814, and of the independence of the United States the 39th.

JAMES MADISON.

By the President,
JAS. MONROE, Sec. of State.

Washington, Sept. 20.—A quorum being present, the president transmitted by his secretary the following

MESSAGE.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives,—Notwithstanding the early day which had been fixed for your session of the present year, I was induced to call you together still sooner, as well that any inadequacy in the existing provisions for the wants of the treasury might be supplied, as that no delay might happen in providing for the result of the negociation on foot with Great Britain, whether it should require arrangements adapted to a return of peace, or further and more effective provisions for prosecuting the war.

The result is not yet known: if on one hand the repeal of the orders in council, and the general pacification of Europe, which withdrew the occasion on which impressments from American vessels were practised, suggest expectations that peace and amity may be established, we are compelled on the other hand, by the refusal of the British government to accept the offered mediation of the Emperor of Russia, by the delays in giving effect to its own proposals of a direct negociation, and, above all, by the principles and manner in which the war is now avowedly carried on, to infer that a strict hostility is indulged more violent than ever against the rights and prosperity of this country. This increased violence is best explained by two important circumstances, that the great contest in Europe for an equilibrium, guaranteeing all its states against the ambition of any, has been closed without any check on the overbearing power of Great Britain on the ocean, and that it has left in her hands disposable armoury, with which, forgetting the difficulties of a remote war against a free people, and yielding to the intoxication of success with the example of a great victim to it before her eyes, she cherishes hopes of still further aggrandising a power already formidable in its abuses to the tranquillity of the civilized and commercial world. But whatever may have inspired the enemy with these more violent purposes, the public councils of a nation, more able to maintain than it was to acquire its independence, and with a devotion to it rendered more ardent by the experience of its blessings, can never deliberate but on the means most effectual for defeating the extravagant measures of unwarrantable passion, with which alone the war can now be pursued against us. In the events of the present campaign, with all its augmented means and wanton use of them, he has little ground for exultation, unless he can feel it in the success of his recent enterprise against this metropolis and the neighbouring town of Alexandria, from both of which his retreats were as precipitate as his attempts were bold and fortunate. In his other incursions on our Atlantic frontier, his progress, often checked and chastised by the martial spirit of the neighbouring citizens, has had more effect in distressing individuals and in dishonouring his arms, than in promoting any object of legitimate warfare. And in the two instances mentioned, however deeply to be regretted on our part, in his transient success, which interrupted for a moment only the ordinary public business at the seat of government, no compensation can accrue for the loss of character with the world, by his violation of private property, and his destruction of public edifices, protected as monuments of the arts by the laws of civilized warfare. On our side we can appeal to a series of achievements which have given new lustre to the American arms. Besides the brilliant incidents in the minor operations of the campaign, the splendid victories gained on the Canadian side of the Niagara by the American forces under Major-General Brown, and Brigadiers Scott and Gaines, have gained for these heroes and their emulated companions the most unfading laurels; and having triumphantly proved the progressive discipline of the American soldiery, have taught the enemy that the longer he protracts his hostile efforts, the more certain and decisive will be his final discomfiture. On the southern border victory has continued also to follow the American standard. The bold and skilful operations of Major-General Jackson, conducting troops drawn from the militia of the states least distant, particularly of Tenesee, have subdued the principal

tribes of hostile savages; and by establishing a peace with them, preceded by recent and exemplary chastisement, we have guarded against the mischief of their co-operations with the British enterprises which may be planned against this quarter of our country. Important tribes of Indians on our north-western frontier have also acceded to stipulations which bind them to the interest of the United States, and to consider our enemy as theirs also.

In the recent attempts of the enemy on Baltimore, defended by militia and volunteers, aided by a small body of regulars and seamen, he was received with a spirit which produced a rapid retreat to the ships, whilst a concurrent attack by a large fleet was successfully resisted by the steady and well-directed fire of the fort and batteries opposed to it. In another recent attack by a powerful force on our troops at Plattsburg, of which regulars made a part only, the enemy, after a perseverance for many hours, was finally compelled to seek safety in a hasty retreat, our gallant bands pressing upon him. On the lakes, so much contested throughout the war, the great exertions for the command made on our part have been well repaid on Lake Ontario. Our squadron is now and has been for some time in a condition to confine that of the enemy to his own port, and to favour the operations of our land forces on that frontier. On Lake Champlain, where our superiority had for some time been undisputed, the British squadron lately came into action with the American, commanded by Captain Macdonough: it issued in the capture of the whole of the enemy's ships. The best praise of this officer and his intrepid comrades is in the likeness of his triumph to the illustrious victory which immortalized another officer, and established, at a critical moment, our command of another lake. On the ocean, the pride of our naval arms has been amply supported: a second frigate has indeed fallen into the hands of the enemy, but the loss is hidden in the blaze of heroism with which she was defended. Captain Porter, who commanded her, and whose previous career had been distinguished by daring enterprise and by fertility of genius, maintained a sanguinary contest against two ships, one of them superior to his own, and other severe disadvantages, till humanity tore down the colours which valour had nailed to the mast. This officer and his comrades have added much to the glory of the American flag, and have merited all the effusions of gratitude which their country is ever ready to bestow on the champions of its rights and of its safety.

Two smaller vessels of war have also become prizes to the enemy, but by superiority of force, which sufficiently vindicates the reputation of their commanders; whilst two others, one commanded by Captain Warrington, the other by Captain Blakely, have captured British ships of the same class with a gallantry and good conduct which entitled them and their commanders to a just share in the praise of their country.

In spite of the naval forces of the enemy accumulated on our coasts, our private cruisers also have not ceased to annoy his commerce, and to bring their rich prizes into our ports; contributing thus, with other proofs, to demonstrate the incompetency and the illegality of a blockade, the proclamation of which has been made the pretext for vexing and discouraging the commerce of neutral powers with the United States.

To meet the extended and diversified warfare adopted by the enemy,

great bodies of militia have been taken into the service of the public defence, and great expenses incurred. That the defence every where may be both more convenient and more economical, congress will see the necessity of immediate measures of filling the ranks of the regular army, and enlarging the provisions for special corps, mounted and dismounted, to be engaged for a longer period of service than are due from the militia. I earnestly renew at the same time a recommendation of such changes in the system of the militia, as, by classing and disciplining on the most prompt and active service the portion most capable of it, will give to that resource for the public safety all the requisite energy and efficiency.

A part of the squadron on Lake Erie has been extended to Lake Huron, and has produced the advantage of displaying our command of that lake also. One object of the expedition was the reduction of Mackinan, which failed, with the loss of a few brave men, among whom was an officer distinguished for his gallant exploits; and the expedition, ably conducted by both land and naval commanders, was otherwise valuable in its effects.

The monies received into the treasury during the nine months ending the 13th of June last amounted to thirty-two millions of dollars, of which eleven millions were the proceeds of the public revenue, and the remainder derived from loans. The disbursements for public expenditures during the same period exceed thirty-four millions of dollars, and left in the treasury on the 1st of July near five millions of dollars.

The demands during the remainder of the present year already authorised by congress, and the expenses incident to an extension of the operations of the war, will render it necessary that large sums should be provided to meet them. From this view of the national affairs, congress will be urged to take up without delay, as well the subject of pecuniary supplies, as that of military force, and on a scale commensurate with the extent and character which the war has assumed.

It is not to be disguised that the situation of our country calls for its greatest efforts: our enemy is powerful in men and money, on the land and on the water; availing himself of fortunate circumstances, he is aiming with an undivided force a deadly blow at our growing prosperity, perhaps at our national existence. He has avowed his purpose of trampling on the usages of civilized warfare, and given earnest of it in the plunder and wanton destruction of private property.

In the pride of maritime dominion, and in his thirst of commercial monopoly, he strikes with peculiar animosity at the progress of our navigation and manufactures: his barbarous policy has not even spared those monuments of taste with which our country had enriched and embellished our infant metropolis. From such an adversary, hostility in its greatest force and worst forms may be looked for.—The American people will face it with the undaunted spirit, which, in their revolutionary war, defeated his unrighteous projects; his threats and his barbarities, instead of dismay, will kindle in every bosom an indignation not to be extinguished but in the disaster and expulsion of such cruel invaders. In providing the means necessary, the national legislator will not distrust the enlightened patriotism of his constituents. They will cheerfully and proudly bear every burthen of every kind which the safety and honour of the nation demands.

We have seen them every-where give their taxes, direct and indirect, with the greatest promptness and alacrity: we have seen them rushing with enthusiasm to scenes where danger and duty call; and, offering their blood, they give their surest pledge that no other tribute will be withheld.

Having forborne to declare war until to other aggressions had been added the capture of nearly 1000 American vessels, and the impressment of thousands of seafaring citizens, and until a final declaration had been made by the government of Great Britain, that her hostile orders against our commerce would not be revoked but on conditions as impossible as unjust, whilst it was known that these orders would not otherwise cease but with a war which had lasted nearly twenty years, and which, according to appearances at that time, might last as many more—having manifested on every occasion, and in every proper mode, a sincere desire to meet the enemy on the ground of justice, our resolution to defend our beloved country, and to oppose to the enemy's persevering hostility all our energy, with an undiminished disposition towards peace and friendship on honourable terms, must carry with it the good wishes of the impartial world, and the best hopes of support from an omnipotent and kind Providence.

JAMES MADISON.

Saxony.—Declaration.

Frederick Augustus, by the grace of God, King of Saxony, Duke of Warsaw, &c.

We have just learned with lively feelings of grief that our kingdom of Saxony has been provisionally occupied by the troops of his Prussian majesty.—Firmly resolved never to separate our fate from that of our people; filled with confidence in the justice and magnanimity of the allied sovereigns, and intending to join their alliance as soon as we had the means of doing so, we determined, after the battle of Leipsic, there to await the conquerors. But the sovereigns refused to hear us. We were compelled to depart from our states, and proceed to Berlin. His Majesty the Emperor of Russia nevertheless made known to us, that our removal from Saxony was dictated only by military interests, and his majesty at the same time invited us to repose in him entire confidence. We also received from their Majesties the Emperor of Austria, and the King of Prussia, affecting proofs of interest and sensibility. We were in consequence enabled to cherish the hope, that as soon as these military considerations ceased to operate, we should be reinstated in our rights and restored to our dear subjects. . . . . . . Far, however, from crediting the reports circulated with regard to the fate of our states since the epoch of the peace of Paris, we place entire confidence in the justice of the allied monarchs, though it be impossible to penetrate the motives of the proceedings which they have pursued towards us. The conservation and consolidation of legitimate dynasties was the grand object of the war which has been so happily terminated: the coalesced powers accordingly repeatedly proclaimed in the most solemn manner, that, far removed from every plan of conquest and aggrandisement, they had only in view the restoration of the rights and liberties of Europe. Saxony, in particular, received the most positive assurances, that her integrity would be maintained. That integrity essentially includes the conservation of the dynasty for

which the nation has publicly manifested its constant attachment, and the unanimous wish to be re-united to its sovereign. . . . The inviolability of our rights and of those of our house to the well and justly-acquired inheritance of our ancestors, is acknowledged. Our speedy reinstatement ought to be the consequence thereof. We should be wanting to the most sacred duties towards our royal house, and towards our people, were we to remain silent under the new measures projected against our states at a moment when we are entitled to expect their restitution. The intention manifested by the court of Prussia, of provisionally occupying our Saxon states, compels us to forearm our well-founded rights against such a step, and solemnly to protest against the consequences which may be drawn from such a measure.—It is before the congress at Vienna, and in the face of all Europe, that we discharge this duty, by signing these presents with our hand, and at the same time publicly reiterating the declaration, communicated some time ago to the allied courts, that we will never consent to the cession of the states inherited from our ancestors, and that we will never accept any indemnity or equivalent that may be offered to us.

FREDERICK AUGUSTUS.

Given at Frederickfield,
Nov. 4, 1814.

Proclamation.

We, Charles, by the grace of God, King of Sweden, Norway, of the Goths and Vandals, &c.

To all our subjects inhabiting the kingdom of Norway!

We now perform a duty dear to our heart, in acquainting you that the national diet of the kingdom of Norway having on the 4th instant unanimously acknowledged and elected us constitutional King of Norway, we yesterday, by the hands of our well-beloved son, Charles John, Crown Prince of Sweden and Norway, and generalissimo of the sea and land forces of both kingdoms, deposited with the diet our oath to govern the kingdom of Norway according to its constitution and laws, and received the oath of the diet to us and to the constitution. The great object of our wishes is thus accomplished, and the last seal is affixed to the union of the two nations of the Scandinavian peninsula. Norwegians! henceforward you have sacred claims on our heart and on our paternal solicitude. Your fidelity and attachment will be the return for the new duties which we have to fulfil towards you, and the most satisfactory reward which a good king can desire.—The fundamental law which your representatives have adopted in concert with our commissioners, and which we have solemnly received and approved, will serve as a guarantee both of your rights and your future prosperity. Bear in mind that these valuable blessings are only to be preserved by respect for religion and social order, and that the sanctity of rights always rests on the faithful performance of the duties thereto attached.—We are aware of the difficulties which we have to surmount; but we entertain the consoling hope, that, seconded by the intelligence and energy of patriot-citizens, we shall be enabled successively to efface the remembrance and the effects of a long and disastrous war. It is by encouraging agriculture, by giving to commerce uninterrupted activity, that the public welfare will gradually resume new strength. The union between Sweden and Norway collecting in one mass the hitherto divided powers of the two kingdoms,

furnishes the most powerful motive and the surest means for maintaining peace. The nations of the Scandinavian peninsula have within themselves strength to defend their independence and their laws. Beyond its limits they have no real advantage to expect.—May Providence bless our paternal efforts for your happiness! Union of heart and of resolution, obedience to the laws, energy against oppression,—such are the surest foundations of the existence of states: it is by them that the north, amidst all future vicissitudes, will maintain its name, its liberty and glory, defended by the sea and its mountains, and by the courage of its sons.—By the authority of my most gracious sovereign and lord,

CHARLES JOHN.
FISCHER.

Christiania, Nov. 11, 1814.

PUBLIC ACTS OF THE YEAR.

1. An act to enable his majesty to accept the services of a proportion of the militia out of the united kingdom, for the vigorous prosecution of the war.

2. An act for continuing to his majesty certain duties on malt, sugar, tobacco, and snuff, in Great Britain; and on pensions, offices, and personal estates, in England; for the service of the year 1814.

3. An act for raising the sum of 22,000,000l. by way of annuities.

4. An act to continue, until six weeks after the commencement of the next session of parliament, an act, passed in the last session of parliament, intituled an act to continue and amend an act of the present session, to prevent the issuing and circulating of pieces of gold and silver, or other metal, usually called tokens, except such as are issued by the banks of England and Ireland respectively.

5. An act to indemnify such persons in the united kingdom as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments, and for extending the times limited for those purposes respectively, until the 25th day of March, 1815; and to permit such persons in Great Britain as have omitted to make and file affidavits of the execution of indentures of clerks to attornies and solicitors, to make and file the same, on or before the first day of Hilary term, 1815.

6. An act to stay, until the 20th day of April, 1814, proceeding in actions, under an act, passed in the 43d year of his present majesty, to amend the laws relating to spiritual persons.

7. An act to continue, until the 25th day of March, 1815, and amend an act for regulating the drawbacks and bounties on the exportation of sugar from Ireland.

8. An act to provide for the charge of the addition to the public funded debt of Great Britain, for the service of the year 1814.

9. An act for fixing the commencement and termination of licences, to be granted for the distillation of spirits from corn or grain in Scotland.

10. An act to amend an act, passed in the 51st year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled an act to permit the interchange of the British and Irish militias respectively.

11. An act for extending the provisions of an act, passed in the 46th year of his present majesty (for making better provision for soldiers) to serjeants of the militia.

12. An act to enable his majesty to

augment the 60th regiment to ten battalions, by enlistment of foreigners.

13. An act for giving effect to certain engagements of his majesty with the Emperor of all the Russias and the King of Prussia, for furnishing a part of the pecuniary succours for assisting his majesty's said allies, in supporting the expenses of the war with France.

14. An act to provide that property vested in the accountant-general of the high court of Chancery as such, shall, upon his death, removal, or resignation, vest, from time to time, in those who shall succeed to the office.

15. An act for the more easy recovery of debts in his majesty's colony of New South Wales.

16. An act to explain an act of the 41st year of his present majesty, for declaring what persons shall be disabled from sitting and voting in the House of Commons of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

17. An act to enable his majesty to accept the services of a proportion of the militia of the city of London, out of the united kingdom, for the vigorous prosecution of the war.

18. An act for raising the sum of 10,500,000l. by exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1814.

19. An act to enable his majesty to accept the services of the local militia, out of their counties, under certain restrictions, and until the 25th day of March, 1815.

20. An act to explain and amend an act, passed in the present session of parliament, for enabling his majesty to accept the services of a proportion of the militia out of the united kingdom, for the vigorous prosecution of the war; and to extend the provisions thereof to the regiment of miners of Cornwall and Devon.

21. An act for charging an equalizing duty on Scotch salt brought to England.

22. An act to continue, until the 25th day of March, 1815, an act of the 52d year of his present majesty, for the more effectual preservation of the peace, by enforcing the duties of watching and warding.

23. An act to amend an act of the 53d year of his majesty's reign, intituled an act for the relief of insolvent debtors in England.

24. An act for further continuing, until the 25th day of March, 1815, certain bounties and drawbacks on the exportation of sugar from Great Britain; and for suspending the countervailing duties and bounties on sugar, when the duties imposed by an act of the 49th year of his present majesty shall be suspended.

25. An act for punishing mutiny and desertion; and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

26. An act for repealing the duties of customs on madder imported into Great Britain; and for granting other duties in lieu thereof; to continue in force until the 5th day of January, 1817.

27. An act to rectify a mistake in an act of the present session of parliament, for repealing the duties of customs on madder imported into Great Britain, and for granting other duties in lieu thereof.

28. An act for the relief of certain insolvent debtors in England.

29. An act to charge an additional duty of customs on brandy, imported into Great Britain for the purpose of exportation, and which shall be taken out of warehouse for home consumption, before the 31st day of March, 1814.

30. An act to continue until the 25th day of March, 1815, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament, several laws re-

lating to the transportation of felons and other offenders, and to the authorizing the removal of offenders to temporary places of confinement in England and Scotland.

31. An act for the regulating of his majesty's royal marine forces while on shore.

32. An act to amend the several acts for preventing illicit distillation of spirits in Ireland.

33. An act to continue, until the 25th day of March, 1815, an act, made in the parliament of Ireland, in the 27th year of his present majesty, for the better execution of the law and preservation of the peace within counties at large, as amended by an act of the 36th of his majesty.

34. An act for the further regulation of the trade to and from the places within the limits of the charter of the East India company.

35. An act to extend the period for allowing importations from, and exportations within the limits of the charter of the East India company, in ships not British built, until the 1st day of January, 1815.

36. An act to repeal the duties of customs payable on goods, wares, and merchandize, imported into Great Britain from any port or place within the limits of the charter granted to the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies; and to grant other duties in lieu thereof; and to establish further regulations for the better security of the revenue on goods so imported; and to alter the periods of making up and presenting certain accounts of the said company to parliament; to continue in force until the 10th day of April, 1819.

37. An act for repealing an act made in the 51st year of his present majesty, for the more effectual administration of the office of a justice of the peace, in such parts of the counties of Middlesex and Surry as lie in and near the metropolis; and for making other provisions in lieu thereof; to continue in force until the 1st day of June, 1820, and from thence until the expiration of six weeks from the commencement of the then next session of parliament.

38. An act for allowing a certain proportion of the London militia to enlist into the regular forces for the vigorous prosecution of the war; also, a certain proportion to enlist annually into the regular forces; and for completing the said militia.

39. An act for raising the sum of 5,000,000l. by exchequer bills for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1814.

40. An act to remove doubts respecting the payment of drawback on the exportation of French wine in certain cases.

41. An act to continue, until the 1st day of July, 1814, an act made in the 49th year of his present majesty's reign, to suspend the importation of British or Irish made spirits into Great Britain or Ireland respectively.

42. An act to repeal an act of the 52d year of his present majesty, for the punishment of persons destroying stocking or lace frames, or any articles in such frames, and to make other provisions instead thereof.

43. An act to vest in trustees certain messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, for extending the present lines and works, and for erecting other works and buildings at and near Portsmouth and Hilsea, in the county of Southampton.

44. An act to continue, until the 20th day of May, 1814, an act passed in this session of parliament, intituled an act to stay, until the 20th day of April, 1814, proceedings in actions, under an act passed in the 43d year of his present majesty, to amend the laws relating to spiritual persons.

45. An act to continue the period

for purchasing the legal quays in the port of London.

46. An act for altering the period during which writs of assistance shall remain in force.

47. An act to continue, until the 25th day of March, 1817, an act of the 52d year of his present majesty, to regulate the separation of damaged from sound coffee, and to permit dealers to send out any quantity of coffee not exceeding eight pounds weight, without permit.

48. An act to revive and make perpetual certain acts for consolidating and extending the several laws in force, for allowing the importation and exportation of certain articles into and from certain ports in the West Indies.

49. An act to revive and continue, until the expiration of nine months after the conclusion of the war with the United States of America, an act made in the last session of parliament, to authorize the importation and exportation of certain articles into and from the West Indies, South America, and Newfoundland.

50. An act to amend so much of an act of his present majesty, for repealing the several duties of customs, and granting other duties in lieu thereof, as relates to the duties payable on salt exported.

51. An act to revive and further continue until nine months after the conclusion of the present war, an act of the 7th year of King George II., for the free importation of cochineal and indigo.

52. An act to revive and continue, during the continuance of any act imposing any restriction on the governor and company of the bank of England, with respect to payments in cash, an act of the 52d year of his present majesty, for making more effectual provision for preventing the current gold coin of the realm from being paid or accepted for a greater value than the current value of such coin; and for other purposes therein mentioned.

53. An act to enable the commissioners of his majesty's treasury to issue exchequer bills, on the credit of such aids or supplies as have been or shall be granted by parliament for the service of Great Britain for the year 1814.

54. An act to discontinue proceedings in certain actions already commenced, and to prevent vexatious suits against spiritual persons, under an act passed in the 43d year of his present majesty; and further to continue, until the 20th day of July, 1814, an act of the present session of parliament, for staying proceedings under the said act.

55. An act for fixing the rates of subsistence to be paid to innkeepers and others on quartering soldiers.

56. An act to amend and render more effectual an act of his present majesty, for encouraging the art of making new models and casts of busts, and other things therein mentioned; and for giving further encouragement to such arts.

57. An act to repeal the schedule annexed to an act of the 45th year of his present majesty, by which the drawbacks and bounties on sugar exported are to be ascertained, and substituting another in lieu thereof; and to permit the importation of sugar, coffee, and other articles, the produce of Martinique, Mariegalante, Saint Eustatia, Saint Martin, and Saba, under the same duties and regulations as similar articles of the British plantations, to continue until the 5th day of April, 1815.

58. An act to continue, during the present hostilities with the United States of America, an act of the 43d year of his present majesty, for the better protection of the trade of the united kingdom.

59. An act to allow ships taken

and condemned for being used in carrying on the slave trade to be registered as British-built ships.

60. An act for the better preventing the embezzlement of his majesty's cordage.

61. An act to amend an act of the 22d year of his present majesty, intituled an act to prevent the granting in future any patent office, to be exercised in any colony or plantation, now or at any time hereafter belonging to the crown of Great Britain, for any longer term than during such time as the grantee thereof, or person appointed thereto, shall discharge the duty thereof in person, and behave well therein.

62. An act to amend several acts for erecting or establishing public infirmaries or hospitals, in Ireland, so far as relates to the surgeons and apothecaries of such infirmaries or hospitals.

63. An act to amend several acts for enabling his majesty's postmaster general of Ireland to purchase premises for the enlargement of the general post-office in the city of Dublin.

64. An act to continue, until the 5th day of July, 1815, certain temporary or war duties of customs on the importation of goods, wares, and merchandize in Great Britain.

65. An act to repeal certain duties on French goods imported into Great Britain, and on foreign hides exported to France, and to grant other duties on French goods so imported.

66. An act to repeal the duties on teak-wood and other ship timber imported from the East Indies; and to repeal so much of an act of the 19th year of his late majesty, as exempts captains of vessels coming from the East Indies, from penalties of having foreign-made sails.

67. An act to allow *viva voce* verdicts to be returned to the high courts and circuit courts of justiciary of Scotland, in certain cases; and for allowing appeals to the circuit courts of justiciary, in civil cases, to a certain amount.

68. An act for the better regulation of ecclesiastical courts in Ireland; and for the more easy recovery of church rates and tithes.

69. An act to permit the exportation of corn, grain, meal, malt, and flour, from any part of the united kingdom, without payment of duty, or receiving of bounty.

70. An act for the further improvement of the land revenue of the crown.

71. An act to revive and continue, until the 5th day of July, 1819, the manufacture of Maidstone geneva.

72. An act for permitting a trade between the United Provinces and certain colonies now in his majesty's possession.

73. An act to continue, until the fifth day of July, 1815, certain additional duties of excise in Great Britain.

74. An act for granting to his majesty a sum of money to be raised by lotteries.

75. An act for raising the sum of 1,716,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Irish currency, by treasury bills, for the service of Ireland, for the year 1814.

76. An act for raising the sum of 24,000,000*l.* by way of annuities.

77. An act to amend an act of the 53d year of his present majesty, for repealing the duties payable on the importation of wine, the produce of the Cape of Good Hope, and its dependencies, and charging other duties in lieu thereof.

78. An act to repeal so much of an act passed in the 9th and 10th year of the reign of King William the 3d, and of another act passed in the 28th year of his present majesty, as respects the

removal of wool, within a certain distance of the sea.

79. An act for raising the sum of 6,000,000*l.* by exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1814.

80. An act for raising the sum of 1,500,000*l.* by exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1814.

81. An act to continue, until the 5th day of July, 1815, and to amend several acts for granting certain rates and duties, and for allowing certain drawbacks and bounties on goods, wares, and merchandize, imported into and exported from Ireland, and to grant until the said 5th day of July, 1815, certain new duties on the importation, and to allow drawbacks on the exportation of certain goods, wares, and merchandize, into and from Ireland, and to make further regulations for securing the collection of the said duties.

82. An act to grant his majesty duties upon auctions in Ireland, in lieu of former duties thereon, and to provide for the regulating and securing the collection of the said duties, and to prevent frauds therein.

83. An act for the more effectual regulation of the receipts and issues of his majesty's treasury, and for securing the due application of money coming into the hands of the public accountants in Ireland.

84. An act for regulating the time of holding the Michaelmas quarter sessions in England.

85. An act for raising the sum of 3,000,000*l.* by way of annuities, for the service of Ireland.

86. An act for regulating the payment of army prize-money, and to provide for the payment of unclaimed and forfeited shares to Chelsea hospital.

87. An act to grant duties of excise on certain sorts of glass made in Ireland, and to grant and allow certain countervailing duties and drawbacks in respect thereof.

88. An act to amend the several acts for regulating and securing the collection of the duties of spirits distilled in Ireland.

89. An act for the charge of the further addition to the public funded debt of Great Britain, for the service of the year 1814.

90. An act to explain and extend an act, passed in the 43d year of his present majesty, intituled an act for remedying defects in the law relative to the building and repairing of county bridges, and other works maintained at the expence of the inhabitants of counties in England, and for extending the said act to bridges and other works maintained at the expence of hundreds.

91. An act to amend so much of an act, passed in the 43d year of her late majesty Queen Elizabeth, as concerns the time of appointing overseers of the poor.

92. An act to secure the payment of stamp duties on probates and letters of administration, and on receipts for property obtained by legacy, or intestacy, in Ireland.

93. An act for regulating the payment of navy prize-money, and the transmission of accounts and payment of balances to Greenwich hospital.

94. An act to grant additional annuities to judges of the courts of session, justiciary, and exchequer, in Scotland, who had resigned their offices before the last augmentation of salaries granted to the judges of those courts.

95. An act to enable his majesty to grant additional annuities to the judges of the court of King's-bench, judges of the courts of Common Pleas and

Exchequer, in Ireland, on the resignation of their offices.

96. An act to amend an act, passed in the 5th year of Queen Elizabeth, intituled an act containing divers orders for artificers, labourers, servants of husbandry, and apprentices.

97. An act to continue until the 1st day of August, 1815, several laws relating to the duties on glass made in Great Britain; for granting an excise duty on common glass bottles imported; and for the further prevention of frauds in the exportation of glass.

98. An act to empower the auditor general of the accounts in Spain and Portugal to examine accounts of public expenditure in France.

99. An act to continue, until the 25th day of March, 1815, an act of the 44th year of his present majesty, to continue the restrictions contained in several acts of his present majesty on payments of cash by the Bank of England.

100. An act to repeal the schedule annexed to an act of the 47th year of his present majesty, by which the drawbacks and bounties on sugar exported from Ireland are to be ascertained, and to substitute another schedule in lieu thereof; and to permit the importation into Ireland of sugar, coffee, and other articles, the produce of Martinique, Mariegalante, Guadaloupe, Saint Eustatia, Saint Martin, and Saba, under the same duties and regulations, as similar articles of the British plantations; to continue until the 5th day of April, 1815.

101. An act for the more effectual prevention of child-stealing.

102. An act to continue, until the end of the next session of parliament, several acts relating to the British white herring fishery.

103. An act to grant, until the 10th day of April, 1819, certain duties on goods, wares, and merchandize, imported into Ireland, from any port or place within the limits of the charter granted to the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies; and to establish further regulations for the better security of the revenue on goods so imported.

104. An act for maintaining and keeping in repair certain roads and bridges made in Scotland, for the purpose of military communication; and for making more effectual provision for maintaining and repairing roads made, and bridges built, in Scotland, under the authority of the parliamentary commissioners for Highland roads and bridges.

105. An act to remove doubts as to the duties and taxes heretofore imposed and levied under the authority of the several governments in the East Indies.

106. An act to remove doubts as to the allowance of drawbacks upon bibles and books of prayer to the king's printers, under an act passed in the 34th year of his present majesty.

107. An act to render valid certain indentures for the binding of parish apprentices, and certificates of the settlement of poor persons.

108. An act to repeal two acts of the 30th and 32d years of King Charles the 2d, for burying in woollen, and for indemnifying persons against penalties for offences committed against the said acts.

109. An act to amend an act of the 13th year of his present majesty to explain, amend, and reduce into one act, the statutes now in force for the amendment and preservation of the public highways within England, and for other purposes.

110. An act to prevent the embezzlement of certain property belonging to the hospital for seamen at Greenwich, and to amend so much of an act of the parliament of Ireland of the

33d year of his present majesty as relates to payments to out-pensioners of the said hospital residing in Ireland.

111. An act to continue certain acts of the parliament of Ireland for preventing the importation of arms, gunpowder, and ammunition, and the making, removing, selling and keeping of gunpowder, arms, and ammunition without licence.

112. An act for the further encouragement of fever hospitals in Ireland.

113. An act to vest in his majesty, his heirs, and successors, for ever, part of the grounds and buildings now belonging to the society of King's Inn, Dublin, for the erecting thereon a repository for public records in Ireland.

114. An act to amend an act, made in the last session of parliament, for the relief of insolvent debtors in Ireland.

115. An act to amend an act of the parliament of Ireland, for preventing the pernicious practice of burning land, and for the more effectual destroying of vermin.

116. An act to repeal the several laws for recovery of small sums due for wages, in Ireland; and to make other provisions for recovery of such wages.

117. An act to extend, as far as relates to the building of new churches, an act of the parliament of Ireland passed in the 33d year of the reign of his late majesty King George the 2d, intituled an act for reviving and amending an act passed in the 23d year of his present majesty's reign, intituled, "an act for amending, continuing, and making more effectual, the several acts now in force in this kingdom, for the more easy recovery of tithes and other ecclesiastical dues of small value, and also for the more easy providing a maintenance for parish clerks," so far only as the same relates to the more easy providing a maintenance for parish clerks, and to encourage the building of new churches.

118. An act to grant to his majesty certain stamp duties in Ireland, and to explain and amend an act made in the fifty-second year of his majesty's reign, for granting stamp duties in Ireland.

119. An act to repeal certain duties upon letters and packets, sent by the post within Ireland; and to grant other duties in lieu thereof.

120. An act to amend several acts relating to the revenues, matters and things under the management of the commissioners of customs and port duties, and of the commissioners of inland excise and taxes in Ireland.

121. An act to repeal the additional duties of excise on French wine imported, and of spirits exported from the warehouses; and authorizing the re-payment of the additional duty in respect of French wines found in dealers' stocks; and authorising the commissioners of excise duties to repay or remit duties paid on liquors lost by accidental staving before landing.

122. An act to alter the mode of declaring the value of goods imported into or exported from Great Britain.

123. An act to amend an act of the 39th and 40th year of his present majesty, to prevent frauds and abuses in the trade of hops.

124. An act to permit the importation of tobacco and snuff into the port of Plymouth.

125. An act to continue, until the end of the next session of parliament, an act made in the 46th year of his present majesty, for permitting the importation of masts, yards, bowsprits, and timber for naval purposes, from the British colonies in North America.

126. An act to alter and extend an

act passed in the 8th year of King George I., for relief of shipwrecked mariners and distressed persons, being his majesty's subjects, in the kingdom of Portugal.

127. An act to permit the exportation to foreign parts from Scotland and Ireland of linen cloth without stamps.

128. An act to amend the several acts for regulating the foundling hospital in Dublin.

129. An act to grant to his majesty rates and duties, and to allow drawbacks and bounties on certain goods, wares, and merchandize, imported into, and exported from Ireland, in lieu of former rates and duties, drawbacks, and bounties.

130. An act to continue, until three months after the ceasing of any restriction imposed on the bank of England from issuing cash in payment, the several acts for confirming and continuing the restrictions on payments in cash by the bank of Ireland.

131. An act to provide for the better execution of the law in Ireland, by appointing superintending magistrates and additional constables in counties in certain cases.

132. An act to repeal the duty payable in Ireland on certain houses or tenements, under the annual value of ten pounds.

133. An act for better enabling the commissioners of stamps to make allowances for spoiled stamps on policies of insurance in Great Britain, and for preventing frauds relating thereto.

134. An act to continue, until the 1st day of January, 1816, and to amend several acts for allowing importation from, and exportations to the places within the limits of the charter of the East India Company, in ships not British built, and for the better maintenance and care of lascars and other Asiatic seamen arriving in this kingdom.

135. An act to further explain and amend an act of the 50th year of his present majesty's reign, for repealing certain parts of several acts relating to the limiting the number of persons to be carried by stage coaches in Ireland.

136. An act for enabling the commissioners of the northern light-houses to purchase the island and light of May, at the entrance of the Frith of Forth, for enabling the commissioners of the treasury to advance a certain sum of money towards that purpose, and for amending several acts in regard to the northern light-houses.

137. An act for rendering the payment of creditors more equal and expeditious in Scotland.

138. An act to enable the trustees appointed by an act of the 49th year of his present majesty, for the improvement of the passage across the Frith of Forth, called the Queensferry, to carry the same into execution.

139. An act to rectify a mistake in an act of this session of parliament, for raising the sum of 24 millions by way of annuities.

140. An act to amend several acts of the parliament of Ireland, for granting certain annuities.

141. An act to alter so much of an act, made in the 52d year of his present majesty, as relates to the duties payable in respect of killing of game.

142. An act to permit the exportation of tea to the British colonies in America, Guernsey, Jersey, Europe, and Africa, without payment of duty.

143. An act to repeal the duties granted by an act passed in the 11th year of his present majesty, for repairing, amending, and supporting the several harbours and sea-ports in the isle of Man, and for granting new duties in lieu thereof; and for giving further powers to the commissioners appointed under the said act.

144. An act for better securing the stamp duties on sea insurances made

in London, and for altering the period for taking out stamp-office certificates by attornies and others in England.

145. An act to take away corruption of blood save in certain cases.

146. An act to alter the punishment in certain cases of high treason.

147. An act for the better regulation of the drivers of licensed coaches; for explaining and amending an act passed in the 48th year of his present majesty, relating to hackney coaches; and for authorizing the licensing of a limited number of hackney chariots.

148. An act for imposing an excise duty on silk handkerchiefs sold by the East India Company for home consumption.

149. An act to regulate, until the end of the next session of parliament, the trade in spirits between Great Britain and Ireland, reciprocally.

150. An act to consolidate and amend the regulations contained in several acts of parliament, for imposing and levying of fines upon parishes, townlands, and other places, in respect of the unlawful distillation of spirits in Ireland.

151. An act to repeal an act passed in the 52d year of his present majesty, for better regulating the office of agent-general for volunteers and local militia, and for the more effectually regulating the said office, and to make further provisions for the regulation of the office of agent-general.

152. An act to repeal certain parts of an act made in the 12th year of the reign of his present majesty, for regulating the making, keeping, and carriage of gun-powder, within Great Britain.

153. An act to regulate the payment of drawback on paper allowed to the universities in Scotland.

154. An act for further amending and enlarging the powers of an act of the 46th year of his present majesty, intituled an act for consolidating and rendering more effectual the several acts for the purchase of buildings and further improvement of the streets and places near to Westminster hall, and the two houses of parliament, and for other purposes therein mentioned.

155. An act to repeal an act for establishing regulations respecting aliens arriving in or resident in this kingdom, in certain cases, and for substituting other provisions until the end of the next session of parliament in lieu thereof.

156. An act to amend the several acts for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies and copy-right of printed books, to the authors of such books, or their assigns.

157. An act for the better regulation of the conduct of the business of the office of works, and the expenditure thereof.

158. An act to continue, for one year, certain acts for the better prevention and punishment of attempts to seduce persons serving in his majesty's forces by sea or land from their duty and allegiance to his majesty, or to incite them to mutiny or disobedience.

159. An act for the better regulation of the several ports, harbours, road-steads, sounds, channels, bays, and navigable rivers in the united kingdom, and of his majesty's docks, dock-yards, arsenals, wharfs, moorings, and stores therein, and for repealing several acts passed for that purpose.

160. An act to enable his majesty to settle an annuity upon her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales during the joint lives of his majesty and of her royal highness.

161. An act for settling and securing an annuity on Arthur Duke of Wellington, and his heirs: and for empowering the lord high treasurer, or lords commissioners of the treasury, to advance out of the consolidated funds of Great Britain a sum of money in lieu of such annuity to pur-

chase an estate, in order to accompany the said title, in consideration of the eminent and signal services performed by the said Duke of Wellington, to his majesty and to the public ; and for making further provision for the disposal of a sum of money granted by an act of the last session of parliament, for purchasing an estate for the said Duke, then Marquis of Wellington.

162. An act for settling and securing an annuity on Lord Beresford, and the persons to whom the title of Lord Beresford shall descend, in consideration of his eminent services.

163. An act for settling and securing an annuity on Lord Combermere, and the two next persons to whom the title of Lord Combermere shall descend, in consideration of his eminent services.

164. An act for settling and securing an annuity on Lord Exmouth, and the persons to whom the title of Lord Exmouth shall descend, in consideration of his eminent services.

165. An act for settling and securing an annuity on Lord Hill, and the persons to whom the title of Lord Hill shall descend, in consideration of his eminent services.

166. An act for settling and securing an annuity on Lord Lynedoch, and the persons to whom the title of Lord Lynedoch shall descend, in consideration of his eminent services.

167. An act for applying a certain sum of money arisen, or to aris., from certain duties granted to his majesty during the continuance of the present war, and for applying certain monies therein mentioned for the service of the year 1814 ; and for further appropriating the supplies granted in this session of parliament.

168. An act to amend the laws respecting the attestation of instruments of appointment and revocation made in exercise of certain powers in deeds, wills, and other instruments.

169. An act for making certain regulations respecting the postage of ship-letters, and of letters in Great Britain.

170. An act to repeal certain provisions in local acts for the maintenance and regulation of the poor, and to make other provisions in relation thereto.

171. An act to empower the commissioners of his majesty's treasury to restore seizures, or remit or mitigate fines, penalties, or forfeitures incurred, concerning any laws relating to the customs or excise, or navigation and trade of Great Britain.

172. An act for repealing the duties payable in Scotland upon distillers wash, spirits, and licenses, and for granting other duties in lieu thereof.

173. An act to alter and amend certain of the powers and provisions of several acts passed for the redemption and sale of the land-tax, and for making further provision for the redemption thereof.

174. An act for letting to farm the post-horse duties.

175. An act to explain and amend several acts relating to spiritual persons holding of farms, and for enforcing the residence of such persons on their benefices in England, for one year, and from thence until six weeks after the meeting of the then next session of parliament.

176. An act for defraying the charge of the pay and clothing of the local militia in Great Britain for the year 1814.

177. An act for defraying the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia of Ireland, and for making allowances in certain cases to subaltern officers of the said militia during peace.

178. An act to continue so much of an act, made in the 43d year of his

present majesty's reign, for authorizing the billetting and subjecting to military discipline certain yeomanry corps and officers of cavalry or infantry, as relates to such corps in Ireland.

179. An act to amend an act passed in the 49th year of his present majesty's reign, intituled an act for amending and reducing into one act of parliament the several laws for raising and training the militia of Ireland.

180. An act to provide for the preserving and restoring of peace in such parts of Ireland as may at any time be disturbed by seditious persons, or by persons entering into unlawful combinations or conspiracies.

181. An act to render more easy and effectual redress for assaults in Ireland.

182. An act to continue, until the 25th day of March, 1816, an act for regulating the trade to the Isle of Malta; and to revive and continue, for the same period, several acts relating to the trade to the Cape of Good Hope; and to the bringing and landing certain prize goods in Great Britain.

183. An act to impose a countervailing duty of excise on bleaching powder imported from Ireland.

184. An act for the effectual examination of accounts of the receipt and expenditure of the colonial revenues in the islands of Ceylon, Mauritius, Malta, Trinidad, and in the settlements of the Cape of Good Hope, for five years.

185. An act to allow a bounty on the exportation from Great Britain of British-made cordage.

186. An act for the more easy apprehending and trying of offenders escaping from one part of the united kingdom to the other.

187. An act to revive and continue, until the first day of June, 1820, and to amend several acts for the more effectual prevention of depredations on the river Thames and its vicinity.

188. An act for enabling his Majesty to raise the sum of three millions for the service of Great Britain, and for applying the sum of 200,000l. British currency for the service of Ireland.

189. An act to defray the charge of the pay, clothing, and contingent expenses of the disembodied militia in Great Britain, and of the miners of Cornwall and Devon, and for granting allowances, in certain cases, to subaltern officers, adjutants, surgeons mates, and serjeant-majors of militia, until the 25th day of June, 1815.

190. An act for appointing commissioners for carrying into execution an act of this session of parliament, for granting to his Majesty a duty on pensions and offices in England; and an act made in the 38th year of his present Majesty, for granting an aid to his Majesty by a land-tax to be raised in Great Britain, for the service of the year 1798.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

FOR THE YEAR 1814.

PUBLIC INCOME OF GREAT BRITAIN,

For the Year ending 5th January, 1814.

An Account of the Ordinary Revenues, *and* Extraordinary Resources *constituting the* Public Income of Great Britain.

HEADS OF REVENUE.	Gross Receipt: Total sum to be accounted for. L.	s.	d.	Drawbacks, Discounts, Charges of Management, &c. paid out of the Gross Revenue. L.	s.	d.	Net Produce, applicable to National Objects, and to Payments into the Exchequer. L.	s.	d.
ORDINARY REVENUES:									
Permanent and Annual Taxes.									
Customs	10,938,523	16	7½	2,852,210	13	10	8,086,313	2	9½
Excise	21,119,321	9	6	2,592,442	4	8¼	18,526,879	4	9¾
Stamps	5,878,174	14	7½	320,714	13	4¼	5,552,460	1	3¼
Land and Assessed Taxes	8,101,968	7	3¼	298,509	3	11	7,803,459	3	4¼
Post Office	2,137,437	12	5¼	518,301	1	10	1,619,136	10	7¼
Pensions and Salaries } 1s. in the L.	20,803	10	8	380	5	6	20,423	5	2
Pensions and Salaries } 6d. in the L.	13,521	0	5½	1,369	4	6	12,151	15	11½
Hackney Coaches	25,551	19	3	3,306	13	1½	22,245	6	1½
Hawkers and Pedlars	20,779	14	4½	2,578	11	3½	18,201	3	1
Total Permanent and Annual Duties	48,251,082	5	2½	6,589,812	12	0½	41,661,269	13	2
Small Branches of the Hereditary Revenue.									
Alienation Fines	9,539	12	1	1,147	8	0	8,392	4	1
Post Fines	4,011	17	2	58	12	6	3,953	4	8
Seizures	22,638	4	7	-		-	22,638	4	7
Compositions and Proffers	586	15	2	-		-	586	15	2
Crown Lands	90,096	18	5½	2,393	13	7½	87,703	4	10

HEADS OF REVENUE.	GROSS RECEIPT: Total sum to be accounted for. L. s. d.	Drawbacks, Discounts, Charges of Management, &c. paid out of the Gross Revenue. L. s. d.	NET PRODUCE applicable to National Objects, and to Payments into the Exchequer. L. s. d.
EXTRAORDINARY RESOURCES.			
War Taxes.			
Customs - - - - - - -	3,818,272 14 9¾	542,914 9 5	3,275,358 5 4¼
Excise - - - - - - -	6,259,884 14 7¾	142,027 14 4	6,117,857 0 3¾
Property Tax - - - - - - -	14,889,444 15 3¾	306,158 5 9¼	14,583,286 9 6½
Arrears of Income Duty, &c. - - - - -	1,620 13 8	26 18 3½	1,593 15 4½
Lottery, Net Profit (of which one third part is for the service of Ireland) -	310,800 0 0	32,133 13 6	278,666 6 6¼
Monies paid on Account of the Interest of Loans raised for the service of Ireland	3,198,475 2 10	- -	3,198,475 2 10
On Account of Balance due by Ireland on joint Expenditure of the United Kingdom - - - - - -	3,956,276 0 0	- -	3,956,276 0 0
On Account of the Commissioners, appointed by Act 35 Geo. 3. cap. 127, and 37 Geo. 3, cap. 27, for issuing Exchequer Bills for Grenada, &c. -	54,200 0 0	- -	54,200 0 0
On Account of the Commissioners for issuing Commercial Exchequer Bills, by Act 51 Geo. 3, cap. 15. - - - - - - -	490,591 18 9	- -	490,591 18 9
On Account of the Interest, &c. of a Loan granted to the Prince Regent of Portugal - - - - - - -	57,170 3 0	- -	57,170 3 0
Surplus Fees of Regulated Public Offices - - - -	107,355 18 3	- -	107,355 18 3
Imprest Money repaid by sundry Public Accountants, &c. including Interest -	56,504 1 10¾	- -	56,504 1 10¾
Other Monies paid to the Public - - - - -	65,660 9 5	- -	65,660 9 5
Total, independent of Loans - - -	81,644,212 5 2½	7,616,673 7 5¾	74,027,538 17 8¾
Loans paid into the Exchequer, (including 6,000,000l. for the Service of Ireland)	35,050,574 17 9	- -	35,050,574 17 9
GRAND TOTAL - - - - -	116,694,787 2 11½	7,616,673 7 5¾	109,078,113 15 5¾

CONSOLIDATED FUND AND PERMANENT TAXES.—INCOME AND CHARGE, 1814.

INCOME.	L. s. d.	CHARGE.	Actual Payment out of the Consolidated Fund, in the Year ended 5th Jan. 1814 L. s. d.	Future Annual Charge upon the Consolidated Fund as it stood on 5th Jan. 1814. L. s. d.
CUSTOMS. Consolidated after reserving 62,500l. per quarter, from 5th July, 1803, as directed per Act 53 Geo. 3, cap. 68, to be carried to Duties pro Anno 1803, and the further sum of 105,000l. per Annum per Act 49 Geo. 3, to be carried to Duties pro Anno 1809 L.2,326,039 6 3¼ Isle of Man Duties 7,343 4 3½ Quarantine Duty 13,311 5 8 Canal & Dock Duty 27,653 19 9½		Total Charge for Debt created prior to 5th Jan. 1803, as it stood on 5th Jan. 1814 - - - - -	23,295,925 18 8¼	19,389,036 5 8
		Civil List.		
		His Majesty's Household, per Act 17 Geo. 3 - - -	898,000 0 0	898,000 0 0
		Ditto - - - 44	60,000 0 0	60,000 0 0
		Ditto - - - 52	70,000 0 0	70,000 0 0
		Total - - -	1,028,000 0 0	1,028,000 0 0
		Courts of Justice.		
	2,374,347 16 0¼	Judges of England and Wales, in Augmentation of their Salaries - -	13,050 0 0	13,050 0 0
EXCISE. Consolidated after reserving the several Sums carried per Acts 45 and 46 Geo. 3, cap. 44, and 31, to Duties pro Annis 1805 and 1806 - - -		Deficiencies of Judges Salaries in England - - - -	12,962 19 7	Uncertain.
	14,097,967 1 8½	Additional Salaries to Judges in Wales - - - -	3,200 0 0	3,200 0 0
STAMPS. Reserved out of Consolidated Stamp Duties, per Act 48 Geo. 3, cap. 149 L.2,910,949 3 5½ Licences for selling Lottery Tickets 3,774 3 7		Aaron Graham, Esq. Inspector of temporary Places of Confinement for Felons - - - -	350 0 0	350 0 0
		John Baldwin, Esq. Receiver of the Seven Police Offices -	18,561 7 2	Uncertain.
	2,914,723 7 0½	Patrick Colquhoun, Esq. Ditto, Thames		
INCIDENTS - - -	5,765,874 1 5	Ditto - - - -	6,067 16 3	

INCOME.	L.	s.	d.
Fines of Leases - - - -	2,560	0	0
Surplus of Sugar, Malt, and Tobacco annually granted - - -	1,255,438	10	$4\frac{3}{4}$
Ditto on Annual Malt, 1810, 1811, 1812 - - - -	430,882	0	0
Pensions, Offices, and Personal Estates, 1808 to 1813 - -	60,918	1	$1\frac{1}{4}$
Land-taxes, 1798 to 1813 - -	1,082,367	10	$8\frac{1}{4}$
Income Duty, 1799 to 1801 - -	1,433	7	$6\frac{1}{2}$
Arrears of Assessed taxes, 1798 -			
Money reserved on Account of Nominees appointed by the Lords of the Treasury, in Tontine, 1789 - -	23,778	18	$11\frac{1}{2}$
Monies paid by divers Persons -	1,204,033	12	$2\frac{3}{4}$
Total income, applicable to paying the Charge prior to 1803, and the Incidental charges as they stood on the 5th of January, 1814 - -	29,214,324	7	$1\frac{1}{4}$
Duties pro Anno 1803.			
Reserved out of Consolidatad Customs	250,000	0	0
Ditto - Consolidated Stamps -	59,695	15	3
Houses & Windows, Inhabited Houses, Male Servants, and Carriages -	240,375	13	$4\frac{1}{2}$
Interest, &c. on Loan for Ireland -	136,005	16	4
Total - - -	686,077	4	$11\frac{1}{2}$

CHARGE.	Annual Payment out of the Consolidated Fund, in the Year ended 5th Jan. 1814. L.	s.	d.	Future Annual Charge upon the Consolidated Fund as it stood on 5th Jan. 1814. L.	s.	d.
Vice Admiralty Judges ;—						
J. W. Compton, Esq. Vice-Admiral, Judge at Barbadoes - -	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
Henry Moreton Dyer, Esq. Ditto, Bahamas - - -	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
Alexander Croke, Esq. Ditto, Nova Scotia - - -	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
John Sewell, Esq. Ditto, Malta -	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
Henry John Hinchliffe, Esq. Ditto, Jamaica - - -	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
Sheriffs of England and Wales -	4,000	0	0	4,000	0	0
Clerk of the Hanaper - -	2,500	0	0	Uncertain.		
Mint.						
Master of his Majesty's Mint in England - - - -	13,800	0	0	Uncertain.		
Ditto Scotland - - -	1,200	0	0	1,200	0	0
Deficiency of Mint Fees - -	2,333	17	0	Uncertain.		
Salaries and Allowances						
The Speaker of the House of Commons to compleat his Salary of 6,000l. per ann. - - - -	55	16	6	Uncertain.		
Marquis of Bute, late one of the Auditors of Imprest - -	7,000	0	0	7,000	0	0
Philip Deare, Esq. late Deputy to Do.	75	0	0	Dead.		
Edward Roberts, Esq. an annual Sum formerly paid to the Auditor -	650	0	0	650	0	0

	£	s.	d.
DUTIES pro Anno 1804.			
Brought from consolidated Stamps -	960,346	18	11
Interests, &c. on Loan for Ireland -	330,001	18	7
Total - -	1,290,348	17	6
DUTIES pro Anno 1805.			
Brought from Consolidated Customs -	262,353	5	0
Ditto. . . . Ditto. . . . Stamps - -	52,313	16	8½
Taken from Consolidated Letter Money - - - - - -	296,027	5	7
Reserved out of Consolidated Duties on Assessed Taxes, Duty on Horses -	143,320	2	7
Duties taken from Consolidated Excise, Salt, Auctions, Bricks and Tiles, Cyder and Perry, Glass, Vinegar, and Wire - - - -	661,680	0	0
Interest, &c. on Loan for Ireland -	276,867	8	8
Total - -	1,692,561	18	6½
DUTIES pro Anno 1806.			
Wine 1803, and 1804, and Tea - -	380,169	0	0
British Spirits, 1806 - - -	288,839	19	5¼
Reserved out of Consolidated Duties on Assessed Taxes - -	556,619	17	0
Ditto out of Consolidated Stamp Duties - - -	6,917	1	4
Interest &. on Loan for Ireland -	133,823	18	0
Total - -	1 366,369	13	9¼

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
George Pepler, Esq. Inspecter of Tontine Certificates - - -	600	0	0	Uncertain.		
Chief Cashier of the Bank, for Fees at sundry Public Offices - -	1,038	7	0			
Dean and Chapter of Westminster, per Act 50 Geo. 3, cap. 119 - -	419	11	2	419	11	2
Ditto. . . . Ditto. . . . Ditto - -	38	5	0	38	5	0
For the Encouragement of the Growth of Hemp and Flax in Scotland	2,956	13	8	2,956	13	8
COMMISSIONERS OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.						
William Mackworth Praed, Esq. Chairman - - -	1,500	0	0	1,500	0	0
Sir Charles William Rouse Broughton,				1,200	0	0
Bart - - -	1,200	0	0	1,200	0	0
Francis Percival Elliot, Esq. - -	1,200	0	0	1,200	0	0
Richard Dawkins, Esq. - -	1,200	0	0	1,200	0	0
John Anstey, Esq. - - -	1,200	0	0	1,200	0	0
John Whishaw, Esq. - -	1,200	0	0	1,200	0	0
Philip Deare, Esq. - -	435	3	3½	Dead.		
John Sargent, Esq. - -	1,200	0	0	1,200	0	0
Salaries and Contingencies in the Office	36,330	11	1	Uncertain.		
COMMISSIONERS OF WEST-INDIA ACCOUNTS.						
John Halket, Esq. - -	1,500	0	0	1,500	0	0
James Chapman, Esq. - -	1,000	0	0	1,000	0	0
John Wilson, Esq. - -	1,000	0	0	1,000	0	0
Salaries and Contingencies in the Office	6,156	6	11	Uncertain.		

INCOME.	L.	s.	d.
Duties pro Anno 1807.			
Brought from War Taxes to pay the Charge of Loan	1,200,000	0	0
Interest, &c. on Loan for Ireland	222,804	15	7
Total	1,422,804	5	7
Duties pro Anno 1808.			
Surplus of Consolidated Duties on Assessed Taxes	140,209	10	0
Surplus of Consolidated Stamp Duties	150,000	0	0
Interest, &c. on Loan for Ireland	148,667	17	8
Total	438,877	7	8
Duties pro Anno 1809.			
Brought from Consolidated Customs	105,000	0	0
Ditto from War Taxes, to pay the Charge of Loan	1,040,000	0	0
Charges of Loan for the Prince Regent of Portugal	57,170	3	0
Interest, &c. on Loan for Ireland	117,228	18	5
Total	1,379,399	1	5
Duties pro Anno 1810.			
Brought from Consolidated Stamps	1,200,489	14	8
Interest, &c. on Loan for Ireland.	305,611	16	6
Total	1,506,101	11	2

CHARGE.	Annual Payment out of the Consolidated Fund, in the Year ended 5th Jan. 1814. L.	s.	d.	Future Annual Charge upon the Consolidated Fund, as it stood on 5th Jan 1814. L.	s.	d.
Miscellaneous, (See Appendix, C. No. V. Public Expenditure)	79,956	5	0	Nearly the same.		
Pensions, (See ditto)	332,412	7	4½	Nearly the same.		
Total of Incidental Charges upon the Consolidated Fund, as they stood on the 5th January, 1814	2,595,350	6	11¾	1,416,600	18	0
Debt incurred in respect of 12,000,000l. raised for the Service of the Year 1803	817,120,	10	7	817,120	10	7
Debt incurred in respect of 14,500,000l. raised for the Service of the Year 1804	1,174,168	18	0	1,174,168	18	0
Debt incurred in respect of 22,500,000l raised for the Service of the Year 1805	1,716,992	0	3½	1,716,992	0	3½
Debt incurred in respect of 20,000,000l raised for the Service of the Year 1806	1,339,288	0	0	1,339,288	0	0
Debt incurred in respect of 12,000,000l. part of 14,200,000l. raised for the Service of the Year 1807	1,433,762	9	1¼	1,435,522	15	2¼
Debt incurred in respect of 4,000,000l. Exchequer Bills, funded for the Service of the Year 1808	878,055,	3	0¼	878,055	3	0¼
Debt incurred in respect of 7,932,100l. Exchequer Bills, funded for the Service of the Year 1809	1,377,973	8	7½	1,377,933	2	3
Debt incurred in respect of 8,311,000l. Exchequer Bills, funded for the Service of the Year 1810	1,276,432,	18	10¼	1,276,549	18	2½

Duties pro Anno 1811.			
Interest, &c. on Loan	466,000	0	0
British Spirits, 1811 L.8,555 18 1			
Foreign ditto - 28,375 0 0	36,910	18	1
Total	502,910	18	1¼
Duties pro Anno 1812.			
Stone Bottles, per 52 Geo. 3, cap. 139, Glass, Hides and Skins, Tobacco and Snuff,	609,900	0	0
Tobacco per 53 Geo. 3, cap. 34	68,508	0	0
Estimated Amount of the additional Duty on the Postage of Letters by said act	185,306	1	1
Male Servants, Carriages, Horses for Riding, Ditto and Mules, Dogs, Horse Dealers' Licences, Game Certificates	465,920	13	1
Interest, &c. on Loan for Ireland	350,875	9	7
Total	1,680,510	3	9
Duties pro Anno 1813.			
Duty on French Wines	58,558	0	0
Permanent Duties on Customs	390,156	18	10
Interest, &c. on Loan for Ireland	203,303	15	10
Total	647,018	14	8
Total Income of Consolidated Fund in the Year ended 5th January, 1814	41,827,804	16	2½

Debt incurred in respect of 7,018,700l. Exchequer Bills, funded for the service of the Year 1811	1,494,726	17	8¾	1,495,158	12	1
Debt incurred in respect of 5,431,700l. Exchequer Bills, funded for the Year 1812	2,388,106	8	3¾	2,215,483	6	8½
Debt incurred in respect of 12,000,000l. Exchequer Bills, funded for the Year 1813	2,616,972	16	5¼	4,149,777	0	4¾
Debt incurred in respect of 22,000,000l. Exchequer Bills, funded for the Year 1814	50,877	2	4¾	1,763,982	0	0

RECAPITULATION.

Total Charge for Debt, incurred prior to 1803	23,395,925	18	8¼	19,339,036	5	8
Total of Incidental Charges	1,595,350	6	11¼	1,416,600	18	0
Total Charge for Debt incurred in 1803	817,120	10	7	817,120	10	7
Ditto - ditto - 1804	1,174,168	18	0	1,174,168	18	0
Ditto - ditto - 1805	1,716,992	0	3½	1,716,992	0	3½
Ditto - ditto - 1806	1,339,288	0	0	1,339,288	0	0
Ditto - ditto - 1807	1,433,762	9	1¼	1,435,522	15	2¼
Ditto - ditto - 1808	878,055	3	0¼	878,055	3	0¼
Ditto - ditto - 1809	1,377,973	8	7¾	1,377,933	2	3
Ditto - ditto - 1810	1,276,432	18	10¼	1,276,549	18	2½
Ditto - ditto - 1811	1,494,726	17	8¾	1,498,158	12	1
Ditto - ditto - 1812	2,388,106	8	3¾	2,215,483	6	8½
Ditto - ditto - 1813	2,616,972	16	5¼	4,149,777	0	4¾
Total Charge upon the Consolidated Fund in the Year ended 5th January, 1814	41,555,752	19	1¼	40,445,668	10	4½

An Account of the Net Produce of all the PERMANENT TAXES *of* GREAT BRITAIN; *taken for Two Years, ending respectively 5th January,* 1813, *and 5th January,* 1814.

		In the Year ended 5th Jan. 1813.			In the Year ended 5th Jan. 1814.		
		L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
CONSOLIDATED CUSTOMS		3,824,928	12	8¾	2,943,392	11	3¼
Ditto - Ditto (Isle of Man),		6,973	3	1½	7,343	4	3½
Ditto - EXCISE		14,811,233	3	6	15,871,782	1	8½
Ditto - STAMPS		5,075,670	4	11	5,340,712	10	4
PERMANENT DUTY on CUSTOMS		-	-		390,156	18	10
BRITISH SPIRITS	1806	311,300	0	0	288,839	19	5¼
Ditto - Ditto	1811	444,172	0	0	8,535	18	1
FOREIGN Ditto	——	21,929	0	0	28,375	0	0
LAND TAXES		1,795,766	19	6½	1,084,860	7	2¼
INCIDENTS.							
Lottery Licences		3,166	19	0	3,774	3	7
Quarantine Duty		9,568	1	7½	13,311	5	8
Canal and Dock Duty		35,608	15	2	43,653	19	9½
Letter Money		1,321,000	0	0	1,406,000	0	0
Hawkers and Pedlars		18,700	0	0	18,040	0	0
Hackney Coaches	1711	10,881	0	0	10,527	0	0
Ditto - Ditto	1784	14,098	0	0	14,660	0	0
6*d.* per lb. on Pensions	1721	163	0	10	——		
1*s.* ditto on Salaries	1758	323	14	10	——		
Seizures		5,741	14	3	22,638	4	7
Proffers		629	6	8	584	15	2
Compositions		2	16	8	2	0	0
Fines and Forfeitures		2,727	5	4	1,014	15	4
Rent of a Light-House		6	13	4	6	13	4
Ditto Alum Mines		864	0	0	864	0	0
Alienation Duty		4,807	8	8	4,069	12	0
Houses	1778	-	-		439	0	9
4-wheeled Carriages	1785	7	0	0	——		
Hair-Powder Certificates	1795	-	-		100	0	0
Horse-Dealers' Licences	1796	-	-		100	0	0
Clocks and Watches	1797	100	0	0	——		
*L.*20 per Cent.	——	1	8	0	——		
Windows	1798	100	0	0	83	13	6
Houses	——	100	0	0	——		
Riding Horses	——	-	-		42	2	0
Armorial Bearings	——	100	0	0	200	0	0
Male Servants	——	-	-		9	10	0
4-wheeled Carriages	——	-	-		18	0	0
Dogs	——	-	-		11	0	0
Arrears of Taxes	——	1,389	18	0	1,092	19	4
Windows	1802	291	6	7	——		
Houses	——	1,300	8	0	234	3	8
Horses for Husbandry	——	700	0	0	——		
Ditto Riding	——	16	12	0	100	0	0
Male Servants	——	308	14	10	100	0	0
Dogs	——	100	0	0	400	0	0
4-wheeled Carriages	——	100	0	0	——		

		In the Year ended 5th Jan. 1813.			Ditto, 5th Jan. 1814.		
		L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
2-wheeled Carriages	1802	200	0	0	200	0	0
Windows	1804	4,921	0	9½	7,903	3	4¼
Houses	——	1,742	3	5½	4,038	15	6½
Horses for Riding	——	604	5	1	979	12	1
Horses and Mules	——	1,784	15	3	148	4	1¾
Horse-Dealers' Licences	——	115	0	3	74	16	4
Servants	——	496	11	6	1,178	5	5½
Hair-Powder	——	4	14	6	1,010	2	9
Armorial Bearings	——	504	4	0	634	14	2½
Carriages	——	617	9	2	4,328	12	11¾
Dogs	——	549	13	2½	98	6	11
L.10 per Cent.	1806	991	16	9	1,730	2	0
Consolidated Assessed Taxes	1808	5,775,563	1	6¾	6,262,463	5	1
6d. per lib. on Pensions	1809	5,049	8	4	1,210	3	10½
1s. ditto on Salaries	——	4,208	16	0	1,412	11	7¾
6d. ditto on Pensions	1810	3,500	0	0	1,932	5	3
1s. ditto on Salaries	——	2,500	0	0	119	9	10
6d. ditto on Pensions	1811	9,900	0	0	765	0	0
1s. ditto on Salaries	——	12,500	0	0	1,993	0	0
6d. ditto on Pensions	1812	1,000	0	0	5,600	0	0
1s. ditto on Salaries	——	2,000	0	0	11,800	0	0
6d. ditto on Pensions	1813	-	-		1,200	0	0
1s. ditto on Salaries	——	-	-		2,000	0	0
Surplus Duties annually granted, after discharging three millions Exchequer Bills charged thereon	Sugar and Malt	145,258	19	2	392,969	17	1½
	Additional ditto	672,016	0	0	692,359	0	0
	Tobacco	103,519	13	4	170,109	13	3¼
	Annual Malt	368,799	0	0	430,882	0	0
	Land Tax on Offices, &c.	95,567	5	4½	60,918	1	1¼
	6d. per *L.* on Pensions	1,380	12	2¼	-	-	
	1s. ditto - Salaries	112	12	10¼	-	-	
		34,240,276	10	4½	35,566,134	12	9¾
Duties annually granted to discharge three millions Exchequer Bills charged thereon	Sugar and Malt	2,785,224	6	3	2,778,062	18	5¾
	Additional Malts	139,106	0	0	211,437	0	0
	Annual ditto	-	-		-	-	
	Tobacco	430,928	6	8	337,393	6	8¾
	Land Tax on Offices, &c.	1,500	0	0			
		37,597,035	3	3½	38,893,027	18	0¼

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE.

	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
I. For Interest, &c. on the Permanent Debt of Great Britain, unredeemed, including Annuities for Lives and Terms of Years, &c. (App. A.)	-	-		-	-		39,815,846	6	11¾
II. Interest on Exchequer Bills (B)	-	-		-	-		2,081,529	10	6
III. Civil List (C)	-	-		1,028,000	0	0			
IV. Other Charges on the Consolidated Fund, viz. Courts of Justice	-	-		69,692	3	0			
Mint	-	-		17,333	17	0			
Allowance to Royal Family	-	-		332,412	7	4¼			
Salaries and Allowances	-	-		67,955	14	7½			
Bounties	-	-		79,956	5	0	1,595,350	6	11¾
V. Civil Government of Scotland (D)	-	-		-	-		113,176	4	8¼
VI. Other Payments in Anticipation of the Exchequer Receipts; (E) viz.									
Bounties for Fisheries, Manufactures, Corn, &c.	-	-		228,741	18	7			
Pensions on the Hereditary Revenue	-	-		27.700	0	0			
Militia and Deserters Warrants	-	-		134,614	3	4¾	391,056	1	11¾
VII. Navy (F)	-	-		11,372,513	4	11			
The Victualling Department	-	-		6,568,320	11	6½			
The Transport Service	3,565,790	12	11						
Miscellaneous Services	490,000	0	0						
				4,055,790	12	11	21,966.624	9	4½
VIII. Ordnance (G)	-	-		-	-		3,404,527	11	11
IX. Army (H) viz.									
Ordinary Services	-	-		18,500,985	11	0			

	L. s. d	L. s. d.	L. s. d.
Extraordinary Services and Subsidies - - -	- -	22,262,951 0 0	
Deduct the Amount of Remittances and Advances to other Countries, included in Appendix I. - - - -	- -	40,763,936 11 0 11,294,416 0 9	29,469,520 10 3
X. Loans, &c. to other Countries (I), viz.			
Ireland - - - - - -	- -	4,700,416 13 4	
Sicily - - - - - - -	600,000 0 0		
Portugal - - - - - -	2,000,000 0 0		
Spain - - - - - - -	1,679,136 2 10		
Sweden - - - - - -	1,536,804 8 0		
Russia - - - - - - -	1,758,436 4 2		
Prussia - - - - - - -	1,757,669 17 0		
Austria - - - - - -	545,612 17 0		
Hanover - - - - - -	15,166 14 4		
Holland - - - - - -	419,996 0 2		
North of Europe - - - - -	967,174 16 7		
Emperor of Morocco, &c. - - - -	14,419 0 8		
		11,294,416 0 9	
XI. Miscellaneous Services (K)			15,994,832 14 1
At Home - - - - - -	3,507,934 4 10		
Abroad - - - - - - -	497,890 13 6½		
		4,005,824 18 4½	
Principal, Interest, &c. of Commercial Exchequer Bills - -	- -	4,525 0 0	
			4,010,349 18 4½
Deduct Sums, which, although included in this Account, form no part of the Expenditure of Great Britain, viz.			118,872,813 15 1½
Loan, &c. for Ireland - - - - -	- -	4,700,416 13 4	
Interest, and L. 1. per cent. and Management on Portuguese Loan, per Act 49 Geo. 3. 71. - - - - -	- -	57,170 3 0	
Principal, Interest, &c of Commercial Exchequer Bills - -	- -	4,525 0 0	
Sinking Fund on Loan to the East India Company - -	- -	142,091 1 11	
			4,904,202 18 5
This includes the sum of L.417,721 16 0¼ for Interest, &c. paid on Imperial Loans -	- -	-	*113,968,610 16 10½

PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT.

An Account of the Public Funded Debt of Great Britain, *as the same stood on the* 1st *of February*, 1814.

TOTAL DEBT UNREDEEMED.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
At 3 per Cent.						
Bank of England and Annuities, 1726	12,686,800	0	0			
South Sea Old and New Annuities, 1751	15,814,684	13	11½			
Consolidated Annuities	373,829,413	18	11¼			
Reduced Annuities	135,911,744	17	9			
At 4 per Cent.						
Consolidated Annuities	71,335,719	2	2			
At 5 per Cent						
Consolidated Annuities	106,492,254	13	7			
Annuities, 1797 and 1802	1,438,938	14	0			
Total Capitals				717,509,556	0	4¾
Annual Interest	24,397,267	14	8¾			
Annuities for Lives or for Terms of Years	1,663,174	1	1¾			
Charges of Management	265,881	15	10			
Annual or other Sums payable to the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, by sundry Acts of Parliament	13,010,892	11	11¾			
Total of Annual Expense				39,337,216	3	8¼

UNFUNDED DEBT.

An Account of the UNFUNDED DEBT *and* DEMANDS OUTSTANDING *on the 5th Day of January*, 1814.

	Amount Outstanding.					
	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
EXCHEQUER BILLS						
Exchequer Bills provided for - - - - - - -	20,194,600	0	0			
Ditto - unprovided for - - - - - - -	27,322,200	0	0			
				47,516,800	0	0
TREASURY:						
Miscellaneous Services - - - - - - - -	588,789	9	2¼			
Warrants for Army Services - - - - - - - -	76,599	9	6¼			
Treasury Bills - - - - - - - -	1,813,536	3	3¼			
				2,478,925	2	0¼
ARMY - - - - - - - - - -	-		-	1,477,877	4	0
Barracks - - - - - - - - - - -	-		-	204,617	1	7
Ordnance - - - - - - - - - - -	-		-	671,093	4	9
Navy - - - - - - - - - - -	-		-	8,561,290	17	3
Civil List Advances - - - - - - - -	-		-	58,363	2	4½
				60,968,966	11	11¾

PRICE OF STOCKS FOR EACH MONTH IN 1814—*Lowest and Highest.*

1814.	Bank Stock.	3 p. ct. red.	3 p. ct. cons.	4 p. ct. cons.	5 p. ct. Navy.	Long Ann.	India Stock.	India Bonds.	Exch. Bills.	S. Sea Stock.	Irish 5 p. cent.	Omnium.	New Omnium.
Jan.	234½ 262	62⅛ 67½	64¾ 67⅜	77⅝ 82⅞	94⅝ 95¾	15¼ 16¾	189¼ 193¼	par. 7 pr.	5 pr. 6 pr.	64⅝ 70¼		12½ pr. 20⅞ pr.	
Feb.	258 266	66⅛ 72¼	66¾ 72¼	82¾ 86⅝	95¾ 99½	16⅜ 18	195 201	6 pr. 8 pr.	5 pr. 7 pr.			19⅞ pr. 30 pr.	
March.	261½ 262½	70¾ 71¼	64¾ 71⅜	84⅞ 85⅜	93 98¼	17¼	199	6 pr. 12 pr.	3 pr. 6 pr.	65⅞ 71⅛	97½	15 pr. 28⅛ pr.	
April.	251½ 259	64⅜ 70⅞	62⅜ 72½	79⅜ 84	91⅛ 98¼	15¾ 16¾	196 198	2 dis. 16 pr.	6 dis. 9 pr.	68		11⅛ pr. 28 pr.	
May.	250 252	65⅜ 66¾	66¾ 67⅞	81 82¾	95 97½	16 16¼	194½ 196	5 pr. 11 pr.	6 pr. 2 pr.	66¼ 66⅝	96	19⅛ pr. 21 pr.	
June.	248 258	66¼ 70⅞	67⅜ 67¾	81⅞ 86⅝		16⅛ 17⅜	194	3 pr. 10 pr.	par. 7 pr.	66⅜ 70⅜		20⅝ pr. 25⅝ pr.	3¼ pr. 4¼ pr.
July.	258 260	67⅞ 69½	67⅝ 69¼	84¼ 84⅞	96⅝ 97⅝	16⅜ 17	193¾ 195¾	11 pr. 18 pr.	3 pr. 6 pr.	67½ 68⅜	96⅜		1½ pr. 4 pr.
Aug.	256½ 259	65⅞ 68⅝	65½ 68⅛	82¾ 84½	95⅝ 97	16⅝ 17	194 196	13 pr. 19 pr.	4 pr. 6 pr.	66⅞ 68⅛	96¾		2⅛ dis. 1⅜ pr.
Sept.	254	65¾ 66¼	62½ 66⅛	83¼ 84	93¼ 97	16⅝	192	7 pr. 14 pr.	1 dis. 5 pr.	68 69			6¼ dis. 1⅛ dis.
Oct.	247½ 250	63½ 64⅞	64⅛ 66⅛	80 81⅜	95⅝ 96⅜	16 16⅛	188½ 189¾	9 pr. 17 pr.	2 dis. 5 pr.	67¾ 68½			4⅛ dis. 1⅝ dis.
Nov.	244¼ 249½	62⅞ 65⅜	63⅞ 66¼	79½ 81¼	95⅜ 97⅛	15⅞ 16¼	188 188½	14 pr. 17 pr.	4 pr. 5 pr.	67¼ 67¾	92⅝ 98		4¾ dis. 1¾ dis.
Dec.	247½ 250½	64⅞ 66	66⅛ 66¼	81⅜ 82¼	97¼	16⅛ 16 5/16		13 pr. 19 pr.	2 pr. 5 pr.		93¼ 93½		2⅝ dis. 1¼ dis.

TABLE OF THE NUMBER OF BANKRUPTCIES IN ENGLAND.

From Dec. 14, 1813, *to Dec.* 20, 1814, *inclusive.*

January.	Feb.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
109	112	89	60	84	118	79	90	62	52	101	110

Total Bankruptcies . . 1066. Decreased from the last year . . 533.

LIST OF PATENTS.

John Cragg, Esq. for improvements in the facing, and exterior and interior walls of Gothic or other structures.

Mr Maurice de Jongh, for improvements in the manufacturing of madder.

Mr Isaac Wilson, for improvements on stove grates.

Mr Samuel Tyrrell, for a broadcast sowing machine.

Mr John Bateman, for an improvement on musical instruments.

Mr Thomas Wright, for an improved composition for dying scarlet and other colours.

Mr John S. Rogers, for a mode of making a species of wool into yarn.

Mr Jos. White, for improvements in steam-engines.

Mr W. Allamus Day, for a method of extracting the mucilaginous matter from whale oil.

Mr W. Spratcly, for an improvement on axle-trees.

Mr Thomas Sutherland, for an improvement in the construction of copper and iron sugar pans and boilers.

Lord Cochrane, for methods of regulating the atmospherical pressure in lamps, globes, &c.

Mr Ralph Sutton, for a security to prevent the accidental discharge of fowling-pieces, &c.

Mr James Cavanagh Murphy, for a method of preserving timber and other substances from decay.

Mr W. Stocker, for an improved cock for drawing liquor from casks.

Mr John Duffy, jun. for a method of producing patterns of cloth of calico or linen.

Timothy Harris, Esq. for a machine for laying on colours, printing, flocking, and pressing, so as to produce a smooth face on paper, and other articles.

Mr John Vallance, jun. for an apparatus for cooling worts, wash, &c.

Mr John Kershaw and *Mr John Wood*, for a mode of preparing flax for being spun on cotton machinery.

Mr Joseph Bramah, for applying certain species of earth to prevent the dry rot, and serve as a substitute for lead in paint.

Mr W. Fr. Hamilton, for improvements in optical instruments and apparatus.

Mr Richard Price, for an improved cooking apparatus.

Mr John Buddle, for a fire-pan or lamp, and a fire-grate, for burning inferior coals.

Mr James Thomson, for improvements in the construction of fire-arms.

Mr Dan. Goodall, for improvements in the manufacturing of English silk crapes.

Mr Alex. Cock, for prevention and cure of the dry rot in timber, and preserving woollen, linen, &c. from mildew.

Mr Roger Harlewood, for an improved folding-screen.

Mr Edward Steers, for a method of rendering stoppers of bottles, &c. air-tight.

Mr James Barclay and *Mr W. Cuming*, for improved wheels and axle-trees.

Mr John Slater, for improvement in a steam-boiler and apparatus for washing and cleansing clothes, warming closets, laundries, &c.

Mr Marc Isambard Brunel, for a method of giving durability to leather.

Mr Matt. Murray for improvements in hydraulic presses.

Mr W. Alfred Noble, for an improved steam and fire engine.

Mr Emanuel Heaton, for improvements in the locks and breeches of fire-arms.

Mr J. Sparks Moline, for an improved method of tanning leather.

Mr Jos. du Dyer, for an improvement in machinery for manufacturing nails.

Mr George Smart, for improvements of machinery for grinding corn, &c.

Mr James Wood, for an improvement on the German flute.

Mr J. U. Rastrick, for a steam-engine on a new construction.

Mr Isaac Walton, for a method of making stamped fronts for stoves, fenders, tea-trays, &c.

Mr Jos. Roberts, for an apparatus to be used for map rollers, carriage blinds, and the like.

Mr William Whitfield, for certain improvements in carriages.

Mr John Read, for means of raising and conveying water and other fluids by earthen pipes.

Mr Lewis Gomperts, for improvements in carriages and other machines.

Mr David Grant, for apparatus for drawing off liquids impregnated with fixed air.

Mr J. Bernard Logier, for apparatus for facilitating the acquirement of execution on the piano-forte.

Mr Jos. Price, for a method of making glass.

John Vancouver, Esq. for a method for painting surfaces with certain materials.

Mr T. Abree Pickering, for the security of remittances by coaches.

Mr William Mault, for improved method of acting upon machinery.

Mr William Neville, for a method of making hurdles, gates, palisades, rails, &c.

Mr William Sellars, for a method of laying out ropes, twine, line, thread, &c. by machinery.

Mr George Haywood, for an improved plan of turning rolls, and of rolling gun and pistol barrels.

Mr John Stubbs Jorden, for an improved method of making the lights, and for other improvements, in horticultural buildings.

Mr Grant Preston, for concave cabin stoves.

Mr John Buxton, for an improved method of twisting and laying cotton silk, and other articles.

Mr Thomas Tindall, for improvements on the steam engine.

Messrs John Maberly and *John Barrow*, for a method of securing carriage glasses.

Mr W. Fr. Hamilton, for improvements in making liquids impregnated with carbonic acid gas.

Mr B. L. Mertion, for a method of extracting jelly from substances capable of affording it.

Mr J. Dawson, for means of communicating motion to bodies surrounded by water or air.

4

Mr J. Smith, for a spring hinge for doors and gates.

Mr Dunnage, for a method of rowing or propelling vessels.

Mr H. W. Vandercleft, for a method of purifying whale and seal oil.

Mr A. Hill, for improvements in melting and working of iron.

Mr W. Jonson, for an improved process for making salt.

Mr W. Doncaster, for improvements in navigating vessels, accelerating the motion of carriages, &c.

Mr T. Sykes, for improvements on fire-arms.

Mr J. Collier, for a machine for combing wool, flax, hemp, and cotton.

Mr J. Thomson, for a method of making ships governable.

Mr E. C. Howard, for a method of separating insoluble substances from fluids.

Mr T. Mitchell, for a machine for raising water to impel machinery.

Mr T. S. Pauly, for improvements in fire-arms.

Mr G. Courtald, for a spindle for the manufacture of silk thread.

Mr S. Erard, for improvements in musical instruments.

Mr M. Larkin, for improvements in ships windlasses.

Mr H. W. Vandercleft, for a walking staff to contain a variety of articles.

Mr R. Salmon, for machines for making hay.

Messrs J. and G. Dickenson, for improvements of machinery in making paper.

Messrs J. Penny and Jos. Kendall, or a method of making pill and other small boxes.

Mr W. Lister, for an improved machine for separating corn or seeds from straw and chaff.

Messrs J. and P. Taylor, for improvements in a weaving loom.

Mr E. Sheffield, for improvements in manufacturing copper and other metallic substances.

Mr J. Dobbs, for improvements in manufacturing machines for cutting and gathering grain.

Mr A. F. Didot, for improvement in making printing types.

Mr A. Shaw, for apparatus for cutting window and plate glass.

Mr W. Sampson, for improvements in raising water.

Mr R. Philips, for an improved plough.

Mr J. Longhurst, for a barrel organ with a self-acting swell.

Mr J. Walters, for improvements in the construction of frame timbers or binds of ships.

Mr W. Howard, for improved apparatus for working ships, pumps, churns, &c.

Mr L. Didot, for improvements for illuminating apartments by the combustion of tallow, &c.

Mr W. Benicke, for an improved method of manufacturing verdigris.

Mr E. Massy, for improved chronometers and pocket watches.

Mr H. Hall, for an improved method of preparing and spinning hemp, flax, &c.

Mr R. Barlow, for an instrument called the hydrostatic self-blowing machine.

POETIC MIRROR.

Mopsa. Is it true, think you?
Aut. Very true,—and but a month old.

We are enabled, by the kindness of the Editor, to gratify our readers with the following Extracts from a work under the above title, which will speedily be given to the public. Whether, as he stoutly protests in his preface, they are " a true thing," or whether, according to the motto under which he sends them forth, they are " very true—and a month old," *we must leave undecided. Certainly, however, they are extremely ingenious, and, if not the actual substances they assume to be, they are most admirable* reflections *of them.*

THE GUERILLA.—Lord Byron.

* * * *

With torch in hand, and all with blood besprent,
And looks that might the stoutest heart dismay,
Forthwith he entered the dismal tent,
Where, all forlorn, the lovely Kela lay;
He placed his torch ere word he deign'd to say,
Then gazed on her sweet face with sorrow steep'd;
At first she clasped him in fondest way,
But minding what she was, her blood ycrept,
She hid her youthful face with both her hands, and wept.

" Well may'st thou wail," he said, in deepest tone,
" That face I loved above all earthly thing!
But never more shall smile beam thereupon,
For thou art lost beyond recovering!
To life of scorn can thy young spirit cling,
To kindred and to friends a lothful stain,
A beacon set each lover's heart to wring?
It may not be—a momentary pain—
One penance undergone, and thou art pure again!"

She look'd into his face, and there beheld
The still unmoving darkness of his eye;
She thought of that could never be cancell'd,
And lay in calm and sweet benignity;
Down by her side her arms outstretched lie,
Her beauteous breast was fairer than the snow,
And then with stifled sob and broken sigh
Its fascinating mould was heaving so,—
Never was movement seen so sweetly come and go!

He drew his bloody poniard from his waist,
And press'd against her breast its point of steel;
No single boon she to his ear address'd!
Calm did she lie as one who did not feel!
No shiver once did agony reveal;
Scarce did she move a finger by her side,
Though her heart's blood around her did congeal;
With mild but steady look his face she eyed,
And once upon her tongue his name in whisper died.

With gloomy mien and unrelenting heart,
O'er her he hung and watch'd her life's decay;
He mark'd the pulse's last convulsive start,
And the sweet breath in fetches waste away.
Just ere the last these words she did assay:
"Now all is past—unblameable I die."
Then her pale lips did close no more for aye,
A dim blue haze set slowly o'er her eye,
And low on purpled couch that mountain flower did lie.

"Ay, it is so!" exclaim'd he—"and 'tis well!
Even yet I would not wish thy life reprieved—
Of thy firm soul shall future ages tell,
Nor could thy spotless fame have been retrieved—
Oh ne'er to be wash'd out the stain received!
Fair sacrifice, thou hast not died in vain!"
He prest the breast which now no longer heaved,
And his warm lips to hers did closely strain;
But ah! that passive lip—it did not kiss again!

"By this dear blood," he cried, "again I swear
Revenge unslaked for ever to pursue;
Heaven was my witness how I held thee dear,
And shall be witness what I'll dare for you!"
In the warm tide his arms he did imbue,
And form'd a cross of blood upon his breast;
Then, maniac-like, forth to the fight he flew
In Marot's gear and spangled helmet drest,
And Kela's raven hair waved on it for a crest.

* * * *

Alayni led the van—on him they look'd
As something more than man in prowess bold;
One to be fear'd he seem'd, but hardly brook'd;
A demon spirit not to be controll'd.
Mounted on steed with bits and spurs of gold,
No leader ever wore more martial air,
No banner o'er his host was seen unroll'd,
Save the red cross of blood his bosom bare,
And waving in the wind the virgin's raven hair.

* * * *

He who hath seen a ship triumphant sail,
Full gaily on before the breeze's wing,
High wooing in the clouds the fitful gale,
Till, proudly bold and undistinguishing,
Instant she rolleth with resistless swing
Where two opposing tides together flow,
While mariners to mast and rigging cling,
And wot not how to steer or where to go,—
He may conceive the scene, and he alone can know.

O how Alayni joy'd in the deray
And wild astonishment that seized the foe!
Like greedy wolf that gorges up his prey,
Or hungry lion, did he onward go;
And over wounded warriors lying low,
Spurning and writhing in most piteous case,
Full joyful did he prance; and loved it so,
He rein'd his horse to rear upon the place,
Causing his mailed hooves deform the human face!

They call'd for mercy and their arms threw down;
But fierce Alayni when their plight he saw,
He spurr'd, and, laughing loud, rush'd them upon,
Gashing their bodies so, withouten awe
Of warrior usance or of nature's law,—
They deem'd him demon in the shape of man,
Ne could they from the massacre withdraw
Who follow'd him, for still their eyes foreran
Young Kela's coal-black hair y'streaming in the van.

* * * *

But dark Alayni at their head still held
His stern demeanour and his downcast eye,
And when to listening or to speech compell'd,
Red was his look and sullen the reply,

As if his mind on incidents gone by
Hung with a dry and hollow thirstiness,
Or toil'd in trouble through futurity,
Unable for one moment to repress
The agony within, of spirit comfortless.

The common woes that human kind belay,
May by the pen or language be defined;
The sigh may tell of them, the tear betray,—
Like these, away they pass upon the wind:
But that insatiate yearning of the mind
Still preying, hungering, craving still to prey,
Doom'd never bourn or resting-place to find;
O that must torture, undivulged for aye,
Save in the soul's still voice, the eye's perturbed ray.

* * * *

Alayni vanishes in darksome shade,
Home to his cabin each Guerilla reels,
Loaded with spoil, and leading captive maid,
Or high-born dame, that sore degradance feels.
In vain she supplicates, in vain she kneels,
The high-flushed conquerors will take no nay:
Deep is the sleep each weary eye that seals;
But there is one abroad till break of day,
From whom the shuddering watch-dog growling turns away.

O follow not that dark perturbed form
Down by the winding wave or shadowy tree,
Whose mind would better suit the raving storm
Than such a scene of mild tranquillity!
He sees a form no other eye can see,
He hears a voice no other ear can hear:
A lovely breast heaving with agony
Is still before his eye, and in his ear
Whispers a voice of woe to his moved spirit dear.

Can that sweet voice induce to vengeful deed?
Can that unearthly stillness of the eye
Arouse to murder or to suicide?
Oh, it is ever present, ever nigh!
With blasphemy and cursing his reply
Is fully fraught—his eye-balls wildly stare,
With horrid laughter hell he does defy;
Then turns his brow to heaven with fiend-like air,
And flouts the eternal God in mockery of prayer!

Is the brain fevered, or has baleful fiend
Expelled humanity and enter'd in,
That thus his mouth and nostrils wide distend?
Gasping he seems for breath, but cannot win
So much of the night-air, that, cool and thin,
Wanders o'er earth, yet will not quench the heat
That burns his fervid panting chest within;
O, Heaven! can life-blood only that abate?
Did'st thou the human frame for slaughter thus create?

* * * *

That live-long night by village mansion sped
A darkling ruffian all in blood besmeared,
With breath repress'd, with swift and silent tread,
To every dwelling, every couch he neared,—
No guardian angel of the fair appeared!
Heaven wept in copious dews—uprose the day—
What horrors brain of wakening lover seared,
When in his arms he found the gelid clay,
Or roll'd from his embrace the sever'd head away!

* * * *

I've heard of one, of whom have many heard,
That on Segovia's mountains roamed a while,
A savage hero of most strange regard,
On whose dak visage never beamed a smile,
Whose beard was never trimmed, whose ruthless to
Of slaughter only with existence ceased,
Who died in maniac guise 'mid bloody broil,
Laughing aloud, yet pressing to his breast
A tiar of raven hair which every morn he kissed.

It was Alayni—dost thou wail his case?—
Beloved unhappy, restless unbeloved.
Oh, there are minds that not for happiness
Were framed here nor hereafter, who ne'er proved
A joy, save in some object far removed,
Who leave with loathing that they longed to win,
That evermore to that desired have roved,
While the insatiate gnawing is within,
And happiness for aye beginning to begin.

5

THE STRANGER.—Wordsworth.

BEING A FARTHER PORTION OF "THE RECLUSE," A POEM.

Fair was the scene and wild—a lonely tarn
Lay bosom'd in the hill, and it was calm
As face of slumbering childhood—yea so calm
That magic mirror of the mountain reign
Was spread, that vision scarcely could discern
The water from the land, or rightly mark
The green-sward patch, the hazel bush, the rock,
From those fair copies on the element,
The shadow from the substance—save that one
Was softer and more delicately green.

A traveller came along—tall was his steed,
And rich that steed's caparison—but he,
The rider, was a man uncouth to view;
For his attire was not like other men:
His beard was all untrimm'd, and his fair locks
Seem'd tann'd by suns and bleached by the rain.
A man he was
Regardless of the world and the world's scorn.
Red was the corner of his eye, and yet
It seem'd to beam a glance of living flame;
A ray scarce earthly hung upon its sphere;
A spark was lurking there, which, just as chanced
The substance that enkindled it, would show
The fiend or cherub.—On that traveller came,
Slow and indifferent—solemn were his thoughts,
Determined but astray—still from his breast
Issued a hollow sound like one who pray'd
Or sung some holy hymn, but still his eye,
His red and troubled eye, turn'd ruefully,
(Mix'd with a nameless feeling of delight,)
Upon that peaceful solitary lake.

Ah, did he deem he saw pourtrayed there
A vision of that distant future world
To which the yearning soul so fondly clings!
And did he ween that beauteous baseless shade
An emblem of that long eternity
So shaped to human longings!—Righteous one!
That ever eye that gazes on thy works
Should on the soul such motley visions fling!
Slow past he on, and still the solemn sound
Flow'd from his breast, although his lips not moved.

A boy came from the mountains, tripping light
With basket on his arm—and it appear'd
That there was butter there, for the white cloth
That over it was spread, not unobserved,
In tiny ridges gently rose and fell
Like graves of children cover'd o'er with snow;
And by one clumsy fold the traveller spied
One roll of yellow treasure, all as pure
As primrose bud reflected in the lake.
"Boy," said the stranger, "wilt thou hold my steed
Till I walk round the corner of that mere?
When I return I will repay thee well."
The boy consented—touch'd his slouching hat
Of broad unequal brim with ready hand,
And set his basket down upon the sward.

The traveller went away—but ere he went
He stroak'd his tall brown steed, and look'd at him
With kind, but yet not unregretful eye.
The boy stood patient—glad was he to earn
The little pittance—well the stripling knew
Of window in the village, where stood ranged
The brown and tempting cakes—well sprinkled o'er
With the sham raisin and deceitful plum,
And, by corporeal functions sway'd, his mind
Forestall'd the luxury with supreme delight.

Long, long he patient stood—the day was hot,
The butter ran in streamlets, and the flies
Came round in thousands—o'er the horse's head
A moving, darkening canopy they hung,
Like the first foldings of the thunder-cloud
That, gathering, hangs on Bowfell's hoary peak.

The stranger came not back,—the little boy
Cast many a wistful look—his mind was mazed,
Like as a brook that travels through the glade,

By complicated tanglement involved,
Not knowing where to run—and haply he
Had sunk inert—but that in patience—or
Perhaps incited by a curious mind,
He cast his eyes to east, and west, and north,
But nothing save the rocks, and trees, and walls,
(Of gray stones built, and cover'd on the top
Sheep-fold-wise, with a cope of splinter'd flags,
That half-diverging stood upon their edge
And half-reclining lay) came in the range
Of his discernment—some full bitter tears
At length came flowing down the poor boy's cheek.

The steed was all impatience—high his head,
And higher still his ears were rear'd aloft;
For his full eye (nigh blinded by a shade
Of stubborn leather—a half round it was,
In shape like to the holy moon, when she
Glides o'er the midnight heaven on silent foot,
When half her course and some few stages more
Already has been run) that eye was fix'd
On a huge stone, that on the mountain lay
Like dome of eastern temple, or the mosque
Where pagans worship.—Loudly did he neigh;
For he mistook it for a gallant steed
Feeding in peaceful quiet—while, alas!
He was compell'd to stand upon the road
Held by a fretful boy the live-long day.
His fore-hoof, mailed with an iron shell
That shone like silver, fiercely did he strike
Against the sounding earth—Up rose the dust
And fire withal, like to the smouldering smoke
And flash that rises from the evening gun
Of perverse hind, that in concealment lies
To watch the timid hare—relentless sport!
And then his tail, which farrier's hand obscene
Had rudely maul'd and sore curtail'd withal,
And by incision cruel, and the help
Of pullied cords, made that point up to heaven
Which God ordain'd should hang towards the earth
With graceful sweep—O shame! that impious man
Should in unrighteous pride thus lay exposed
Unto the stifled winds and eye of day
That Nature meant to hide!—This tail was heard
Whistling across the ambient air, with sound
Of blasting wrath, loud as the choral hymn
Of mountain spirit, when by fits he sings
The prelude of the storm within the caves

Of gray Helvellyn—loudly wept the boy,
And much he fear'd; for oft that angry steed
Turn'd round his head with with such precipitance
To dash the insects from his glossy side,
That the poor boy in veriest danger stood
To have his brains knock'd out; yet still he kept
His hold, though sore beset.—At length he heard
A voice rise from the bosom of the hill,
Or from the heart of that small peaceful lake,
He knew not which—it broke along the air
That wander'd o'er that slumbering solitude
With such a solemn and impressive tone,
That not though heaven in distant thunder had
Spoke words of human breath, could these so much
The heart of man have shook, and all his powers
So utterly astounded.—On it came
With gathering boom—loud and more loud it came,
And passing, died upon the trembling wind,
Or crept into the silence of the hill,
Like startled spirit, and was heard no more!
It was a beetle—somewhere it had been
At elvish carol on that mountain's breast,
Or haply dancing with the daffodills,
Upon the margin of that lovely lake
Ycleped a tarn or water—or mayhap
From dwelling 'mid the maze of glow-worm lamps
That with faint radiance gild the earthly woods,
When dews fall soft and nature lies reposed,
Proud of the rayless halo round them shed,
Which only lights that one particular leaf
On which the parent hangs, like a small gem
Upon the lap of night. The boy held in
His breath for full five seconds—then again
Pour'd forth the bray of agony; the night
Fell dark and deep—the moon was not in heaven,
But lingering in the domes beneath the world,
(As weens the hind) throwing his yellow light
Far up the steep, on trees, and pendant hills,
But to that poor distress'd, perplexed boy
As if she had not been.—The horse went round
Most unrespective, and, not satisfied
With whisking his dark tail in furious guise,
He broke on all propriety, with snort
Like blustering cannon, or the noise that bursts
From heaven in thunder through the summer rain.
The boy was stunn'd—for on similitude,
In dissimilitude man's sole delight,
And all the sexual intercourse of things
Do most supremely hang.—The horse went round,

Jerk'd with his nose, and shook his harness so
The boy wax'd desperate, and—O impious elf!
He cursed that hungry beast—the horse went round,
And round, and round; and pulling in his head
To his fore-pastern, upward made it spring
So forcibly, the poor boy's feeble arm
Was paralyzed—his hold he lost—and off
Like lightning flew the steed, that never more
Was in these regions seen!—Some did report,
Though, I believe, the tale was all untrue,
That a right wayward bard, whom I regret
As having left these mountains, where alone
True genius uncontaminate can thrive,
Was seen cantering through Chester on that horse;
And others, that he afterwards became
The horse of a strange youth, not unrenown'd
In early life, who undertook the charge
Of chaplain to a military troop,
Cheer'd by the Highland bagpipe and the drum.

No more the poor boy cried—he lifted up
His basket from the earth into the air,
That unview'd element that circumfolds
The earth within its bosom; there he felt
With his left-hand how it affected was
By the long day and burning sun of heaven.
It was all firm and flat—no ridges rose
Like graves of children—basket, butter, cloth,
Were all one piece coherent!—To his home
The boy return'd right sad and sore aghast.

No one believed his tale—they deem'd it was
A truant idler's story, in excuse
Of charge neglected.—Days and months past on,
And all remain'd the same—the maidens sung
Along the hay-field—at the even tide
The dance and merriment prevail'd—the sky
Was pure as heretofore—the mid-day winds
Arose and ruffled all the peaceful lake,
The clouds of heaven past over—nature all
Appear'd the same as if that stranger wight
Had never been—save that it was observed
That Daniel Crosthwaite, who, beside the tarn,
From good Sir William rented a few fields,
Appear'd at church with a much better hat
Than he was wont, for it was made of down
That by the broad Ontario's shores had grown
On the sleek beaver;—on his window too
A book one day was seen, and none could tell

How it came there—it was a work in the
French tongue, a novel of Voltaire—these things
Were noted, whisper'd, and thought of no more.

Late did I journey there with bard obscure
From Scotland's barren wastes,—barren alike
Of verdure, intellect, and moral sense,—
To view that lonely tarn.—He too was there,
The changeful and right feeble bard now styled
The Laureate—he too of the Palmy Isle,
The man of plagues, horrors, and miseries,
Disgrace of that sweet school, that tuneful choir
Named from these peaceful waters—he who framed
An imitation of that lay divine
Which is inimitable.—Not inept,
Our conversation ran on books and men:
The would-be songster of the Scottish hills,
In dialect most uncouth and language rude,
Lauded his countrymen, not unrebuked,
Reviewers and review'd, and talk'd amain
Of one unknown, inept, presumptuous bard,
The Border Minstrel—he of all the world
Farthest from genius or from common sense.
He too, the royal tool, with erring tongue,
Back'd the poor foolish wight, and utter'd words
For which I blush'd—I could not chuse but smile.
"Yet," said I, tempted here to interpose,
"You must acknowledge this your favourite
Hath more outraged the purity of speech,
The innate beauties of our English tongue,
For amplitude and nervous structure famed,
Than all the land beside, and therefore he
Deserves the high neglect which he has met
From all the studious and thinking—those
Unsway'd by low caprices of the age,
The scorn of reason, and the world's revile."
More had I said derisive—yes, by heaven!
Much more I would have said, but that just then
He of the Palms with startled eye look'd round,
And such an eye, as any one may guess
To whom that eye is known—for he beheld
What I yet shudder to define.—"Great God!"
The youth exclaim'd, "see what is lying there!"
He of the laurel, who was next to him,
Nay, haply nigher to the shore than he,
Stared in amaze, but he can nothing see;
And in his haste, instead of looking down
Into the water, he look'd up to Heaven:
A most preposterous habit, which the bard

Practises ever and anon—I look'd
Into the peaceful lake, and there beheld
The bones of one who once in mortal life
Had lived and moved—a human skeleton!
I may not say what horrors shook my frame!
The bones seem'd loose, nor film nor ligament
Bound them together, yet each one maintain'd
Its proper place, as loth to break the mould
In which a human soul once householded.
It was a ghastly sight!—where once the heart
Of feeling and of passion play'd, or beat
With ardent throb, lay the dark filmy mud
That gathers in the deep, and on the bones
Appear'd thin soapy spots of greenish hue;
The jaws upon the nape-bone had fallen down,
The skull seem'd looking up—there had he died!
His back upon the sand, his face to heaven.

My mind, borne on the influence of truth,
Turn'd instantly upon the poor boy's tale.
Rightly I judged, for there indeed we saw
All that remain'd of him, the stranger wight,
That lonely wanderer of the mountain reign.

It boots not here to tell all that was said.
The Laureate, sighing, utter'd some few words
Of most sublime and solemn tendency.
The Shepherd spoke most incoherent stuff
About the bones of sheep, that on the hills
Perish unseen, holding their stations so.
And he, the tented Angler of the lakes,
Alias the Man of Palms, said nothing meet.
He was o'ercome with feeling,—it is known
To many, and not quite to me unknown,
That the youth's heart is better than his head.

Glad of this opportunity, I said,
Still pointing to the bones, " Access for you
Is yet preserved to principles of truth,
Which the imaginative will upholds
In seats of wisdom, not to be approach'd
By the inferior faculty that moulds
With her minute and speculative plans
Opinions ever changing—I have seen
Regenerative Nature prostrate lie
And drink the soul of things—of living things
And things inanimate, and thus hold up
The beings that we are—that change shall clothe
The naked spirit ceasing to deplore

The burden of existence, her dull eye
To other scenes still changing still unchanged.
The thinking thoughtless school-boy, the bold youth
Of soul impetuous, and the bashful maid,
All cogitative yield obedience up.
And whence this tribute? wherefore these regards?
Not from the naked heart alone of man,
Though framed to high distinction upon earth.
As the sole spring and fountain-head of tears,
His own peculiar utterance for distress
Or gladness—it is not the vital part
Of feeling to produce them, without aid
From the pure soul, the soul sublimed and pure
With her two faculties of eye and ear,
Not without such assistance could the eye
Of these benign observances prevail;
Thus are they born, thus foster'd, and maintain'd,
And by the care prospective of our wise
Forefathers, who, to guard against the shocks,
The fluctuation, and decay of things.
There lies the channel and original bed,"
Continued I, still pointing to the lake,
"From the beginning hollow'd out and scoop'd
For man's affections, else betray'd and lost,
And swallow'd up 'mid desarts infinite.
This is the genuine course, the aim and end
Of prescient reason, all conclusions else
Are abject, vain, presumptuous, and perverse."

The men were thunderstruck; the Angler most,
That man of palms and plagues, vile copyist!
Seem'd compassed in wonder—in my face
Wistful he gazed, and ever and anon
He utter'd a short sound at every pause,
But further ventured not—upon the ear
Of the poor Shepherd all these breathings fell
Like sound of distant waters—like the rain,
The treasures of the sky, on the firm flint,
So moveless his impenetrative soul.
He scratch'd his poll—the Laureate look'd to heaven.

More had I said, resuming the discourse
Of subterraneous magazines of bones,
The faint reflections of infinitude,
The moon and the unvoyageable sky,
And all the high observances of things,
But that, chancing again to turn my eyes
Toward the bosom of that peaceful mere,
I saw a form so ominous approach
My heart was chill'd with horror—through the wave

Slowly it came—by heaven I saw it move
Toward the grizly skeleton!—Its shape
Was like a coffin, and its colour such,
Black as the death-pall or the cloud of night!
At sight of such a hideous messenger,
Thus journeying through the bowels of the deep,
O'er sluggish leaf and unelaborate stone,
All Nature stood in mute astonishment,
As if her pulse lay still—onward it came,
And hovering o'er the bones, it linger'd there
In a most holy and impressive guise.
I saw it shake its hideous form, and move
Towards my feet—The elements were hush'd,
The birds forsook their singing, for the sight
Was fraught with wonder and astonishment.
It was a tadpole—somewhere by itself
The creature had been left, and there had come
Most timeously, by Providence sent forth,
To close this solemn and momentous tale.

ISABELLE.—S. T. Coleridge.

Can there be a moon in heaven to-night,
That the hill and the grey cloud seem so light?
The air is whiten'd by some spell,
For there is no moon, I know it well;
On this third day, the sages say,
('Tis wonderful how well they know,)
The moon is journeying far away,
Bright somewhere in a heaven below.

It is a strange and lovely night,
A greyish pale, but not white!
Is it rain, or is it dew,
That falls so thick I see its hue?
In rays it follows, one, two, three,
Down the air so merrily,
Said Isabelle, so let it be!

Why does the Lady Isabelle
Sit in the damp and dewy dell
Counting the racks of drizzly rain,
And how often the Rail cries over again?
For she's harping, harping in the brake
Craik, craik——Craik, craik.

Ten times nine, and thrice eleven ;—
That last call was a hundred and seven.
Craik, craik—the hour is near—
Let it come, I have no fear !
Yet it is a dreadful work, I wis,
Such doings in a night like this !

Sounds the river harsh and loud ?
The stream sounds harsh, but not loud.
There is a cloud that seems to hover,
By western hill the church-yard over,
What is it like ?—'Tis like a whale ;
'Tis like a shark with half the tail,
Not half, but third and more ;
Now 'tis a wolf, and now a boar ;
It's face is raised—it cometh here ;
Let it come—there is no fear.
There's two for heaven, and ten for hell,
Let it come—'tis well—'tis well !
Said the Lady Isabelle.

What ails that little cut-tail'd whelp,
That it continues to yelp, yelp ?
Yelp, yelp, and it turns its eye
Up to the tree and half to the sky,
Half to the sky and full to the cloud,
And still it whines and barks aloud.
Why I should dread I cannot tell ;
There is a spirit : I know it well !
I see it in yon falling beam—
Is it a vision or a dream ?
It is no dream, full well I know,
I have a woful deed to do !
Hush, hush, thou little murmurer ;
I tell thee hush—the dead are near !

If thou knew'st all, poor tail-less whelp,
Well might'st thou tremble, growl, and yelp ;
But thou know'st nothing, hast no part,
(Simple and stupid as thou art)
Save gratitude and truth of heart.
But they are coming by this way
That have been dead for a year and a day ;
Without challenge, without change,
They shall have their full revenge !
They have been sent to wander in woe
In the lands of flame, and the lands of snow ;
But those that are dead
Shall the green sward tread,
And those that are living
Shall soon be dead !

None to pity them, none to help!
Thou may'st quake, my cut-tail'd whelp!

There are two from the grave
That I fain would save;
Full hard is the weird
For the young and the brave;
Perchance they are rapt in vision sweet,
While the passing breezes kiss their feet;
And they are dreaming of joy and love!—
Well, let them go—there's room above.

There are three times three, and three to these,
Count as you will, by two's or three's;
Three for the gallows, and three for the wave,
Three to roast behind the stone,
And three that shall never see the grave
Until the day and the hour are gone!
For retribution is mine alone!
The cloud is redder in its hue,
The hour is near, and vengeance due;
It cannot, and it will not fail,—
'Tis but a step to Borrowdale!
Why should'st thou love and follow me,
Poor faithful thing? I pity thee!

Up rose the Lady Isabelle,
I may not of her motion tell,
Yet thou may'st look upon her frame;
Look on it with a passing eye,
But think not thou upon the same,
Turn away, and ask not why;
For if thou darest look again,
Mad of heart and seared of brain,
Thou shalt never look again!

* * * *

THE CONCLUSION.

Sleep on, fair maiden of Borrowdale!
Sleep! O sleep! and do not wake.
Dream of the dance, till the foot so pale,
And the beauteous ancle shiver and shake;
Till thou shalt press, with feeling bland,
Thine own fair breast for lover's hand.

Thy heart is light as summer breeze,
Thy heart is joyous as the day ;
Man never form of angel sees,
But thou art fair as they !
So lovers ween, and so they say,
So thine shall ween for many a day !
The hour's at hand, O woe is me !
For they are coming, and they are three !

PETER OF BARNET.—Southey.

Peter of Barnet—know'st thou such a man ?
'Tis meet thou should'st, for he's a manual
Which one may ever read,—I love old Peter !
Not for his genius or stupendous science,
For he has neither ; while his outward man,
Mien, word, and manner, has no other gloss
Than that the stubborn hand of Nature framed
By mallet and by chisel,—but he is
A character distinct,—I ever love
A man that is so,—many have I known,
And many studied with poetic eye.

Peter is one—the slave of keen sensation.
So obviously affected is his heart,
By that he hears and sees, that passion there
Holds everlasting coil,—farther than these,
Peter makes no research,—they are enough
For any heart to brook. I oft have weened,
If Peter neither saw nor heard, he would
Be happier than he is.—What boy is that,
At whom you scold so much, said I, good Peter ?

Rascal ! said he,—he is as great a knave
As wags beneath the sun,—a saucy knave,
Whom I have reared and nourished as my own.
His mother was a vagrant—no good dame,
I ween, was she—She came unto my house
One rainy summer eve, followed by him,
That naughty rogue—a little urchin then,
Not five years old—Brown with the sun he was,
And ragged as a colt !—his head was bare,
And weather-beaten like the tufted moss.

Far far behind he lagged, for he was lame,
And sore bedraggled,—by his foot still kept
A little dog, his fellow traveller
And bosom friend.—I felt I wot not how
For the young imp, for he came wading on
Through mud and mire, halting most wofully.
The guttered road his soal might not imprint,
For it was wounded,—but with dexterous skill
He placed his foot on edge, and ambled thus.

Then Peter walked across the field and back
With awkward limp, to show me how the boy
Walked out the way,—the fancy pleased him much,
For ever and anon he laughed at it,
And yet the tear was pacing down his cheek.
'Twas just this way he walked, poor soul, said Peter;
And then, with turned-up foot, and gait oblique,
Again he halted lamely o'er the ridge,
Laughing with shrilly voice, and all the while
Wiping his eyes.—I thought I saw, said Peter,
An independence in the child's blue eye,
A soul that seemed determined to outbrave
Reproach and sufferance,—and to work his way
Throughout the world, though scarce a ray of hope
Lay onward to allure or beckon him.

* * * *

I could not sleep a wink at night, said Peter,
Nor could I think of aught but the poor boy,
The little ragged pilgrim of the world!
Poor devil! said I, an hundred times I ween
And more,—and then I turned! and turned! and turned!
I sighed a prayer for the unfortunate,
And tried to think of others in distress.
I thought that many a fair and comely mother
Shed the salt tear o'er an unfathered boy,
Who, all unconscious, lay upon her breast,
His only shelter, while, alas! that breast
And beauteous head no shelter had at all!
I tried such things to ponder,—'twas in vain!
My thoughts were on the boy.—I saw him still!
The little sun-burnt, naked raggamuffian!
His round red lip and independent eye!
The tiny conscript on the field of life,
The veteran of eternity!—I wept—
And turned! and turned!—Good God! said I, what's this!

His tale was never ended, nor would mine
Should I go on, and deftly follow him
Through every maze of feeling,—but the boy
Lives with old Peter,—they have never parted,
Nor ever will till death shall sunder them.

* * * *

It chanced that on the cold wet field we found
A mountain daisy blooming all alone.
I paused, and spoke of Burns, the Scottish bard.
Peter had heard the name,—I then conned o'er
The lines unto the Daisy in a tone
Most tender and affecting.—Peter looked
As he would look me through—he could not ween
Of feeling for a flower, and yet he felt
A kind of sympathy, that overpowered
All his philosophy.—He took a stone,
And placed it tall on end.—Herbert, said he,
When thou plough'st down this ridge, spare me this flower.
I charge thee note it well,—and for thy life
Do it no injury.—Pugh! said the clown,
Such stuff!—I shall not mind it—He went on
Whistling his tune.—Oh Peter was most wroth!
He run in hasty guise around, and looked
For a convenient stone, that he might throw
And smite the ploughman's head.—No one would suit.
Then, turning round to me, he gave full vent
To his rage against the hind, and all was o'er.
In his first heat, he cursed the menial race;
I told you they were all alike, said he,
A most provoking and ungracious set;
(Peter had never told me such a thing.)
Now did you ever see a wretch like that?
He's a good workman, and he knows it well,
But not one thing that I desire of him
Will he perform. I'm an old fool, 'tis true,
But yet methinks the man that eats my bread
Might somewhat humour me. I thought so too.
But ah! said Peter, when I think on this,
The freedom of the will, by man so valued,
Is not his own!—and that how proud he is
Sometimes to show it, then I give it him;
And when I do, I have not cause to rue.
What a discerning learned man is Peter!
He's nature's genuine, plain philosopher.

That night, at board, Peter sat silent long,
Thoughtful he was.—I think I've heard, said he,

That Burns, of whom you spake, was a bad man,
A man of a most vicious, tainted mind,
Fit to corrupt an age.—Was it not so ?

Alas ! said I, never was man abused
So much as he !—He was a good man, Peter ;
A man of noble independent mind,
So high, that wealth's low minions envied it ;
Exerting all their malice to assail
His only part that was assailable.
Keen were his feelings and his passions strong,
Such as your own.—The vantage ground was gained.
The foes of genius came, in social guise,
Luring to gusts of blindfold levity
The bard that sore repented.—These were blabbed
With tenfold zest, until the injured heart
Of genius was wrung—It broke !—and then
The foes of humble and inherent worth,
O how they triumphed o'er the Poet's dust !

D—n them ! said Peter,—he thrust back his chair,
Dashed one knee o'er the other furiously,
Took snuff a double portion,—swallowed down
His glass at once,—looked all around the room
With wrathful eye, and then took snuff again.

I love old Peter ! I would rather see
Nature's strong workings in the human breast,
Than list the endless dogmas which define
Their operations and deep-hidden springs.
Peter's a living representative,
A glossary to many terms, that stand
In fair-cast characters upon the page
Of the philosopher,—in other form
To him unknown.—But these are fading all ;
Impressed themselves, they no impression leave ;
Peter's a stereotype,—that for an age
Will momently throw bold impressions off,
Ever demonstrative, and ever new.
When next I visit him, I'll copy forth
One other page from nature's manual.

THE MORNING STAR,

OR THE STEAM-BOAT OF ALLOA.—John Wilson.

O blessed thing of calm delight,
Art thou a phantom of the night,
That slumber'st by the lonely strand,
Dreaming of breezes from Fairy Land?
Well, glorious creature, may'st thou lie
Smiling on the refulgent sky,
For thy heart is calm and motionless,
And the stars shall view thee soon
Sailing in conscious blessedness,
Thou sister of the Moon!
And every garden of the deep,
And orb that shines above,
Shall see thee gliding swift as sleep,
In holiness and love,
Over the scarcely touched wave,
Along the homeless sea;—
O world of waters, the peaceful grave
Ne'er lay entranced like thee!
The Moon hath bidden her radiance fall
On thy rainbow form and viewless wings,
And the heavenly voice of the rocking sea,
In everlasting melody,
To cheer the vision sings.

And well, loved vessel, may'st thou glide,
Calm onward without breeze or tide,
With steadfast and unaltered motion,
Along the bright and starry ocean;
For in thy bosom's inmost cells
Some self-impelling spirit dwells,
And thy majestic form is driven
Along the slumbering sea,
As on the peaceful soul of heaven,
Unto eternity.

And well I know, to a land afar
Thy course is bent, loved Morning Star!

To a blessed haven far away,
Where the mines are deep, and the shores are grey,
Where human things of the loveliest hue,
Dark as the veil o'er the midnight dew,
Toil in the central deep, intent
To supply one sacred element,
Who in their hush'd and dim abode
For ever dwell upon their God!

Bright creature! harbinger of love,
In earth below, and heaven above,
How many an anxious eye at morn
Will look from the beach where thou wast borne,
To mark thy stately form afar,
And hail the approach of the Morning Star?
And still their faith, with tranced eye,
Shall dwell upon the moonlight sky,
Then turn to the mellow sea beneath,
Serene and calm, as heaven's own breath.

Thou magic journeyer of the even,
Thou self-moved messenger of heaven!
Over the wave, and the still moon-beam,
Or downward in the troubled deep,
Murmuring like giant in a dream,
Or distant thunder, when the gleam
Of fire plays o'er a world asleep!
O thou art bright with beauty and grace!
With many a collier's lovely face,
And forms of holiest joy to man,
Of radiant glorious courtezan!
Those precious things of heaven above
Whom men and saints and angels love!

A lovelier vision one of these,
Than ever journeyed the moonlight seas,
I now beheld upon the prow,
With eyes fixed on the wave below;
So beautiful and calm she seems,
As if her thoughts were heavenly dreams!
One dark fond youth still clings to her,
And their shadows never, never stir,
Save that upon the heaving billow,
The robe of that most lovely thing
Is moving like the gentle willow
Above some sainted spring!

Fair creature! thou dost seem to be
Some wandering spirit of the sea,
That hither com'st for one wild hour,
With him thy sinless paramour,
To watch while wearied sailors sleep,
This beautiful phantom of the deep,
That seemed to rise, with the rising Moon.—
But the Queen of Night will be sinking soon!
Then will you, like two breaking waves,
Sink softly to your coral caves,
Or, noiseless as the falling dew,
Melt into Heaven's delicious blue.

END OF THE POETIC MIRROR.

PRAYER OF A DYING SOLDIER

ON THE

FIELD OF WATERLOO.

Extracted from "The Field of Waterloo," an unpublished Poem,

BY JAMES HOGG.

"O THOU of existence the fountain and head,
The God of the living, and God of the dead!
This world is thine, and the starry frame,
The Lord Jehovah is thy name.
How shall I come my vows to pay?
What offering on thine altar lay?
Alas, my God! if e'er thine eyes
Accepted earthly sacrifice,
I bring the last that man can bring,
I am myself that offering!
And here I cry from the altar of death,
From the tabernacle of thy wrath,
'Mid the cries and groans of the human race,—
O hear in heaven thy dwelling place!
"Though hid in mystery none may pierce
Thy reign of the ample universe,
Yet he who owns not thy hand alone
In the high events that are past and gone,

He not deserves to possess from thee
The power of the reasoning faculty.
When the destroyer left his throne,
To brave the eye of the frigid zone,
Was there a human head could guess,
Or count on probable success?
Or was there a way, in nature's course,
So to o'erwhelm that cumberous force,
Which strove the nations to enchain,
Or rouse them from their slumber again?
Thy bolts of wrath thou might'st have driven,
And loosed the artillery of heaven,
Or, as just guerdon of offence,
Sent forth the wasteful pestilence,
But not in nature's wide command,
(And nature ever is thine hand)
Was other way so to destroy
That armed horde, the world's annoy.
  Yes, still as the northern patriot bled,
When the Russian eagle turn'd and fled,
Thy arm was seen in the foemen's wrath,
That hurried them on to the bourn of death.
When first Iberia spurn'd the yoke,
The judgment was set, and the seals were broke;
And when the city of sacred name
Enwrapt the northern heaven in flame,
Their sentence thou past, ne'er to annul,
For the cup of the Amorite then was full!
  The spirit of man awoke at thy nod,
The elements rose, and own'd their God;
The sun, and the moon, and the floods below,
And the stars in their courses fought thy foe;
The very heavens and earth seem'd blent
In the louring, toiling firmament.
The clouds pour'd swiftly along the sky,
They thicken'd, they frown'd, but they past not by!
The ravens call'd with boding sound,
The dogs of Moscow howl'd around,
And the shades of men, and of maidens fair,
Were seen on the dull and cumber'd air.
The storm descended, the tempest blew,
Thy vengeance pour'd on the ruthless crew—
O God! thy vengeance was never so due!
  I saw thy hand in the roll of the war,
I heard thy voice in the thunder afar,
When the Elbe waved slow with the blood of man,
And the Saale scarce gurgled as it ran.
O Father, forgive the insensate heart,
That ascribes such wonders to human part!

'Twas Thou mad'st the hearts of the nations combine,
Yes! thine is the work, and the glory be thine!
"But chiefly, when he, the scourge of the earth,
Was proffer'd the friendship and hands of the north;
And thus, in that empire, the bane of the day,
His dynasty might have been 'stablish'd for aye,
What counsel of man could the proffer have scorn'd?
Nor reason, nor madness, could that have suborn'd.
But the hearts of men are thine own alone,
As the streams of water Thou wind'st them on;
But save, when Thou parted'st Jordan's tide,
And the gates of the Red Sea open'd wide,
O never so well, since time hath been,
Was the governing arm of Thy providence seen.
"But the injured still were unavenged,
And the men of crimes remain'd unchanged,
Till Thou roused them again in triple wrath,
And brought them like beasts to the house of death.
With other chiefs and armies leagued,
They might have contended or intrigued;
But the judgment was past which they could not shun,
Thou brought'st them here, and the work was done:
The victory is thine, we nothing abate,
But Thou gavest it the good as well as the great;
And their names are register'd with Thee,
Who have bled for the cause of liberty.
"This morn I bow'd upon my blade,
I bow'd to Thee, and for victory pray'd;
I pray'd that my countrymen might gain,
Though my heart's blood should steep the plain;—
Thou hast heard my prayer and answer'd me,
And with joy I yield my spirit to Thee.
"Should I offend Thee while yet I live,
A dying man, my God, forgive;
But O! if accordant with thy will,
Let that nation of pride be humbled still;
For long hath it moved to commotion and blood,
The pattern of evil, but never of good.
"Nay, now, I know, I shall answer'd be,
For I see a dawn of futurity;
My soul is parting with the clay,
And it eyes the scenes of a distant day;
Like shadows they come before my sight,
Arising from darkness into light!
That perjured nation of shame and offence,
Which mocks at the laws of omnipotence,
Shall rise and trouble the nations again,
And its own bowels tear amain;
Till at length shall rise a devouring flame,
That shall sweep from the earth the nation and name;

And then shall the banners of war be furl'd,
And peace and knowledge pervade the world:
Dear as the purchase hath been to man,
The benefit ages only may scan.
" And now, O God! the time is near,
When I may no more address thine ear;
Few moments, and human scrutiny
Tells me not what I then shall be,
An igneous lamp in the fields below,
A dye of heaven's aërial bow,
A stilly vapour on space reclined,
Or a breath of discolour'd wandering wind.
But, O! while I have a tongue to say
The thing that I would, I humbly pray,
That I for a space may wander free,
To visit the scenes of my infancy,—
The tiny green where the school-boys play,
The level pool with its bridge so grey;
And O! there's a cot by the lonely flood,
With its verdant steep, and its ancient wood,
Its willow ring, and its sounding stream,
So like the scene of a fairy dream!
O might I there a while reside,
To rest with the lamb on the mountain side,
Or stand by the heath-cock's ruby eye,
And wonder he cannot my form espy!
" And in that cot there is a dame,
I dare not, cannot say her name!
O how I long to listen there,
And hear that loved-one's evening prayer!
And in that cot a cradle moves,
Where sleeps the infant that she loves;
O I would like to hover by
When none but she and that child are nigh;
When her arms stretch to the dear embrace,
And the baby smiles her in the face;
Or when she prest him to her heart,
To watch when the holy tear should start,
And list, no other ear to hear,
If she named a name she once held dear!
" O God! if such a thing might be,
That a guardian spirit empower'd by thee,
Still round that dwelling linger must,
O may I beg the sacred trust?
I'll do, all evil to make them shun,
More than a spirit before has done.
Against each danger I'll forecast,
And bring them to Thyself at last.
" But wherever my future lot may be,
I have no dread of wrath from Thee;

For I know Thee merciful and good,
Beyond the fathom of flesh and blood;
And there is a bond 'twixt man and Thee,
'Twas seal'd and finish'd on the tree;
Of that, too mystic to unfold,
I will not, cannot quit my hold—
Accept me, Lord, that I may bless
Thy name in better world than this!
"I have but one remembrance left,
Before my tongue of speech is reft.
My widow'd parent, O regard,
And all her love to me, reward!
Fondly she nursed my tender years,
With buoyant hopes, and yearning fears;
She ween'd not in these hours of bliss,
That she rear'd her child to an end like this.
But O, to save an age of woe,
Her darling's fate may she never know;
But still look down the mountain burn
To see her wandering son return,
Her parting blessing to receive,
And lay her head in an honour'd grave!
That hope may still support her heart,
Till we meet again no more to part."

SONNET

TO A LADY.

Amid the circle of the gay and young,
I saw thee in the bloom of beauty bright,
Fair as the heavenly visions of delight
That round my paths of young enchantment sprung;
Far o'er the frivolous crowd that round thee hung,
Soaring—yet linked to wrong, though loving right,
And still unable, by a glorious flight,
To break the bands that error o'er thee flung.
Amelia,—can that ardent soul of thine,
With meteor blaze round folly's circuit driven,
Its better birth-right weakly thus resign!
For, oh! to thee the nobler choice was given,—
A star of peace o'er life's dark maze to shine,
And lead the wanderers to thy native Heaven.

SONNET,

WRITTEN AFTER PARTING WITH A FRIEND GOING ABROAD.—Oct. 21st, 1814.

O I could wish, in that light bark with thee,
Now while the stormy night-wind rages loud,
Aud the dim moon gleams through the dusky cloud,
To travel o'er the wild and trackless sea!
What joy, before the strong gale drifting free,
To feel the soul (long cumber'd midst the crowd
Of earth-ward pressing cares) emerging proud
To picture bliss and glory yet to be!
And yet, with lingering gaze upon that shore,
To weep for all the friendly hearts we leave,—
And leave even those we love not with a sigh,—
As heaven-bound pilgrims, who return no more,
Look back, with eyes that brighten though they grieve,
From the dim Ocean of Eternity.

SONNET,

ON AN IMPORTANT CHANGE THAT WAS TAKING PLACE IN THE AUTHOR'S VIEWS AND OCCUPATIONS.

Sweet is the coming of the radiant morn,—
The orient in its robe of glory drest,
The silvery dews besprinkling Nature's breast,
And earth's loud anthem on the breezes borne;—
Sweet is the sacred evening's slow sojourn,
When Peace sits throned in the gorgeous west,
When whispering lovers seek their bowers of rest,
And vespers cheer the heart that sighs forlorn.
And such the pageant on Life's pilgrim way,
Where Hope and Joy transport my ravish'd sight:
This fateful Change is Fortune's twilight ray,—
The dubious hour between the gloom and light—
Is it the twilight that precedes the Day?
Or the faint gleam that ushers in the Night?

The LONDON GENERAL BILL *of*

CHRISTENINGS *and* BURIALS *from* December 14, 1813, *to* December 14, 1814.

Christened	Males	10313	in all,	Buried	Males	10,287	in all,	Increased in
	Females	9857	20,170		Females	9496	19,783	Burials 2461.

Died under 2 years	5845	20 and 30-1268	60 and 70-1747	100-1	108-1
Between 2 and 5	2038	30 and 40-1678	70 and 80-1343	101 1	111-1
5 and 10	770	40 and 50 1950	80 and 90- 592	102 1	
10 and 20	649	50 and 60-1810	90 and 100- 88		

DISEASES.		Fevers of all kinds	908	Pleurisy	19	Bruised	4
Abortive, Still-born	683	Fistula	5	Quinsy	6	Burnt	35
Abscess	71	Flux	10	Rash	1	Drowned	111
Aged	1774	French Pox	12	Rheumatism	11	Excessive Drinking	10
Ague	2	Gout	53	Scurvy	8	Executed †	10
Apoplexy and sud-		Gravel, Stone, and		Shingles	1	Found Dead	24
denly	335	Stranguary	12	Small Pox	638	Fractured	2
Asthma	952	Grief	1	Sore Throat	6	Frighted	3
Bedridden	1	Head-ache	2	Sores and Ulcers	11	Frozen	2
Bile	9	Headmoldshot, Horse-		Spasm	33	Killed by a Stag	1
Bleeding	21	shoe head, & Water		St Anthony's Fire	4	Killed by Falls and	
Bursten & Rupture	23	in the Head	421	Stoppage in the Sto-		several other Ac-	
Cancer	81	Imposthume	3	mach	25	cidents	83
Chicken Pox	1	Inflammation	1008	Surfeit	2	Killed themselves	24
Childbed	216	Influenza	2	St Vitus's Dance	1	Murdered	5
Colds	28	Jaundice	52	Swelling	1	Over-joy	1
Colick, Gripes, &c.	21	Jaw Locked	5	Teeth	406	Poisoned	5
Consumption	4829	Lethargy	2	Thrush	68	Scalded	6
Convulsions	3418	Livergrown	27	Tumor	4	Shot	3
Cough, and Hooping-		Lunatic	223	Tympany	1	Smothered	1
Cough	864	Measles	817	Water in the Chest	35	Starved	1
Cramp	1	Miscarriage	1	Worms	1	Suffocated	11
Croup	85	Mortification	224				
Diabetes	1	Overgrown Head	1	CASUALTIES.		Total	348
Dropsy	782	Palpitation of the		Bit by Mad dogs	4		
Eaten by Lice	1	Heart	6	Broken Limbs	2		
Evil	5	Palsy	149				

† There have been executed in the city of London 17; of which number 10 only have been reported to be buried within the bills of mortality.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, DEATHS,

WITHIN THE YEAR 1814.

Where the name of the city is not added to the street, Edinburgh is understood.

BIRTHS.

JAN. 2. At the manse of Langholm, Mrs Shaw, a daughter. 3. At Tarvit-House, Mrs Home Rigg, a daughter.—At London, the Countess of Galloway, a son. 4. At Belvidere, Mrs Campbell, a daughter. 6. At Cardoness, Mrs Maxwell, a daughter. 7. Mrs Burns, George's Square, a son.—At 2, Creighton Street, Mrs Garson, a son. 10. At Montrose, the lady of Major-General N. Carnegie, a daughter.—The lady of Major Horsburgh, of Pitbladdo, a son. 11. At Baberton-House, Mrs Christie, younger of Baberton, a daughter. 13. At Kelly, Forfarshire, the lady of the Hon. Lieutenant-Col. John Ramsay, a daughter. 14. At Edinburgh, Mrs Cunningham, lady of Robert Cunningham, Esq. late of Bower-houses, Dunbar, a daughter. 15. Mrs Watson, North Castle Street, a daughter. 16. At Morebattle Manse, Mrs Gordon, a son.—At George's Place, Leith Walk, Mrs Wight, a son. 17. Mrs Dr Brewster, a son. 19. At London, the Marchioness of Ely, a son and heir. 21. Mrs Donaldson, Dundas Street, a daughter. 23. Mrs R. Mackenzie, Queen Street, a son. 25. At Plymouth, the lady of Colonel Oliphant, of Rossie, a son. 26. At Bonington Lodge, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Napier, 52d regt. a daughter. 27. Mrs Napier, Albany Street, a daughter. 30. At Edinburgh, Mrs Gillespie, of Kirkton, a son.—At Brathey Hall, Winandermere, Mrs Harden, a daughter. 31. In Heriot Row, Mrs. H. Lumsden, a daughter.—Lately, the wife of Noah Marshall, steward of the revenue cutter stationed at Grimsby, three children.

FEB. 1. At Makerston Manse, Mrs Hogarth, a daughter. 3. In Elder Street, the lady of Dr Thatcher, a daughter.—At Albany Row, the lady of Murdoch M'Laine, Esq. of Lochbuy, a son and heir. 6. The lady of Roderick MacLeod, Esq. younger of Cadboll, a daughter.—At Edinburgh, Mrs Molle, of Mains, a son. 9. At Edinburgh, the lady of Captain Marley, Assist. Quartermaster Gen. a son. 10. Mrs Dr Spalding, Hill Street, a son. 11. Mrs Tod, Charlotte Square, a son. 15. Mrs M'Culloch, of Ardwall, a son. 28. At Enterkine, the lady of Robert Cunninghame, Esq. a son.—Mrs Captain Sandilands, Edinburgh regiment of militia, a daughter. 30. At Pett, the Right Hon. Lady Harriet, wife of the Hon. and Rev. H. D. Erskine, a daughter.—Lately, the Lady of William Shairp, Esq. of Kirkton, a daughter.—At King's Place, Leith Walk, the wife of Captain M'Vicar, royal navy, a son.

MARCH 1. At Balgowan, Mrs Colonel Graham of Fintry, a daughter. 3. At Greenock, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Cameron, of the 79th regiment, a son and heir.—At the Manse of Mid Calder, Mrs Sommers, a daughter. 8. At Walton Park,

Galloway, Mrs Major Campbell, a son. 9. At Lathallan Lodge, Roxburghshire, the lady of Colonel Spens, a daughter. 11. At Beaumont Cottage, Surrey, the lady of John Hamilton Colt, Esq. a daughter.—At Edinburgh, the lady of James Cathcart, Esq. a daughter. 17. At Coats Hall, near Edinburgh, Mrs Macfarlane of Balwill, a daughter. 19. At Minto, Lady Melgund, a son. 21. At Camnethin House, Mrs Lockhart of Castlehill, a son. 23. At Horsted Place, Sussex, Lady Clerk, a daughter. 24, At Belmont, the lady of William Eden Lees, Esq. a son. 25. The lady of Sir Harcourt Lees, Bart. a daughter. Same day, the lady of John Cathcart Lees, Esq. a daughter. And on the same day, the lady of Thomas Orde Lees, Esq. a son.

APRIL 5. At Edinburgh, the lady of Kenneth Macleay, Esq. of Newmore, a daughter. 6. At Musselburgh barracks, the lady of Major Nixon, of the Royal Scots, a son. 13. In Dumfries-shire, the lady of Captain Hamilton Maxwell, 42d regiment, a son. 14. At Broomhall, the Countess of Elgin, a son. 15. At Dumfries, the lady of S. D. Young, Esq. of Guillyhill, a son. 18. At Durham, the lady of Hope Steuart, Esq. of Ballechin, a daughter. 21. At Grange Hill, Mrs Macleod, of Dalvey, a daughter. 25. Mrs Major Forbes, younger of Inveranan, a son. 26. At Kelso Manse, Mrs Lundie, a daughter. 28. At Dumfries, the lady of John Maxwell, Esq. younger of Barncleugh, a son. 29. At Lennox Love, the lady of Lieut.-Col. the Hon. Patrick Stuart, a son.—Lately, in London, the Hon. Mrs Sullivan, a son.

MAY 5. At Dalkeith House, the Marchioness of Queensberry, a daughter.—At Brisbane House, Mrs Lang, of Overton, a son. 7. At Culduthell House, the lady of D. D. Inglis, Esq. a daughter. 8. At London, the Countess of Mansfield, a daughter. 11. At Edinburgh, the lady of James Wolfe Murray, Esq. a son.—At Ardersier, the lady of Major M'Pherson, of the 78th regiment, a daughter. 12. At Edinburgh, the lady of Matthew Fortescue, Esq. a son.—In London, the lady of Sir Richard Strachan, Bart. and K.B. a daughter.—At Edinburgh, the lady of Captain Oldfield, of the Royal Engineers, a son. 14. At Charlotte Square, the lady of Robert Downie, Esq. of Appin, a son and heir. 15. At Castlecraig, Lady Gibson Carmichael, a daughter.—At Edinburgh, the lady of Thomas Bruce, Esq. of Arnot, a daughter. 16. At Shrubhill, Mrs Colonel Gerard of Rochsoles, a son. 17. The lady of Colonel Sir George Leith, Bart. a daughter. 18. At Touch House, Mrs Macdonald, of Staffa, a son. 26. In Queen Street, Edinburgh, her Grace the Duchess of Roxburgh, a daughter, which survived but a short time.—At George's Square, the Hon. Mrs Dundas, of Dundas, a daughter.

JUNE 3. At Pennycuick, Mrs Gore, wife of Major Gore, of the Royal Westminster militia, a daughter. 5. In York Place, the lady of Adam Scott Elliot, Esq. of Arkleton, a daughter. 8. At Rothiemay, Lady Jane Taylor, a son. 9. At Holyrood House, the Marchioness of Douglas and Clydesdale, a daughter.—At Leith Fort, the lady of Major-Gen. Lay, a daughter. 19. At Woodend Cottage, the lady of John Burnet, Esq. a daughter. 20. At Rosehaugh House, the lady of Sir James Wemyss Mackenzie, Bart, of Scatwell, a son and heir. 21. At Edinburgh, the lady of Lieutenant-Colonel Lauriston, a son. 23. At Edinburgh, Mrs Hagart, of Bantaskine, a son. 26. At Edinburgh, Mrs Speid, St John's Street, a son. 28. Mrs Morehead, wife of the Rev. Robert Morehead, a son.

JULY 1. At Newbattle Abbey, the Lady Harriet Ancram, a son. 2. At Bowland, the lady of Colonel Walker, a son.—At Edinburgh, Mrs Fergusson, of Balyoukan, a daughter. 3. At Cowhill, the lady of Captain Johnston, Royal Navy, a daughter. 5. At Prestonfield, the lady of Sir Robert Keith Dick, Bart. a daughter. 6. At Edinburgh, the lady of Major-General the Hon. Alexander Duff, a son. 7. At Perth, the lady of Captain D. M'Intosh, 42d regiment, a daughter. 9. At Alva House, Mrs Johnston, of Alva, a daughter. 17. Mrs John Wardrop, George-Street, a son. 25. The Princess Louisa of Wirtemberg, consort of Prince Augustus of Hohenlohe-Ebringen, a princess.—The Countess of Ashburnham, a daughter. 28. At Kippax, the lady of the Hon. and Rev. A. H. Cathcart, a daughter. 30

At Charlotte Square, Mrs Keith, of Corstorphine Hill, a daughter.—At Castle Mona, Isle of Man, the Right Hon. Lady Sarah Murray, a daughter.—Lately, the Duchess of Beaufort, a daughter.—The Countess of Chichester, a daughter.—At Rossie Priory, Lady Kinnaird, a son.

AUG. 1. At Elmford, near Dunse, the wife of Mr G. Mitchell, two sons; and about half an hour after, at Caidshill Haugh, near Dunse, the wife of Mr John Mitchell, son of the above, a son and daughter. 4. At Mellerstain, Mrs Baillie, a daughter.—At Duddingston, Mrs G. Hamilton Dundas, a son. 13. At Dalkeith House, the Duchess of Buccleuch and Queensberry, a daughter.—At Whitley, the lady of Lieutenant-Colonel Clark, of the Scots Greys, a daughter. 14. At Fisherrow, Mrs Vernor, a daughter. 19. At Edinburgh, the lady of James Hunt, Esq. of Pittencrieff, a son and heir. 20. At the Royal Military College, the lady of Sir Alexander Hope, a son.—At Riddell, Lady Frances B. Riddell, a son.—The lady of Lord Viscount Anson, a daughter.—Mrs Irvine, of Inveramsay, a son. 25. The lady of Lieutenant-General Hunter, a daughter. 27. Mrs Major Robertson, Albany-street, a son. 28. At the manse of Lomnay, Mrs Gibson, a daughter. 29. Mrs W. Robinson, Queen Street, a son. 31. At Ayton House, Mrs Fordyce, a daughter.

SEPT. 1. Viscountess Barrington, a son. 4. At Drumsheugh, the Right Hon. the Countess of Moray, a son.—At Barrock House, Mrs Sinclair, of Barrock, a son.—The Right Hon. Lady King, a daughter. 5. At Denham Green, the lady of Major-General Birch Reynardson, a son. 7. At Catch Hall, Mrs Johnstone, a son and heir. Mr Johnstone has had four wives. This is his only child, though he is nearly 80 years of age. 8. At Islabank, the lady of Peter Wedderburn, Esq. a son. 9. At Seagrove, Mrs Mure of Caldwell, a son. 11. Mrs Dundas, North Frederick Street, a son.—At Edinburgh, Mrs Cragie of Dumbarnie, a son.—At Fyfe Place, Mrs Hart, of Oakshaw House, a daughter. 14. At Connaught Place, the lady of the Hon. Archibald Macdonald, a son. 16. At Harristown, county of Kildare, Lady Emily Latouche, two boys. 19. At Edinburgh, Lady Hunter Blair, a daughter. 20. In George Street, the lady of John Mansfield, Esq. a daughter.—At Edinburgh, Mrs Johnston, Albany Row, a son. 23. In George Street, the lady of James Wedderburn, Esq. advocate, a son. 24. In London, the Right Hon. Lady Emily Murray, a son. 26. Mrs W. Innes, Queen Street, a son. 27. At Glengarry House, Mrs M'Donnel, a daughter. 28. At Leith, the lady of James Brown Patison, surgeon, a daughter. 29. At Inverness, Mrs Macbean, of Ardclach, a daughter.

OCT. 1. At Mormond House, Mrs Gordon, of Cairnbulgh, a son.—At London, the lady of Alexander Erskine, Esq. of Balhall, a daughter. 2. At Hendersyde Park, the wife of Richard Griffith, jun. Esq. a daughter. 5. At Cullen House, the Lady of Colonel Grant, M.P. a son.—The lady of James L'Amy, of Dunkenny, Esq. advocate, a son. 6. In London, Mrs Henry Douglas, a son. 10. At Bartley Lodge, Hants, the lady of Charles Lyell, Esq. of Kinnordy, a daughter. 11. At Aberdour House, Mrs Gordon, a son. 12. At George's Square, Mrs Folliott Baugh, a son. 16. At Caverhill, Mrs Burnet, younger of Barns, a son. 19. The lady of Major Mein, of the 74th regiment, a daughter. 21. At Barnhill, Perth, Mrs Captain Cameron, a son.—The lady of John H. Home, Esq. of Longformacus, a daughter.—Mrs James Grahame, Northumberland Street, a daughter. 22. At Cockairny, Mrs Moubray, of Cockairny, a daughter. 24. At Queen Street, Mrs Boswell, of Auchinleck, a daughter.—The lady of J. Marryatt, Esq. a daughter.—The lady of his excellency Sir G. Ouseley, Bart. a daughter. 25. The Duchess of Orleans, a son. 27. In George Street, Mrs Craigie, of Glendoick, a daughter. 31. At Perth, Mrs Skelton, of Orwell, a daughter.—At Airdlamont, Mrs Col. Lamont, a daughter.—In Inverness, the lady of Captain Macdougall, the King's own Borderers, a son.—Lately, at Madrid, the lady of William Duff Gordon, Esq. M. P. a son.—At Halifax, Nova Scotia, the lady of Major-General Duncan Darrock, a son.—At Amsterdam, the lady of Robert Milne, Esq. British Consul, a daughter.

NOV. 1. In London, the Countess of Bristol, a son.—At Ullington House, Lincoln-

shire, the Countess of Lindsey, a son and heir.—At Currie House, the lady of Walter Brown, Esq. of Currie, a daughter. 3. The lady of Sir William Pole, Bart. a daughter. 4. At Corfin, Mrs Gordon, of Harperfield, a son. 11. Mrs Dr Gordon, Buccleuch Place, a son. 12. Mrs Colonel Monro, Buccleuch Place, a son. 15. The wife of Mr William Cortiss, of Great Coats, near Grimsby, of four daughters, one still living.—At Collipriest House, Lady Mary Hay, a daughter. 16. Mrs General Broughton, a daughter. 18. In Duke Street, Mrs Colonel Robertson of Hillcraig, a son. 20. Viscountess Jocelyn, a daughter. 29. The Countess of Clonmell, a daughter.—Mrs Henry Erskine, younger of Amondell, a son. 30. The lady of Sir Orford Gordon, Bart, a daughter.—Lately, Lady Thurlow, (late Miss Bolton, of the Theatre-Royal, Covent-Garden,) a son and heir.

DEC. 3. The wife of Major-General Beatson, a daughter. 15. The lady of Sir O. Moseley, Bart. a son. 23. Lady Bridport, a son and heir.—Lady Elizabeth Courtnay, a son. 26. The Marchioness of Donegall, a son.—The lady of Sir J. Burke, Bart. a son.—Lately, the wife of Major-General Halkett, a son.—Lady Boughey, a son.—Honourable Mrs H. W. Wynne, a daughter.—Hon. Mrs Morris, a daughter.—Hon. Lady Levinge, a son.—The wife of Major-General Head, a daughter.—The wife of O. V. Knox, Esq. a son and heir.

MARRIAGES.

JAN. 3. James Ellice, Esq. to Agnes, youngest daughter of the late Rev. Robert Bruce. 6. At London, Sir John Chandos Reade, Bart. to Louisa, youngest daughter of the late Sir David Murray, and niece to Lord Elibank. 7. At Kirkaldy, Mr John Raimes, merchant, London, to Maria, daughter of the late Walter Nicol, Esq. Leith Walk. 10. At Plymouth, Sir O. Gordon, Bart. of Embo, North Britain, to Frances, third daughter of Major-General Browne, Lieutenant-Governor of Plymouth.—The Hon. A. Stuart, to Sophia Isabella, eldest daughter of George Lennox Conyngham, Esq.—11. At Physgill House, John M'Culloch, Esq. of Barholm, to Agnes, eldest daughter of Robert Hathorn Stewart, Esq. of Physgill. 12. At Edinburgh, Mr John Graham, merchant, Edinburgh, to Charlotte Brown, eldest daughter of Mr Robert Brown, surveyor, Edinburgh. 15. Richard Lewis, Esq. to Emily, youngest daughter and coheiress of the late William Osborne, Esq. 17. At Stirling, Robert Adie, Esq. of Balnadalloch, to Elizabeth, daughter of Dr John Forrest, physician, Stirling. 18. At the manse of Tranent, the Rev. Mr Kemp, minister of Aberlady, to Miss Mary Henderson, from Perth. 21. At Gilmour Place, the Rev. James Muir, minister of Beith, to Harriet, daughter of the late James Crauford, Esq. W.S. 22. At South Shields, Mr Henry Kemble, manager of the theatre there, to Miss Freese, one of his actresses, and daughter of Mr Freese, miniature painter, London. 24. At Dundee, Dr Alexander Stormont, to Miss Elizabeth Stewart, youngest daughter of the deceased Robert Stewart, Esq. surgeon in Dundee. 25. At Edinburgh, Lieutenant-Colonel John Monro, Hon. East India Company's service, to Miss Margaret Scott.—Henry Peters, Esq. to Caroline Mary Susanna, eldest daughter of John Campbell, Esq.—31. John Chanter, Esq. to Julia, daughter of John Roberts, Esq. —Right Honourable C. Arbuthnot, M. P. to Harriet, youngest daughter of the late Hon. H. Fane.

FEB. 1. Rev. Frederick Pleydell Bouverie, to Eliza, the daughter of the late Sir J. Sullivan, Bart. 2. At Ashgrove, Morayshire, Sir James Dunbar, of Boath, Captain in the Royal Navy, to Helen, eldest daughter of James Couill, Esq. of Ashgrove. 3. At Keppoch, Donald M'Donald, Esq. of Drimintoran, to Miss Jane Kennedy, only daughter of the late Rev. Mr John Kennedy, Auchterer. 4. John Blachford, Esq. to Mary Anne, daughter of the Right Hon. Henry Grattan. 5. At Dover, Captain James Forbes, of the Aberdeenshire militia, to Elizabeth Anne, daughter of B. Sayer, Esq. Dover. 7. At Carsehill, Falkirk, Walter M'Taggart, Esq. merchant, Grangemouth, to Jean Kinloch, eldest daughter of Alexander Ramsay, Esq. banker, Falkirk. 8. J. C. Herries, Esq. to Miss S. Dorrington, of Queen Square, Westminster. 11. At Elgin, Alexander

Forteath Williamson, Esq. of Viewfield, to Clementina, daughter of William Robertson, Esq. of Auchinroath. 15. At Liverpool, the Rev. Henry Moore, eldest son of the Hon. Ponsonby Moore, and nephew to the Marquis of Drogheda, to Lucy, the youngest daughter of the late Dr Currie, of Liverpool.—James Ormond, Esq. merchant, Leith, to Isabella, eldest daughter of William Christie, Esq. merchant, Leith. 16. At London, the Right Hon. Thomas Wallace, M. P. to the Right Hon. Jane Viscountess Melville. 18. At Merchiston Bank, Mr Andrew Rutherford, of Jedburgh, to Marion, daughter of John Fletcher, Esq. of Merchiston Bank, near Edinburgh. 22. At Brigham Church, Dr Hamilton, jun. physician in Edinburgh, to Miss Satterthwaite, daughter of J. C. Satterthwaite, of Cockermouth, formerly one of the representatives in parliament for that borough. 22. David Ker, Esq. to Lady Selina, daughter of the Earl of Londonderry. 25. At Edinburgh, George Hunter, Esq. to Miss Bunbury, eldest daughter of the late Captain Abraham Bunbury, of the 62d regiment of foot. 28. At Glasgow, Hamilton Wm. Garden, Esq. to Isabella, only daughter of William Alston, Esq.

March 1. At Edinburgh, Alexander Bogle, Esq. Addawell, to Miss Helen Reid, Fifestancks. 2. At Glasgow, John Pratt, Esq. Kirkaldy, to Miss Isobel Crawford, youngest daughter of the late Hugh Crawford, Esq. of Brownmuir, Ayrshire. 7. Earl of Portsmouth, to the eldest daughter of John Hanson, Esq. 8. Captain John Duff Markland, to Helen, eldest daughter of L. D. G. Tregonwell, Esq. 14. At Dumfries, Captain James Drysdale, of the Hon. East India Company's service, to Mary, daughter of the late John Pew of Hillowtown, Esq.—At London, the Hon. John Reginald Lygon, second son of Lord Beauchamp, to the Lady Charlotte Scott, daughter of the late, and sister of the present Earl of Clonmell. 15. At Edinburgh, Thomas Tod, Esq. advocate, to Miss Lindsay, eldest daughter of the late James Carnegie Lindsay, Esq. of Boysack. 17. At Elgin, Major Robert Kay, of the Portugueze service, to Margaret, youngest daughter of the deceased William Donaldson, Esq. late of Manbean. —At London, Andrew Redmond Prior, Esq. nephew of Lord Frankfort, to Catharine, daughter of the late Sir John Call, Bart. and widow of Major-General Mackinnon. 21. Lieutenant R. Garrett, to Charlotte, youngest daughter of Lord E. Bentinck, brother to the late Duke of Portland. 22. At Edinburgh, Hugh MacLean, younger of Coll, Esq. to Miss Janet Baird Dennistoun, second daughter of James Dennistoun, of Colgrain, Esq. At Edinburgh, George Crosby, Esq. merchant in London, to Margaret Mure, daughter of Henry Johnston Wylie, Esq. solicitor in the Court of Session. 29. At Bath, Captain Alexander Skene, royal navy, to Charlotte Fordyce, daughter of the late John Fordyce, Esq. of Ayton. —Rev. Charles Tower, M. A. to Fanny, fourth daughter of George Hibbert, Esq. 30. At Craigie-House, Colonel Munro, of the Honourable East India Company's service, to Jane Campbell, daughter of Richard Campbell, Esq. of Helentonmains.

April 7. At Geddes, the Rev. John Cormack, minister of Stow, to Helen, daughter of the late John Rose, Esq. of Holmes.—William Jones, Esq. to Jane, second daughter and co-heiress of the late Barret Bowden Jordan, Esq. 9. Sir S. Haughton Clarke, Bart. to Catherine Haughton, second daughter of J. H. James, Esq.—At Edinburgh, Marquis Spineto, to Miss Campbell, eldest daughter of Richard Campbell, Esq. 10. Hamilton Fitzgerald, Esq. to Lady Elizabeth Rawdon, sister of the Earl of Moira. 13. At London, Lord Viscount Althorpe, to Esther, only daughter and sole heiress of the late Richard Acklam, Esq. of Weston Hall, Bawtry, Yorkshire, and niece of the Earl of Bandon. 14. At London, Lord George Quin, son to the Marquis of Headfort, to the Lady Georgina Spencer, second daughter to Earl Spencer.—At Durham, Alderson Hodson, of the 4th dragoon guards, to Isabella Margaretta, only daughter of Lieutenant-General Archibald Campbell. 15. At Edinburgh, Robert Paul, Esq. accountant, Commercial Bank, to Charlotte, only daughter of the late John Erskine, Esq. advocate. 16. At Gretna Green, Harcourt Wynne Aubrey, Esq. eldest son of G. Wynne Aubrey, Esq. of Bath, to Miss Barbara Brown, youngest daughter of the late P. Brown, Esq. of Edinburgh. 21. T. G. Babington,

Esq. to the Hon. Augusta Julia, fourth daughter of Sir Gerard N. Noel, Bart. 21. At Strachur Park, Argyleshire, Andrew Hunter, Esq. younger of Bonnyton, to Helen, eldest daughter of John Campbell, Esq. of Ormadale. 22. At Rossie Castle, Lawrence Oliphant, Esq. of Condie, to Miss Ross, second daughter of Hercules Ross, Esq. of Rossie. 23. At London, John Henry Smyth, Esq. M. P. of Heath, near Wakefield, Yorkshire, to Lady Elizabeth Anne Fitzroy, third daughter of his Grace the Duke of Grafton.—Lately, at London, Captain Charles Moore, of the 67th regiment, to Margaret, daughter of Allan Maclaen, Esq. of Dublin.

MAY 1. At Dun House, Lord Kennedy, to Miss Allardice, of Dunnotar. 3. At Portobello, Mackay Hugh Scott, Esq. younger of Sea Bank, to Miss Barbara Baillie, youngest daughter of the late Lieutenant-General Mackay Hugh Baillie, of Rosehall. 5. At London, John Charles Ramsden, Esq. eldest son of Sir John Ramsden, Bart. of Byron, in the county of York, to Isabella, daughter of Lord Dundas. 10. Theodore Baron D'Uklanski, to Emma, eldest daughter of Robert Eyre, Esq. 17. Lieutenant-colonel G. B. Fisher, brother to the Bishop of Salisbury, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Thomas Rawlins, Esq. 19. At Duncow, Dr John Kirkpatrick, aged 70, to Miss Margaret M'Michan, from Gatehouse, aged 20. 24. At London, Lord Folkstone, to Miss Mildmay, of Cavendish-square. 26. Colonel Huddlestone, to Harriet, second daughter of the late Rev. S. Farewell. 26. At St Helen's, Lancashire, William Mackintosh, Esq. younger of Aberarder, to Millicent, daughter of Colonel Fraser, of Culduthel. 30. At Paisley, K. Snodgrass, Esq. Lieut.-Colonel, Portugueze, and Major, British army, to Janet, daughter of Peter Wright, Esq.

JUNE 1. At Edinburgh, George Hogarth, Esq. writer to the signet, to Georgina, daughter of George Thomson, Esq. principal clerk to the Hon. Board of Trustees. —J. H. T. Stapleton, Esq. Captain in the 3d Guards, to the Hon. Miss Fitzroy, eldest daughter of the late Lord Southampton. 2. At Barns, George Gardner, Esq. Assistant-Comptroller-General of the Customs for Scotland, to Jacky, daughter of James Burnett, Esq. of Barns. 3. George Washington Patton, Esq. to Jessie, only daughter of William Johnstone, Esq. solicitor, Northumberland Street. 6. At Glasgow, Robert Garden, Esq. to Miss Jacky Hamilton, daughter of Archibald Hamilton, Esq.—At Barrowfield Road, the Rev. Alexander Turnbull, Campbell Street, Glasgow, to Jane, youngest daughter of the late Rev. William Watson, of Campbell Street, Glasgow. 7. At Harpertown, the Rev. John Edgar, of Foulden, to Miss Jessy Logan, daughter of Abraham Logan, Esq. of Burnhouses. 10. At Edinburgh, William Henderson, Esq. of Gloup, to Ann, only daughter of the late Major-General Archibald Campbell, of the 29th regiment. 13. At Edinburgh, John Burnet, Esq. of Kemnay, to Mary, second daughter of Dr Stuart, of Dunearn. 18. C. C. Cavendish, Esq. youngest son of Lord G. H. Cavendish, to Lady Catharine Susan Gordon, eldest daughter of the Earl of Aboyne. 20. At Addle, Lieutenant-Colonel Davy, to Mrs Carruthers, of Arthington Hall, Yorkshire. 22. At Toristill Castle, General Keith Mallister of Toristill, to Miss Eliza Allen, of London. 28. The Right Hon. General Lord Combermere, to Miss Greville, niece to Lady Crewe.—At Mount Stewart, John James, Esq. son to Sir Walter James James, Bart. of Langley Hall. in the County of Berks, and Secretary of Legation at the Court of Munich, to Lady Emily Jane Stewart, daughter of the Earl of Londonderry, and sister to Viscount Castlereagh, and Lieutenant-General Lord Stewart, K. B. 30. W. G. H. Medhurst, Esq. to Fortunata Paula Seraphina Medhurst (late Poppalardo) they having been married before in Sicily.

JULY 5. At Dundee, Peter Arklay, Esq. of Duninald, to Miss Henderson, daughter of Dr Robert Henderson, Dundee. 7. At Rahoy, John Sinclair, Esq. of Knock Morvin, to Catharine, eldest daughter of Robert Maclachlan, Esq. of Dunad. 9. In the Isle of Wight, George Moncreiff, Esq. youngest son of Sir Henry Moncreiff Wellwood, Bart. to Mary F. Johnson, only daughter of the late J. Johnston, Esq. of Wroxall, in the Isle of Wight. 12. At Maitland Street, John Blackwell, Esq. advocate, to Rachel, youngest daughter of

the late James Hay, Esq. of Belton. 16. At London, Captain Walter Campbell, son of Walter Campbell of Shawfield, Esq. to Miss Mary Anne, eldest daughter of John King, Esq. of Grovesnor Place.—At Edinburgh, John Rankine, of Drumdow, Esq. advocate, to Miss Eleanora Ross, second daughter of the deceased Colonel Alexander Ross, of Basarroch, late 24th foot. 19. Rev. Henry Pole, to Anne, second daughter of J. Blagrave, Esq. 23. Philip Lake Godsal, Esq. to Grace Anne, eldest daughter of Mr Sergeant Best. 25. At London, the Marquis of Worcester, to Miss Georgina Frederica Fitzroy. 26. At Lambeth Palace, Finch Hatton, Esq. eldest son of Finch Hatton, Esq. of Eastwell Park, Kent, to Lady Charlotte Graham, eldest daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Montrose.—At Shinness, the Rev. Alexander Macpherson, rector of the Tain academy, to Miss Harriet Matheson, daughter of the late Captain Matheson.—At Brill, in Bucks, Lieutenant-Colonel Manners Sutton, second son of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to Mary, eldest daughter of the late Laver Oliver, Esq.; also, at the same time and place, the Rev. W. S. Gilly, to Eliza, the second daughter; and William Mansel, Esq. eldest son of Sir William Mansel, Bart. to Harriet, third daughter of the said L. Oliver, Esq. 28. At Newington, James Reid, Esq. Exchequer, to Miss R. Campbell, daughter of the deceased Neil Campbell, Esq. late Collector of the Customs, Oban.

AUG. 1. Thomas Wright, Esq. to the Countess St Martin de Front.—Mr Thomas Stedman, to Miss Charett, first cousin to the Duchess of Roxburgh.—At Bath, the Rev. G. Masters, to Louisa, daughter of Sir A. Grant, Bart. 2. Sir Mark Masterman Sykes, Bart. to Miss M. E. Egerton.—At Dublin, John Banners, Esq. of the 23d light dragoons, to Miss Mary Ann Frazer, only daughter of Robert Murray Fraser, Esq. of Mountjoy Square. 4. Lord Clinton, to Frances Isabella, eldest daughter of W. S. Poyntz, Esq. 6. At London, the Right Hon. Lord Fitzroy Somerset, youngest brother of the Duke of Beaufort, to Emily Harriet, second daughter of the Right Hon. William Wellesley Pole, and niece to the Marquis Wellesley and Duke of Wellington. 8. At London, the Hon. William Ponsonby, third son of the Earl of Besborough, to Lady Barbara Ashley Cooper, only daughter of the late Earl of Shaftesbury.—At Glasgow, John M'K. Campbell, Esq. of Ormaig, to Christina, youngest daughter of the late Mr George Fyfe, factor to the Right Hon. the Earl of Roseberry. 11. The Earl of Cavan, to Lydia, the second daughter of the late William Arnold, Esq. 18. At Fasnacloich, Steuart Menzies, Esq. of Culdairs, to Ronald, only daughter of the deceased Ronald Stewart, Esq. of Fasnacloich. 19. At Booterstown, John Leslie Foster, Esq. eldest son of the late Lord Bishop of Clogher, to Letitia, youngest daughter of the Right Hon. James Fitzgerald of Clare. 23. Sir Godfrey Webster, Bart. to Charlotte, eldest daughter of Robert Adamson, Esq. of Hill Street, Berkeley Square, London.—At Dulvern Hall, Staffordshire, the Right Hon. George Douglas, Earl of Morton, &c. to Susanne, eldest daughter of Lady Buller. 24. John Crawford, Esq. of Auchinames, to Sophia, second daughter of Major-General Horace Walpole.—At Cunninghamhead, Thomas Turner, Esq. of Kilbowie, to Ann, second daughter of Niel Snodgrass, Esq. of Cunninghamhead. 27. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, to her Royal Highness the Dowager Princess of Palms.—30. At Edinburgh, Mr Nathaniel Gow, Queen Street, to Mary, youngest daughter of Mr William Hogg, Prestonpans.—At Amsterdam, Hugh Sinclair Campbell, Esq. of Bothwell Park, Argyll, to the Hon. Miss Howard.—Lately, George Bartley, Esq. to Miss Smith, both of Drury-Lane Theatre.

SEPT. 2. At Lambeth Palace, the Right Hon. Frederick Robinson, brother to Lord Grantham, to Lady Sarah Hobart, eldest daughter of the Earl of Buckinghamshire. 3. The Earl of Clancarty, to Mad. Marie Isabella Hay. 5. At Walton, the Hon. William Elliot, to Susan, youngest daughter of the late Sir John Mordaunt. Bart. 6. At Gottenburgh, James Dickson, Esq. to Miss Eleonore Bagge, daughter of Sir Charles Bagge. 8. At Fermoy church, Captain Richard England, of the 12th infantry, eldest son of the late Lieutenant-General England, to Anna Maria, daughter of John Anderson, Esq. of Fermoy.—

Sir George Jackson, Bart. of Beach-hill, to Mrs Day, daughter of W. Woodville, Esq. 11. Arthur Gibson, Esq. to Elizabeth, only daughter of the late Captain Augustus Montgomery, royal navy. 12. Captain Allan Stephenson, to Miss Jane M'Latchie, only daughter of the late Mr William M'Latchie, Tobago. 15. At Edinburgh, Major Horsburgh, to Miss Margaret Moffat, daughter of the late Dr Moffat, royal navy. 15. At Lochnaw Castle, William Beamish, Esq. eldest son to William Beamish, Esq. of Beaumont, Ireland, to the Hon. Mary de Courcy, daughter to the Right Hon. Lord Kinsale. 16. At Blackhall, Archibald Farquharson, Esq. of Finzean, to Frances, youngest daughter of the late Francis Russel, Esq. of Blackhall. 19. At Montrose, John Brand, Esq. of Lauriston, to Miss Paterson, daughter of Dr Paterson, Montrose.—At Park Place, Vans Hathorns of Garthland, Esq. writer to the signet, to Jane, eldest daughter of the late Sir John Dalrymple Hay, of Park Place, Bart. 22. At Westminster, William Prout, Esq. M.D. to Agnes, eldest daughter of the late Dr Adam, Rector of the High School, Edinburgh. 23. At Edinburgh, James Watson, Esq. of Dunse, to Miss Barbara Shaw, daughter of the late James Shaw, Esq. of Muirton, merchant, Inverness.

Oct. 2. At Edinburgh, Captain James Campbell, 1st battalion 79th regiment, to Janet, eldest daughter of Alexander Macdonald, Esq. of Dalesea. 4. At Arthurstone House, Perthshire, John Livingston Campbell, Esq. of Achalader, to Miss Ann Macneil, eldest daughter of Roderick Macneil, Esq. of Barra. 13. At Edinburgh, Samuel Rice, Esq. Lieutenant-Colonel of the 51st regiment of foot, to Miss Mansfield, daughter of the late Captain James Mansfield.—Captain W. H. Mulcaster, royal navy, to Sophia, youngest daughter of the late Colonel Van Cortlandt. 14. At Shrub Mount, Andrew Carrick, Esq. Royal Navy, to Eliza, eldest daughter of the late Archibald Gilchrist, Esq. merchant, Edinburgh. 15. Captain Frederick Hunn, R. N. to Emma, only daughter of Vice-Admiral Pickmore. 20. At Duffus, Robert Warden, Esq. of Parkhill, in Stirlingshire, to Helen, eldest daughter of Sir Archibald Dunbar, of Northfield, Bart. 24. At North Park, Colin Campbell, Esq. to Miss Janet M. Hamilton, eldest daughter of John Hamilton, Esq. 25. At Shandwick Place, the Rev. Dr Nicoll, to Anne, daughter of the late David Ramsay, Esq. Craigleith.—John Travers, Esq. to Maria, third daughter of the Rev. Dr Lindsay.—Lately, at Borgue, in Galloway, Mr James Smith, to Miss Gordon of Borgue, who is heiress to a fortune of 40,000l.

Nov. 3. At Sunninghill, Major Parker, of the royal horse artillery, to Miss Balfour, eldest daughter of the late Major-General Balfour.—Rev. William Homer, to Sarah, eldest daughter of Edward Homer, Esq. 8. David Black, Esq. of Bandrom, to Margaret Stephenson, the eldest daughter of Robert Walker, Esq. of Sunnybank.—At Alnwick, Mr A. H. Simpson, writer, Paisley, to Miss Hatkin, eldest daughter of the late Robert Hatkin, Esq. of Glanton, Northumberland. 10. Thomas Edward Dicey, Esq. to Anne Mary, youngest daughter of James Stephen, Esq. M. P. 14 In St Andrews Square, Robert Wallas, Esq. merchant in Madeira, to Miss Jane Burnet.—At the Manse of Monievard, Robert Walker Rannie, Esq. Drummond Park, to Miss Baxter, daughter of the Rev. Mr Baxter there. 17. George Raikes, Esq. to Marianne, eldest daughter of Isaac Currie, Esq. 21. At Holmhill, Thomas Whyte, Esq. jun. of Newmains, to Miss Emily, youngest daughter of the late William Douglas, Esq. late Captain in the 11th regiment of foot. 22. At Arndilly House, Thomas Gordon, Esq. of Park, to Maria, eldest daughter of David Macdowall Grant, Esq. of Arndilly.—At Carlisle, by the Rev. John Fawcett, M.A. John, eldest son of Peter Dixon, Esq. to Mary, only daughter of Robert Stordy, Esq. 23. At Kelso, Mr Charles Scott, Nisbet Mill, to Miss Elliot, daughter of Mr Elliot, architect, Kelso. 28. At Glasgow, Charles M'Indoe, Esq. to Janet, eldest daughter of the late Mr John Buchanan, merchant, Glasgow.

Dec. 3. John Morgan, Esq. to Mary, daughter of J. Nichols, Esq.—J. P. Morier, Esq. to Horatio, eldest daughter of Lord Hugh Seymour. 10. Hon. T. Erskine, third son of Lord Erskine, to Henrietta Eliza, only daughter of Henry Trail, Esq. 12. Richard Paul Jodrell, Esq. to Amelia Caroline King, daughter of the

Earl of Kingstone. 18. Rev. G. S. Crompton, to Clara, daughter of the late Richard Down, Esq. banker. 19. J. Jones, Esq. to Louisa, youngest daughter of Peter Moore, Esq. 27. Hon. Henry Charles Howard, heir to the dukedom of Norfolk, to Lady Charlotte Gower, eldest daughter of the Marquis of Stafford.

DEATHS.

JAN. 1. Thomas Lowten, Esq. clerk of the Nisi Prius Court. 4. At Alicant, Major-General Lord Montgomery, son of the Earl of Eglinton. 7. Dowager Lady Stirling, in her 90th year. 9. Donald Smith, Esq. formerly Lord Provost of Edinburgh.—At Leith, Lady Nicholson, aged 77. 11. General Sir Thomas Trigge, Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance. 15. Lieut.-Colonel Aubrey, formerly M.P. for Wallingford. 16. At London, the Countess of Lucan. 21. Lady Maria Hamilton, eldest surviving daughter of the Marquis of Abercorn. 24. G. Gregory, Esq. Rear-Admiral of the Red. 25. Sir J. Durbin, Knight, senior alderman of Bristol, in his 80th year. 26. Mrs Markham, relict of the late Archbishop of York. 27. At Edinburgh, aged 82, George Leslie, Esq. late of Coubertie.—J. Hill. Esq. Colonel of the Shropshire cavalry, and eldest son of Sir J. Hill, Bart. aged 44. 28. Sir Richard Neave, Bart. in his 84th year. 29. At Priory, Pittenween, Lady Sinclair of Longformachus.—Lately, Lieutenant-General Christopher Johnson, aged 61.

FEB. 3. In Bath, in his 66th year, —— Mackenzie, Esq. second son of the late Sir Lewis Mackenzie, of Seatewell, North Britain, Bart. 4. Lady Carter, relict of Sir J. Carter, aged 79. 5. At Scratby Hall, the Countess Dowager of Home, aged 68.—7. General Ralph Dundas, Colonel of the 8th foot.—At Chester, H. Frankland, Vice-Admiral of the Red, aged 68. 8. Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Ross, Bart. aged 52. 10. At Edinburgh, Walter Brown, Esq. of the island of Exuma, Bahamas. 13. Lieutenant-General Huddleston, Colonel 5th battalion of royal artillery, aged 77. 14. George de la Poer, Earl of Annesley. 15. In France, Captain William Clitherow, of the 3d Guards. 20. At Edinburgh, Miss Helen Balfour, daughter of late Sir Michael Balfour, of Dunmill, Bart. 21. Sophia Lady Brownlow, aged 26. 22. At Edinburgh, Mrs Trotter of Morton Hall. 23. Major-General J. F. Kelly, Colonel in the 1st Guards. 24. The lady of the Hon. Osborn Markham, sister of the Earl of Bath. 25. The Hon. Robert Digby, senior Admiral of the Royal Navy, at a very advanced age.—Lately, his Serene Highness Prince Ernest of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, brother to the Queen of Great Britain.—At Valenciennes, Richard Viscount Barrington.

MARCH 1. The Right Hon. Lady Lucy Taylor, daughter of Earl Stanhope, and niece of the late Right Hon. Wm. Pitt. 3. Right Hon. Frances Viscountess Montague, aged 83. 4. Sir John Douglas, Lieut.-Colonel of Royal Marines. 5. Sir Walter Montgomerie Cunningham, of Corsehill, Bart. 10. At Bergen-op-Zoom, Major-General John Skerret. 15. At Culross, Miss Elizabeth Wardlaw, daughter of the late Sir Henry Wardlaw, Bart. 16. In Spain, his Royal Highness the Prince of Conti, at the advanced age of 80. 17. At Cragaik, aged 77, Lieut.-Colonel Gordon Clunes. 18. The Right Hon. Georgina, Countess Dowager Spencer. 20. Sir William Dolben, Bart. of Finedon, aged 88. 21. Rev. William Clarke, one of the minor canons of St Paul's. 22. Lady Lyde, relict of Sir Lionel Lyde, Bart. aged 87.—Edward Wigram, Esq. Lieutenant-Colonel of the West London Militia. 25. At Barnbougle Castle, aged 86, the Right Hon. Neil, Earl of Roseberry. 27. At London, the Duchess Dowager of Leinster.—At Hexton House, Lady Amelia Grovesnor, the only daughter of the Earl and Countess Grovesnor. 28. Thomas Thornton, Esq. author of the "Present State of Turkey." 29. At Exeter, Captain T. Hardy, of the royal navy.

APRIL 2. At Edinburgh, Lieutenant-Colonel John Macdougal, of Polquhairn.—Sir Horace Mann, member for Sandwich in five successive parliaments. 3. At Bandon, Captain James Dunlop, of the 26th, or Cameronians. 5. At Charlotte Square, Colonel Alexander Baillie, of Luthrie. 8. Hon. Mrs Cecil Jenkinson, sister-in-law of the Earl of Liverpool. 12. In his 88th year, the venerable Dr Charles Burney. 14. Dowager Lady Glynn, relict of Sir

Richard Glynn, Bart. 15. The lady of Sir Alexander Wilson, M.D. 16. The Right Hon. Lady Sarah Cahir, relict of the late, and mother of the present Lord Cahir.—At Aberdeen, the Right Hon. Lady Harriet Gordon, daughter of the late William, Earl of Aberdeen. 19. The Earl of Aylesbury, treasurer of her majesty's household, and a privy counsellor, aged 85. 21. At Leith, Robert Ramsay, Esq. of Maxton. 23. At Dumfries, James Gracie, Esq. late banker there. 30. Lieut.-General Sir William Congreve, Bart. aged 73.—Lately, at Woodbine Cottage, near Honiton, Admiral Sir Thomas Graves, K.B.—Viscountess Cliefden, daughter of the Duke of Marlborough.—Joseph Dawson, Esq. of Royd's Hall, near Bradford, Yorkshire, aged 78.—At London, of an apopletic fit, George Johnstone, Esq. M.P. for Heydon.

MAY 3. At Bath, the Right Hon. Alexander, Viscount and Baron Bridport, aged 87. 3. D. Bolton, Esq. many years preceptor to the queen and princesses. 5. Dowager Lady Beaumont, aged 96.—At Leith, Ephraim Lockhart, Esq. of Barnagachan. 7. At London, the Hon. Henry Luckyn Grinston. 10. Lieutenant-Colonel Collier, son of the late Vice-Admiral Sir G. Collier.—In London, Jane, wife of George Mercer, Esq. eldest daughter of the late Sir Robert Henderson, of Fordel, Bart. 12. In Dublin, the Earl of Belvedere,—Hon. Caroline Anne Ellis, daughter of Viscount Cliefden, aged 19. 17. At Clandon, George, Earl of Onslow, aged 83, Lord Lieutenant of the county of Surrey.—At Edinburgh, William Macdonald, Esq. of St Martins and Rineten. 22. Joseph White, D.D. Canon of Christ-church, Oxford, Regius Professor of Hebrew. 26. At London, John Crauford, Esq. of Auchinames. 27. At Cassel's Place, Leith Walk, Andrew Cassels, Esq. aged 83.—Viscount Hamilton, son of the Marquis of Abercorn. 29. At Eden Farm, near Bromley, Kent, the Right Hon. Wm. Lord Auckland.—Josephine, the discarded wife of Buonaparte, and mother of Prince Eugene Beauharnois. 31. At the Hermitage, Hants, Sir Erasmus Gower, Knight, Admiral of the White.—Sir Nash Grose, late one of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench. —Lately, At Croydon Common, Lieutenant-General Francis Grose, of the 102d regiment.—At Brompton, Charles Luther Watson, Esq. late Lieutenant-Colonel 3d dragoons, and eldest son of the Bishop of Llandaff.

JUNE 4. At London, the Right Hon. Lord Lascelles.—At Paris, aged 79, Count Damas. 6. The Right Hon. John Montague, Earl of Sandwich, aged 71.—Lady Catharine Frances Montague Scott, daughter of the Duke of Buccleuch. 7. At Castle Craig, Lady Gibson Carmichael. 10. Caroline Watson, an eminent engraver. 12. At Pennycuick, Mrs Gore, wife of Major Gore. 13. John Ley, Esq. deputy clerk of the House of Commons. 15. In his 85th year, the Rev. Benjamin Dawson, LL.D. Rector of Burgh in Suffolk. 17. At Dauntsey, Wilts, the Right Hon. the Earl of Peterborough. 21. At London, aged 65, Mr Stockdale, bookseller.—At Lord Malmesbury's seat in Kent, Gilbert Elliott Murray Kynynmond, Earl and Baron Lord Minto, late Governor-General of Bengal. 22. At Viewfield, near Stirling, John Burn, Esq. of Coldoch. 29. In London, in her 93d year, the Hon. Mrs Caroline Howe, sister of the late Earl Howe.—The Hon. Captain Walpole, R.N. 2d son of the Earl of Orford.—At Kirby Mahory, Liecestershire, Mary, lady of the Right Hon. Viscount Wentworth.—Near Skibbereen, in the prime of life, the lady of Lieutenant-Colonel Hector Monro, of the 1st garrison battalion.

JULY 5. At Chelsea Hospital, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Mathews, Major of that Establishment. 8. At Lismore, Argyleshire, the Right Rev. Dr John Chisholm, Bishop of Oria.—Sir Soulden Lawrence, Knight, Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. 9. Right Rev. Dr Delany, titular Bishop of the united dioceses of Kildare and Loughlin. 12. In the 85th year of his age, at Twickenham, the Right Hon. William, Viscount Howe. 16. At Nisbet House, the Right Hon. Lady Sinclair. 23. Sir Edward May, Bart. M.P. for Belfast. 25. Mr Charles Dibdin, a celebrated writer of humorous songs and comic pieces for the theatre. 26. At Knaresborough, aged 79, Lieutenant-Gen. Miles Stavely, of the 4th dragoon guards. 27. R. Fleming Worseley Holmes, M.P. for Newport.

AUG. 5. Lady Manners, the lady of Lord Manners, Chancellor of Ireland. 6.

Walter Young, D.D. and F.R.S.E. aged 69. 8. At Dunstaffnage Castle, Lieutenant Donald Macdougal, Royal Navy. 12. At Brighton, Francis James Jackson, Esq. late his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the United States of America. 16. Admiral Skeffington Lutwidge, aged 78. 16. Anne, Countess of Dessart, widow of the late, and mother of the present earl. 17. Sir John Pollen, Bart. aged 74. 19. Benjamin Count Rumford, aged 62. 20. Robert Henly, Lord Ongley, aged 42. 21. Elizabeth Ann Cooper, daughter of the late Right Hon. Sir Grey Cooper. 24. Harriet Katherine, Duchess of Buccleuch and Queensberry, aged 41. 25. Hon. W. Frederick Mackenzie, son of Lord Seaforth, and M.P. for the county of Ross. 30. In action with the Americans, Sir Peter Parker, Bart. Captain in the Navy, son of Rear-Admiral George Parker.

SEPT. 4. Sir George Glynn, Bart. long Rector of Ewell, in Surrey. 7. In London, the Right Hon. Lady Mary Martin, sister to his Grace the Duke of Atholl. 8. Her Majesty the Queen of the Two Sicilies, daughter of the Empress Maria Theresa. 12. Major-General Ross, while attacking the Americans at Baltimore. 18. At Heatherwick House, Mrs Hay, relict of John Hay, Esq. of Hopes. 19. At Edinburgh, Charles Dundas, Esq. 23. At Heaton House, aged 66, the Right Hon. the Earl of Wilton. 28. At Broughton Ferry, William Douglas, Esq. of Ferry. 30. At Seafield, near Kirkaldy, Mr Alexander Gibson, late Rector of the Perth academy.—At Saydale, near Ferrybridge, Yorkshire, James Torre, jun. Esq. Lieut.-Colonel of the East York militia.—Lately, Right Hon. Anthony Nugent, Lord Riverston.—Lady Viscountess Mountjoy.

OCT. 2. Sarah, Countess of Denbigh and Desmond, aged 74. 4. At Edinburgh, Mrs Anne Maule M'Nab, wife of Robert Jameson, Esq. advocate. 7. At Mount-pleasant, near Dartmouth, Henry Duncan, Esq. 12. At Doncaster, Lady Monro, widow of Sir Alexander Monro, formerly Consul-General at Madrid. 13. At Edinburgh, Mrs Elizabeth Mackenzie, relict of Captain Roderick Mackenzie, Linessie. 17. Lady Elizabeth Napier, widow of Sir Gerard Napier.—James Hamilton, of Bangour, Esq. 21. At Gottenburgh, Sir Alexander Seton, of Preston. 22. At Cathkin, aged 70, Walter Ewing Maclae, Esq. of Cathkin. 25. At Buckie Lodge, George Steuart, Esq. of Tanachy, writer to the signet. 28. At Stobo Castle, the Right Hon. Lady Elizabeth Montgomery. —At Craigcrook, Mrs Archibald Constable. 29. At Wishaw House, the Right Hon. William, Lord Belhaven and Stenton. 31. The Right Hon. Elizabeth, Baroness Conyngham, aged 84.—At Stirling, Major Alexander Monro.

NOV. 2. Mrs Hope Vere, relict of William Hope Vere, Esq. of Craigiehall and Blackwall. 3. At Brighton, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Park, late of Lochore, aged 76. 6. At Sedbury, Yorkshire, aged 70, Sir Robert D'Arcy Hillyard, Bart. 8. At Dunravon Castle, near Cardiff, Thomas Wyndham, Esq. for many years representative in parliament for the county of Glamorgan. 11. At Haverfordwest, aged 73, the Dowager Lady Kensington. 14. At Shrubhill, near Dorking, the Right Hon. Lady Georgina Leslie, daughter of the Earl of Rothes. 14. At Geneva, John Marquis of Bute, aged 71. 17. At Kilmarnock, Sir David Montgomerie Cuninghame, of Corsehill, Bart. 18. At Charlotte Street, Dame Ann Pollok, relict of the late Sir Robert Pollok, of Pollok, Bart. 23. At Costessey Hall, Norfolk, Charles Jerningham, Esq. 27. Hon. Americus de Courcy, fifth son of Lord Kinsale. 28. Wm. Charles Yelverton, Viscount Avonmore, aged 53. 29. Anthony James Radclyffe Livingston, Earl of Newburgh.—Lately, Rear-Admiral George Dundas, Naval Commissioner at the Cape of Good Hope.—At Flowerhill, in the county of Galway, Lord Riverston.

DEC. 4. Eliza Banks, fifth daughter of Sir Edmund Cradock Hartopp, Bart. 9. Right Hon. Thomas Lord Ffrench.—Joseph Bramah, Esq. eminent as an engineer and mechanist. 10. The Rev. James Scott, D.D. aged 81.—Rev. John Eveleigh, D.D. Provost of Oriel College. 11. Right Hon. Wm. Hanger, Lord Coleraine. 13. At Vienna, the Prince de Ligne, aged 79. 14. Lady Myers, relict of Lieutenant-General Wm. Myers, Bart. 19. The lady of Sir Henry Oxenden. 22. Lady Gott, relict of Sir H. T. Gott, aged 76. 24. Mrs Fortescue, mother of Viscount Clermont. 25. The lady of T. Asheton Smith, Esq.

member for Andover. 26. Rear-Admiral Thomas Western, aged 53. 27. The notorious Johanna Southcote. 29. The Rt. Hon. Baron Mount Sandford, of Castlerea, county of Roscommon, aged 64. 30. The Right Hon. George Fred. Nugent, Earl of Westmeath, aged 55.

CENTENARY DEATHS.—Mrs Mary Gibbs, New Buckenham, 101.—Thomas Wilkins, M.D. Galway, Ireland, 102. General Wolfe died in his arms.—J. Jennings, 109. He entered into the royal navy in the last year of Queen Anne, and served till 1792, after which he followed daily labour till he was 105, and retained his faculties almost to the last.—Mary Innes, Glasnakilly, Isle of Skye, 127.—Mrs Eliz. Barwis, relict of J. Barwis, Esq. of Langrigg Hall, Cumberland, 100.—John Garrow, Northumberland, 110.—Isaac Willian, Orton, Westmoreland, 101.—Rev. J. Bedwell, rector of Oldstock, near Salisbury, 103.—Mrs Anne Henderson, a native of Banffshire, 103.—William Ruthven, born in the parish of Avondale, Scotland, 116.---Mr R. Wilson, Tinwald Downs, Dumfries-shire, 101.—James Beaty, farmer, a native of Noynalty, county of Meath, 112.—Thomas Gaughan, county of Mayo, 112.—Gillies M'Kecnie, Gourocke, Scotland, who had fought under the Pretender, 104.—Jonathan Weeldon, Tibshelft, Derbyshire, 102.

PRINCIPAL APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS,

IN 1814.

Carlton-house, Nov. 25, 1813. The honour of knighthood conferred on George Nayler, Esq., genealogist and blanc coursier herald of the order of the Bath, and York herald.

Ordnance-office, Feb. 1. Lieutenant-Gen. Sir Hildebrand Oakes, bart., Lieutenant-General of the ordnance, vice Trigg deceased.

Foreign-office, Feb. 5. George Henry Rose, Esq. envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the king of Bavaria. ——— James, Esq. secretary to the legation.

Downing-street, Feb. 15. Lieutenant-General Sir James Leith, K. B. captain-general and governor in chief in and over the Leeward islands in America.

John David Macbride, D. C. L. and principal of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, the lord almoner's reader in Arabic, vice Ford, deceased.

Whitehall, March 1. Serjeant MacMahon, keeper of the rolls in Ireland.

Carlton-house, March 7. Sir Charles Cockerell, of Seasoncote, Bart. sheriff for the county of Gloucester, vice Holder.—T. P. Phipps, of Compton, Esq. for Sussex.

Carlton-house, March 10. Sir W. Garrow, knight, his majesty's attorney-general, chief justice of Chester.

Foreign-office, March 21. Mr Daniel Willink, consul for the Prince of Orange at Liverpool.

Whitehall, April 16. Lord Napier, his majesty's commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

Carlton-house, April 21. Right Honourable Sir Alexander Thomson, knight, chief baron of the Exchequer, sworn of the privy council.

Whitehall, May 3. The dignities of duke and marquis of the united kingdom granted to field-marshal Arthur marquis of Wellington, K. G. and his heirs male by the names, &c. of marquis Douro, and duke of Wellington, in the county of Somerset.—And of a baron of the united kingdom to the following military officers; Lieutenant-General the Honourable Sir J. Hope, K. B. by the name of baron Niddry of Niddry, co. Linlithgow.—Lieutenant-General Sir T. Graham, K. B. baron Lynedock, of Balgowan, co. Perth.—Lieutenant-General Sir S. Cotton, bart. K. B. baron Combermere, co. Chester.—Lieutenant-General Sir R. Hill, K. B. baron Hill, of Almaraz, and of Hawkestone, Salop.—Lieutenant-General Sir W. C. Beresford, K. B. baron Beresford, of Albuera.

Whitehall, May 7. The dignity of a baronet granted to Sir J. Beresford, knight, captain in the royal navy.

Admiralty-office, May 7. Earl St Vincent, admiral of the Red, general of marines, vice lord Bridport deceased.—Sir R. Onslow, admiral of the Red, lieutenant-general of marines, vice Earl St Vincent.

Whitehall, May 14. The dignity of a viscount of the united kingdom granted to lord Keith.—And that of a baron of the united kingdom to vice-admiral Sir E. Pellew, bart. by the name, &c. of baron Exmouth, of Canonteign, Devon.

Admiral Cornwallis, vice-admiral of the united kingdom, vice the late lord Bridport.—Admiral Young, rear-admiral, vice admiral Cornwallis.

Carlton-house, May 23. Earl of Abergavenny invested with the ensigns of the order of the Thistle.

Mr John Leard, consul at the port of Fiume and its dependencies.

May 31. Lord Middleton, lord Lieute-

nant of the county of Surrey, vice Onslow deceased.

Admiralty-office, June 4. This day, in pursuance of the pleasure of the prince regent, the following flag-officers of his majesty's fleet were promoted, viz.—To be admirals of the Red—Isaac Prescot, Esq. to Sir C. M. Pole, bart.; total 7.—To be admirals of the White—Honourable Sir G. C. Berkely, K. B. to Sir J. B. Warren, bart. and K. B.; total 11.—To be admirals of the Blue—S. Edwards, Esq. to R. Boger, Esq.; total 113.—To be vice-admirals of the Red—H. D'Esterre Darby, Esq. to J. Hunter, Esq.; total 19.—To be vice-admirals of the White—F. Pender, Esq. to Sir T. Bertie; total 23.—To be vice-admirals of the Blue—R. Bulteel, Esq. to honourable A. K. Legge; total 22.—To be rear-admirals of the Red—F. Fayerman, Esq. to M. H. Scott, Esq.; total 28. —To be rear-admirals of the White—J. Hanwell to J. Harvey, Esq.; total 20. —And the under-mentioned captains were also appointed flag-officers of his majesty's fleet: To be rear-admirals of the White —Captains Hotham, Burlton, Pater, H. Popham, J. Rowley, and Codrington.—To be rear-admirals of the Blue—Capts. Parker, Plampin, L. Gower, Blackwood, Douglas, Torrington, Donnelly, Beresford, Ball, Eyles, Gosselin, Rowley, Rogers, Ballard, Rolles, Lock, Milne, Dundas, Young, Macnamara, D. Campbell (1st), Otway, Western, Spranger, Lukin, and Fellowes.

The prince regent has appointed the following to be colonels of marines:—W. T. Lake, W. C. Fahie, Sir G. Eyre, and J. Talbot, vice H. Hotham, G. Burlton, Sir J. Rowley, and E. Codrington, appointed flag-officers.

War-office, June 7. The prince regent has been pleased to appoint the following officers to take rank by brevet as under-mentioned; the commissions to be dated June 4, 1814:—To be generals in the army—Lieut.-generals Sir Eyre Coote, K. B. to W. Wemyss—total 29.—To be Lieutenant-generals in the army,—Major-Generals F. T. Hammond, to Sir C. W. Stewart, K. B.; total 58.—To be major-generals in the army—Colonels Sir C. Imhoff, on the staff at Guernsey, to H. Torrens; total 69.—To be colonels in the army— —Lieut.-colonels hon. A. Annesley, to R. Travers; total 101.—The under-mentioned officers, aides-de-camp to the Prince Regent, to be colonels in the army—Lieut.-colonels T. M'Mahon, C. Palmer, and T. Arbuthnot.—To be aides-de-camp to the Prince Regent, with the rank of colonel in the army—Lieut.-colonels J. Colbourne, S. F. Whittingham, Sir A. Campbell, A. G. Woodford, and F. C. Ponsonby.—To be extra aides-de-camp to the Prince Regent, with the rank of colonel in the army, Lieut.-colonels H. F. Bouverie, F. B. Hervey, Hon. H. A. B. Craven, baron Eben, and Lord Burghersh.—To be Lieut.-colonels in the army—majors R. Earl of Athlone to A. Money; total 101.—And 269 captains to be majors in the army.

The Prince Regent has been pleased to appoint the following officers of the royal artillery and royal engineers to take rank by brevet as under-mentioned: the commissions to be dated June 4, 1814.—To be generalsin the army—Lieut.-generals Martin and Lloyd.—To be lieut.-generalsin the army—major-generals Douglas, Macleod, Wright, Arabin, Buchannan, and Ramsay. —To be major-generals in the army—Colonels Sir C. Holloway, Knt. Eng.; Humphrey, ditto; Miller, invalid artillery; Eustace, late engineers in Ireland; Bloomfield, artillery; and Cookson, ditto.—To be colonels in the army—Lieut.-Colonels J. Sheldrake, artillery, to P. W. Colebrook, r. art.; total 24.—To be lieut.-colonels in the army—Majors C. Newhouse, invalid art., to W. J. Tucker, late Irish artillery; total 12.—To be majors in the army —Captains T. Rogers, art., to T. A. Brandreth; total 49.

The Prince Regent has been pleased to appoint the following officers of the royal marines to take rank by brevet as under-mentioned: the commissions to be dated June 4.—To be colonels in the army—Lieut.-Colonels Cole, Foley, Birks, Bidlake, Home, and Campbell.—To be lieut.-colonels in the army—Majors Boys, Ferzer, Davey, Abernethie, Graham, Lewis, Clarke, Stanser, Dunsmire, Minto, Long, and Westropp.—To be majors in the army—Captains W. Collins to A. Gillespie; total 33.

Foreign-office, June 6. Sir Charles Stuart, K. B. late his majesty's minister at Lisbon, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of France.

Thomas Sydenham, Esq. envoy extra-

ordinary and minister plenipotentiary at Lisbon.

June 14. Stratford Canning, Esq. envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the confederate Swiss cantons.

June 18. The dignity of an earl granted to visc. Cathcart; that of viscount to the earl of Aberdeen; and that of baron to Sir Charles William Stewart.— Mr H. U. Addington, secretary to his majesty's legation to the Swiss cantons.

War-office, June 18. The Prince Regent has been pleased to appoint several officers of the East India company's forces to take rank by brevet in the East Indies only; the commissions to be dated June 4. The list comprises 25 major-generals who are to be lieut.-generals, 17 colonels to be major-generals, 37 lieut.-colonels to be colonels, 65 majors to be lieut.-colonels, and 118 captains to be majors.

Whitehall, June 21. The Earl of Chichester and the Earl of Clancarty appointed to the office of post-master-general.

Carlton-house, June 25. Lieut.-general Right Hon. Charles William baron Stewart, K. B. an extra lord of his majesty's bedchamber.

Whitehall, June 28. The dignity of a baronet of the united kingdom conferred on the right Hon. William Domville, lord mayor of London, and his heirs male.

Whitehall, July 2. George Frederick Beltz, Esq. gentleman usher of the scarlet rod of the order of the bath (to which is annexed that of Brunswick herald), *vice* Sir Isaac Heard, knt. resigned.

Foreign-office, July 5. The Duke of Wellington, his majesty's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of France.—Lord F. Fitzroy, secretary to the embassy.

Foreign-office, July 9. Hon. C. Bagot (with the rank of his majesty's minister plenipotentiary), Colin Mackenzie, Esq. and Archibald Elijah Impey, Esq. commissioners for carrying into effect the stipulations contained in the 2d and 4th additional articles of the treaty of peace concluded at Paris.

Foreign-office, July 9. The hereditary Prince of Orange, a lieut.-general in the British army.—Brook Taylor, Esq. envoy extraordinary to the King of Wurtemberg.—Sir J. Gambier, consul-general in Holland.—Henry Chamberlain, Esq. consul-general in the Brazils.

Whitehall, July 12. William Young, Esq. admiral of the Red, and rear-admiral, an extra knight of the Bath.

Downing-street, July 14. Henry Macdonnell, Esq. his majesty's agent and consul-general at Algiers.

Whitehall, July 25. The dignity of a baronet granted to the following gentlemen, and their heirs male: General Cornelius Cuyler, of St John Lodge, Welwyn, Herts: Hon. Henry Blackwood, rear-admiral of the Blue: Sir George Ralph Collier, Knt. Sir Jas. Dunbar, Knt. and William Hoste, Esq. post capts. in the royal navy.

Foreign-office, July 16. Joseph C. Mellish, Esq., his majesty's consul in the circle of Lower Saxony, and the free cities of Hamburgh, Bremen, and Lubeck.

Foreign-office, July 23. John Robert Wise, Esq., his majesty's consul-general in Sweden.

General Sir R. T. Wilson, permitted to accept the Russian order of St Anne of the first class; Hon. Captain G. Cadogan, R. N. the Austrian order of Maria Theresa; and Captain H. Gardner, of the artillery, the Russian order of St Wolodemir of the fourth class.

Carlton-house, July 23. The Earl of Shaftesbury, Earl of Aberdeen, and Charles William Lord Stewart, sworn of the privy council.

Carlton-house, July 25. The Earl of Aberdeen, Sir Isaac Heard, Knt. garter principal king of arms, and Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, Knight, gentleman-usher of the black-rod, plenipotentiaries for investing his imperial and royal apostolic majesty with the ensigns and the whole habit of the order of the garter.—George Frederick Beltz, Esq. secretary to garter principal king of arms.

Carlton-house, July 29. Right Hon. Thomas Hamilton (commonly called Lord Binning) and the Right Hon. William Huskisson, sworn of the privy council.

Foreign-office, July 30. Right Hon. Lord Gambier, Henry Goulburn, Esq. M. P. and William Adams, Esq. D. C. L. commissioners for negotiating and concluding a treaty of peace with commissioners from

the United States of America.—Anthony St John Baker, Esq. secretary to the commission.

Hon. Algernon Percy, secretary to his majesty's legation at the court of Turin.

Aug. 6. Right Hon W. Huskisson, T. Dacres Adams, and H. Dawkins, Esqrs. commissioners of his majesty's woods, forests, and land revenues.

Whitehall, Aug. 9. Right Hon. Robert Viscount Melville, Sir Joseph Sydney Yorke, Knt. vice-admiral of the Blue, George Johnstone Hope, Esq. rear-admiral of the Red, Sir George Warrender, Bart. John Osborn, Esq. Henry Paulet, Esq. (commonly called Lord Henry Paulet), rear-admiral of the Red, and Barrington Pope Blachford, Esq. commissioners for executing the office of high admiral.

War-office, Aug. 9. Lieut.-General the hereditary Prince of Orange, a general in the army.

Whitehall, Aug. 16. The hereditary Prince of Orange, an extra knight of the bath.

Foreign-office, Aug. 20. Lord Burghersh, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of Tuscany.

William Pennell, Esq. consul at Bourdeaux and its dependencies.

Foreign-office, Aug. 26. Peter Stuart, Esq. his majesty's consul at Havre de Grace and dependencies.

Whitehall, Aug. 27. Earl of Buckinghamshire, Viscount Castlereagh, Earl Bathurst, Viscount Sidmouth, Earl of Liverpool, Right Hon. N. Vansittart, Lord Teignmouth, Right Hon. T. Wallace, Viscount Lowther, Right Hon. J. Sullivan, Lord Apsley, Lord Binning, Right Hon. W. S. Bourne, commissioners for managing affairs in India.

Foreign-office, Aug. 27. Lieut.-General Lord Stewart, K. B. ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Emperor of Austria.

Foreign-office, Sept. 10. Samuel Gregory Marshall, Esq. consul at Embden.—James Stirling, Esq. consul at Nantes, L'Orient, and their dependencies.

Sept. 24. Right Hon. Sir Charles Stuart, K. B. sworn member of the privy council.

Oct. 1. W. A'Court, Esq. envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at Palermo.

H. Fuller, Esq. attorney-general for the island of Trinidad.

Foreign-office, Oct. 8. Right Hon. Sir Charles Stuart, K. B. ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the sovereign prince of the Netherlands.

Peter Carey Tupper, Esq. consul at Barcelona and in the province of Catalonia.

Foreign-office, Oct. 10. Richard Belgrave Hoppner, Esq. consul at Venice, and the Austrian territories in the Adriatic.

Foreign-office, Oct 25. Right Hon. George Canning, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Prince Regent of Portugal.—Louis Duncan Casamajor, Esq. secretary to the said embassy.

Foreign-office, Nov. 1. John Parkinson, Esq. consul at Konigsberg, Memel, Pillau, and all other ports and places in East Prussia.

Whitehall, Nov. 8. William Adam Esq. king's consul, one of the Barons of the, Exchequer in Scotland, *vice* Hepburn, resigned.

Downing-street, Nov. 11. Lieutenant-Colonel H. King, lieutenant-governor of Heligoland.

Foreign-office, Nov. 22. David Richard Morier, Esq. consul-general in France.

Sir J. Brenton, commissioner of the navy at the Cape of Good Hope, *vice* Admiral Geo. Dundas, deceased.

Foreign-office, Dec. 21. J. Falconer, Esq. consul-general at Leghorn; and J. M. Johnstone, Esq. consul at Genoa.

Whitehall, Dec. 21. The dignity of baronet of the united kingdom to the following gentlemen respectively, and their heirs male:

Sir Hew Dalrymple, of High Mark, co. Wigtoun, Knt. general in the army.

Sir John Hamilton of Woodbrook, co. Tyrone, Knt. lieut.-colonel in the army, colonel of the 2d Ceylon regiment, and governor of Duncannon Fort.

Richard Mountney Jephson, of Spring Vale, Dorset, Esq. late judge advocate and judge of the vice-admiralty court, Gibraltar.

Whitehall, Dec. 27. The dignity of a baronet of the united kingdom to the following gentlemen respectively, and the heirs male of their bodies lawfully begotten, viz. Sir Alexander Campbell, Knt. major-general in the army, &c.—The Right

Hon. W. M'Mahon, master of the rolls in Ireland.—George Buchan Hepburn, of Smeaton, Haddington, Esq.—The Right Hon. John Marjoribanks, Lord Provost of Edinburgh city.—John Silvester, of Yardley-house, Essex, Esq. recorder of the city of London.—Thomas Hugh Clifford, of Tixall, Stafford, Esq—John Simeon, of Grazeley, Berkshire, Esq.—Guy Campbell, Esq. Lieutenant-Colonel in the army, &c.—Gilbert King, of Clarkstone, Roscommon, Esq. Colonel in the army.—John Jackson, of Ailsey, Bedfordshire, Esq. Henry Stuart, of Allanton, Lanark, Esq. with remainder to his son-in-law, Ronald or Reginald Macdonald, of Staffa, and his heirs male.—George Griffith Williams of Llwyny Wormwood, Carmarthen, Esq.—David Dundas,of Richmond,Surrey, Esq. serjeant-surgeon to the king.—Robert Holt Leigh, of Whitley, Lancaster, Esq. with remainder to the heirs male of Holt Leigh, of Whitley, Esq. deceased, father of the said Robert Holt Leigh.—Edmund Antrobus, of Antrobus, Chester, with remainder to his nephew, Edmund Antrobus, jun. Esq. and his heirs male; and in default of such issue, to his nephew, Gibbs Crawford Antrobus, Esq. and his heirs male, both sons of his late brother, John Antrobus, Esq. deceased.—Samuel Egerton Brydges, of Denton-court, Kent, Esq. —Jonathan Wathen Waller, of Braywick-lodge, in the county of Berks, Esq.—John Compton Domville, of Santry house, Dublin county, Esq—Thomas Preston, of Beeston St Lawrence, Norfolk, Esq.—Rose Price, of Treagwainton, Cornwall, Esq.

SHERIFFS *for the Year* 1814.

Bedfordshire, Stephen Thornton, of Moggerhanger, Esq.

Berkshire, Rob. Hopkins, of Tidmarsh, Esq.

Buckinghamshire, Sir William Clayton, of Harleyford, Bart.

Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, Jonathan Page, of Ely, Esq.

Cheshire, John B. Glegg, of Gayton, Esq.

Cumberland, T. Benson, of Wreay-Hall, Esq.

Derbyshire, F. Hurt, of Alderwasley, Esq.

Devonshire, J. Newcomb, of Star-Cross, Esq.

Dorsetshire, Sir J. W. Smith, of Sydling St Nicholas, Bart.

Essex, R. Wilson, of Woodhouse, Esq.

Gloucestershire, John H. Holder, of North Cerney, Esq.

Herefordshire, E. M. Barret, of Hopend, Esq.

Hertfordshire, N. S. Parry, of Hadham End, Esq.

Kent, J. Wildman, of Chilham-Castle, Esq.

Lancashire, L. Rawstorne, of Penwarthen-Hall, Esq.

Leicestershire, J. H. Franks, of Misterton, Esq.

Lincolnshire, R. Vyner, of Gaultby, Esq.

Monmouthshire, Sir Sam. Brudenel Fludyer, of Trostrey, Bart.

Norfolk, Henry H. Henley, of Sandringham, Esq.

Northamptonshire, J. P. Clarke, of Welton, Esq.

Northumberland, Sir Charles Loraine, of Kirk-Harle, Bart.

Nottinghamshire, W. F. Norton Norton, of Elton, Esq.

Oxfordshire, James King, of Neithrop, Esq.

Rutlandshire, Geo. Fludyer, of Aiston, Esq.

Shropshire, Wm. Cludde, of Orleton, Esq.

Somersetshire, George Edward Allen, of Bath-Hampton, Esq.

Staffordshire, Sir Oswald Moseley, of Rolleston, Bart.

County of Southampton, Richard Norris, of Bassing park, Esq.

Suffolk, Edw. Holland, of Benhall, Esq.

Surrey, Richard Birt, of Hall-Grove, Esq.

Sussex, postponed.

Warwickshire, A. Hackett, of Moxhall, Esq.

Wiltshire, W. Wyndham, of Dinton, Esq.

Worcestershire, J. Knight, of Lee Castle, Esq.

Yorkshire, Sir Francis Linley Wood, of Hemsworth, Bart.

SOUTH WALES.

Caermarthenshire, Nicholas Burnell Jones, of Pantglaes, Esq.

Pembrokeshire, J. H. Powell, of Hook, Esq.

Cardiganshire, T. Lloyd, of Bromwith, Esq.

Glamorganshire, Hon. W. B. Grey, Dyffryn.

Breconshire, John Hotchkis, of Glan Usk Villa, Esq.

Radnorshire, C. H. Price, of Knighton, Esq.

NORTH WALES.

Merionethshire, Wm. Gryffydd Oakely, of Tanybwlch, Esq.

Carnarvonshire, Charles W. G. Wynne, of Cefn Amwlch, Esq.

Anglesey, G. F. Barlow, of Tynyllwyn, Esq.

Montgomeryshire, Arthur Davies Owen of Glan Severn, Esq.

Denbighshire, Edw. Rowland, of Garden Lodge, Esq.

Flintshire, Roger Ellis, of Cornist, Esq.

Appointed by the Prince of Wales.

Cornwall, Rose Price, of Kanegie, Esq.

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INDEX.

A.

Accounts, public, for the year, II. ccxci-cccv
Acts, public, for the year, II. ccclxxvi-ccclxxxvii
Adams, John, an American frigate, burnt, I. 339
Address to the French armies by the provisional government, II. xxxiv
African Institution, discovery of an attempt to retain a negro boy in slavery, II. clxviii
Agricultural distresses, I. 359, 360
Agricultural report for February, II. xx, xxi—For March, xxxiii, xxxiv—For April, xlvi—For July, ciii, civ—For August, cxxi, cxxii—For October, cxli—For November, cliv
Aignan, de St Baron, included by mistake among the prisoners of war taken at Weimar, and intrusted with the basis upon which the allies were willing to make peace with Napoleon, I. 172, 173
Alexander, Emperor, his clemency to the Parisians, I. 268—he visits Britain, 350—his manners, 352. Farther particulars, II. lxxviii—Arrives at the Hague, xc—he declines the appellation bestowed on him of "Blessed," cxxv
Alexandria on the Potowmack, surrenders to the British, I. 338
Allied Sovereigns, they enter into a new treaty at Chatillon, I. 240—their triumphal entry into Paris, 268—they announce their determination not to treat with Buonaparte on any terms, 273—they cede to him the Isle of Elba, 276—they conclude a definitive treaty of peace with Louis, 291—they visit Britain, 350—their reception in the capital, 351, 352—they visit Oxford, ib. Farther particulars, II. lxvii-lxxxiii
America, South, affairs of, I. 325-327
America, North, affairs of, I. 328-330. Negociations for peace, 331. Commissioners appointed to meet at Ghent, ib. Military events of the year, 332-340. The war becomes unpopular, 341. Financial difficulties and discontent of the eastern states, ib. Peace concluded at Ghent, 342, 343. Proclamation of the President and message to the Senate, II. ccclxviii-ccclxxiii
Amsterdam, decree of the Board of Trade prohibiting the slave trade, II. lxvi
Angouleme, duke of, leaves England, I. 221. He enters Bourdeaux, 223. He departs from London on his way to France, II. xliv
Antwerp attacked by Generals Graham and Bulow, I. 211—Declared a free port, 308
Arbroath, storm and loss of a fishing boat there, II. lxiv
Arcis-sur-Aube, battle of, I. 246, 247
Army Estimates for the year, I. 143-146—Discussions on, 148
Aslett, Mr, poulterer, London, shoots a person attempting to rob his shop, II. clxxii
Asoff, singular sea phenomenon there, II. xlix
Augereau defeated at Villefranche, I. 250—Embraces the new order of things, and insults his late master, 287

Austria, frequent communications with Buonaparte, I. 232—Receives new accessions of territory, 314. The Emperor visits the catacombs at Paris, II. lii
Avalanche, dreadful instance of, in Wallachia, II. lxx
Avon sloop of war strikes to the Wasp, but is released, I. 332
Ayr, attempt to blow up the powder magazine there, II. xc

B.

Balloch ferry-boat upset in crossing the Leven, when many passengers perished, II. cxxvi
Baltimore, attack on, by Colonel Broke, I. 338
Banks, Mr, his resolution of supporting the conduct of the Speaker adopted, I. 74
Baring, Mr, opposes the seamen and marine bill, I. 28, 29
Bar-sur-Aube taken by the allies, I. 188. Battle of, 238, 239
Barclay, Captain, his trial and honourable acquittal for the loss of the squadron on Lake Erie, II. cxxx
Basle, meeting at, of the allied sovereigns, I. 178
Baseley, Charles H. prosecuted for illicit courtship of Miss Ann Wade, a ward of chancery, II. clvi
Bayonne, sortie of the garrison, I. 283
Beauharnois, Eugene, he fights the battle of Roverbello, I. 312
Begemder, Solomon, a rich Jew, dies of the plague at Constantinople, II. cxxx
Belgium favours the march of the allied troops, I. 213. Incorporated with Holland, 307, 308
Bell-Rock light-house, account of, II. cxxiv. Inscription left there by Walter Scott, Esq. ib.
Bennigsen, General, lays siege to Hamburgh, I. 296
Bentinck, Lord William, besieges Genoa, I. 313
Berenger, Mr, chief agent in a fraud on the Stock-Exchange, I. 346, 347. He is apprehended at Leith, 348. His trial and sentence, 349. Subject of his fraud resumed, II. xxvi
Beresford, Marshal, enters Bourdeaux, I. 228
Bergen-op-Zoom, unsuccessful attack of, by the British under Sir T. Graham, I. 211, 212
Bernadotte moves forward to the Rhine, I. 209. His inactivity and hesitating conduct, ib. Visits Paris after its capitulation, 299. Returns to Sweden, ib. Invades Norway, and is victorious, 302
Berri, Duke de, arrives in London, II. cxiii
Blucher crosses the Rhine, and surprises Marshal Marmont, I. 176. Takes Langres and Nancy, 178. Is attacked at Brienne by Buonaparte, and forced from his position, 189, 190. Gains the battle of La Rothiere, 191, 192. His masterly retreat upon Bergeres, 197, 198. Burns the bridge of Mery, 201. He moves on the flank of Macdonald's division, 203. He is driven from his position at Craonne, 234. He gains the battle of Laon, 236, 238. Storms Rheims, 253. He co-operates in the attack on Paris, 261. He visits Britain, and is adored by the populace, 350, 351
Bourbon Princes leave England, I. 221. Duke d'Angouleme enters Bourdeaux, 228. Their cause indirectly favoured by the allies, 267
Bourbon, Duke de, embarks at Dover for France, II. xliii
Bourdeaux declares for the Bourbons, I. 228
Brienne, battle of, I. 189, 190
Brighton, violent storm there, II. clxvii
Bristol, ancient coffin discovered there, II. xxx
Brydges, Sir Egerton, his motion for the amendment of the poor-laws, I. 59
Broderick, Miss, attempt to rob her house defeated by the butler, II. cxlix
Broke, Captain, is presented with a sword and the freedom of the city by the corporation of London, II. liii
Budget for the year, for Britain, I. 151-155—Irish, 153-158
Bulletins of his majesty's health, II. iii, xxii, lvii, xc, cxii, cxxiii, cxxxii
Bulow, general, his army detached from that of the Crown Prince, I. 212
Buonaparte demands from his Senate a new levy of 300,000 men, I. 171-173. Negociations with the allies, 173. His government is unpopular, 182, 183. His singular speech on dismissing the legislative body, 184. Puts himself at the

head of his armies, 186. He fights the battle of Brienne, and forces Blucher from his position, 189, 190. Loses the battle of La Rothiere, 191, 192. Offers to accede to the bases of peace proposed by the allies, 195. Surprises the Silesian army, and defeats the division of Sacken, 195-197. Compels Blucher to retreat, 197, 198. Takes Montexun, 200. Regains the confidence of the French by this victory, ib. Enters Troyes, 203. Condemns De Goualt to death, ib. He is elated with his partial successes, and refuses to agree to a suspension of hostilities, 231, 232. He fights the battle of Craonne, 234, 235. He loses the battle of Laon, 236-238. His proposals for peace rejected by the congress of Chatillon, 242. He expels the Russians from Rheims, 244. He fights the battle of Arcis-sur-Aube, 246, 247. He retreats upon St Dizier, 247-249. Attacks the corps of Winzingerode on the banks of the Marne, 270. Summons Vitry to surrender, ib. He implores the protection of the Emperor Francis, 271. Marches to Paris, ib. He instructs Caulaincourt to treat with the allies, 273. He is declared to have forfeited his right to the crown, 274. He offers to abdicate the throne, 275. Is sick at Fontainbleau, 286. He harangues the guards, and departs for Elba, 289. Is threatened by the populace, ib. Account of his departure from Fontainbleau, II. xliii. He arrives at Elba, xlix

Buonaparte, Joseph, commands at Paris, I. 259. He encourages the inhabitants, ib. He flies from Paris after demanding a cessation of arms, 262. He renounces his right to the property assigned him by the convention of Fontainbleau, II. c

Buonaparte, Lucien, created a Roman Prince by the Pope, II. cxix

Burdett, Sir Francis, announces his intention of mounting the pillory with Lord Cochrane, I. 350

Burlington House, grand entertainment at, in honour of the allied sovereigns, I. 352

Burns, Robert, meeting at Dumfries concerning his proposed mausoleum, II. x. Relique of him found, xxxiv

Burnes, John, convicted of swindling, which he confessed he was forced to by extreme poverty, II. cxlix, cl

Butt, Mr, an agent in the fraud on Stock-Exchange, I. 346-348

Byron, Lord, the Guerilla, a poem, ascribed to, II. ccccix

C.

Cadiz displays a disposition to resist the tyranny of Ferdinand, I. 323. Compulsory loan imposed on its merchants, 325

Caithness, favourable account of the herring fishery there, II. cxxiii

Cambridge, Duke of, represents the Prince Regent at Hanover, I. 306. His speech to the deputies, ib.

Campaign in Germany, preparations of the allies for attacking France on all sides, I. 168-171

Campbell, Colonel, accompanies Buonaparte to Elba, I. 288

Canada, war in, I. 328-340

Canning, George, Esq. of Bolton, M. P. incarcerates in the Canongate jail of Edinburgh, a person designing himself Earl of Findlater, II. clvi

Canning, Mr, his speech on the motion for granting subsidies to foreign powers, I. 41-46. His speech in favour of Mr Wilberforce's motion respecting the slave-trade among foreign nations, 122, 123.

Carr, Sir William, created a British Peer, I. 355

Castlereagh, Lord, mover of militia service bill, I. 17-24—Of local militia ditto, and bill for augmenting the 60th and 66th regiments, 24-26. His exposition of the subsidies granted to foreign powers, 35-36. Applauds the conduct of Sweden, Russia, Prussia, Austria, 39. Declares ministers favourable to peace, 40, 41. Defends the Prince Regent's conduct to the Princess of Wales—Pledges the crown to agree in extending the provision for her, 99-104. His speeches on moving the new grant, 106, 111, and 113. Defends the negociations with France from the censures of the abolitionists, 127-130. Replies to Mr Tierney, 162, 163. His correspondence with Madison, 330. He is warmly greeted on his re-appearance in the House of Commons, 356

Cashel, Ireland, attack on the mail coach there, II. cxliii
Catholic board declared contrary to law, II. lxvii
Caulaincourt negociates with the allies, I. 184—His mission unsuccessful, 273
Cecil, Lieutenant, shoots Captain Stackpole in a duel at Jamaica, II. lxv
Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland brings forward the Irish budget for the year, I. 155-158
Chateaubrand, M., his pamphlet in favour of the Bourbons, I. 273
Chatillon, congress of, dissolved, I. 242
Christian, Prince Frederick, named Hereditary Prince of Norway, I. 300. His resignation and return to Denmark, 302. His proclamation to the Norwegians, II. l. His reply to the commissioners from the allied powers, ccliii. Letter to the King of Sweden, ccliv
Christophe, attempt of a French officer to persuade him to abdicate the throne of Hayti, I. 343. His magnificent equipage &c., II. clxii
Clarence, Duke of, arrives with the Duchess of Oldenburgh at Sheerness, II. xxxii
Clarke, Mrs Mary Anne, receives sentence for a libel on the Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland, II. xv
Clement, Mr James, of Wilts, accidentally killed while shooting, II. xiv
Cochrane Johnston, Mr, his connection with the fraud on Stock Exchange, I. 346, 347, 348. His trial and sentence, ib. He flies to the continent, ib.
Cochrane, Lord, implicated in the fraud on Stock Exchange, I. 346, 347. He utters a voluntary affidavit, ib. His trial and sentence, 348. The Prince Regent remits the ignominous part of his sentence, 350. He demands a new trial, 348. He is expelled from the House of Commons and degraded from the order of the Knights of the Bath, 350. He is again returned for Westminster, ib. Copy of his deposition, II. xxvii. His speech to the electors, II. xcix
Coffin of stone dug out at Burford, in Oxfordshire, II. clxii
Coke, Dr, his funeral sermon preached at Manchester, II. cliv. Alarm and accident in the chapel, ib.
Coleridge, Mr, Isabelle, a poem ascribed to, II. ccccxx
Combermere, Lord, receives a grant from parliament in consideration of his eminent services, I. 355
Commercial distresses, I. 358, 359
Comptonn, Earl of, mover of address in Lower House, I. 14
Condé, Prince of, embarks at Dover for France, II, xliv
Confiance frigate strikes to the Americans, I. 340
Congress of the allied powers appointed to meet at Vienna, I. 274. Opening of, II. cxxxiv
Constitutional charter of France, II. lv
Convention between the Prince Royal of Sweden and the Norwegian government, II. ccclix
Cooper, Mr, schoolmaster of Dalmeny, proves a libel against the Rev. J. Greig, minister there, II. xv
Copy-right bill, outline of, II. cxxxi
Cork, violent storm there, II. clxvi
Corn laws, discussion on, I. 74-80. Resolution adopted, forming the basis of a new corn bill, 81. Petitioned against by the people, and postponed for a session, on the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, ib. Different resolutions regarding them adopted, 74—Reflections on, 361
Cortes divided into the serviles and liberales, I. 317, 318. They abolish the Inquisition, 319. They are hated by Ferdinand, 320, 321. They frame a new constitution. Declared illegal and dissolved, 321, 322. The principal members arrested, 322
Craonne, battle of, I. 234, 235

D.

Dakin, Mr, coroner's inquest on his body, II. 148
Dalhousie, Lord, his speech on being presented with the freedom of Edinburgh, II. v
Dantzick, surrender of, I. 295
Davoust defends Hamburgh, I. 296. Yields to the new government, and evacuates the city, 297
Death of James Robinson, an eccentric character, at Tweedmouth, II. xv—Of Mrs Wright, prioress of the nunnery at Langhern, xviii—Of the Empress Jo-

sephine, lvii—Of Charles Dibdin, poet, ciii—Of Solomon Begember, a rich Jew, at Constantinople, cxxx—Of Johanna Southcote, clxxi
Declaration of Denmark on the causes of the war, and promising to join the allies, II. cccxi. Sweden on the affairs of Norway, cccxxi. Of the allies on breaking off the negociations at Chatillon, cccxxii. Of the King of Saxony on the occupation of his country by the Prussians, ccclxxiii
Degier, St, taken by the French, I. 189. Retaken by the Prussians, 191
Digby, Earl of, moves an address to the Prince Regent, I. 5
Dijon opens its gates to Prince Schwartzenberg's army, I. 181
Dispatches from Sir Edward Pellew, dated H. M. ship America, off Leghorn, Dec. 15th, 1813, with enclosures from Sir Josias Rowley and Captain Dundas, II. clxxxvii. Genoa Mole, 14th April, 1814, with enclosures from Sir J. Rowley, ccxiii
——— from the Marquis of Wellington, dated St Jean de Luz, Jan. 9th, 1814, II. clxxxix. Another dated Feb. 20th, cxciv. St Sever, March 1st, cxcvii. Another dated March 4th, with an enclosure from Sir Rowland Hill, cci. Aire, March 13th and 14th, ccvii. Toulouse, April 12th, ccxi. With an enclosure from Majors-General Colville and Howard, 19th April, ccxv
——— from Sir Thomas Graham, (now Lord Lynedock) dated Calmhout, Jan. 14th, 1814, II. clxxxix—Merexem, Feb. 6th, cxci—Calmhout, March 10th, with an enclosure from Major-General Cooke, cciii—Another March 11th, ccvi—Antwerp, 5th May, ccxxv
——— from Rear-Admiral Durham, dated the Venerable, at sea, Jan. 16th and 20th, 1814, II. cxc
——— from Captain Napier of H. M. ship Niger, Jan. 6th, 1814, II. cxcii
——— from Captain Hayes of H. M. ship Majestic, Feb. 5th, 1814, II. cxciv
——— from Admiral Lord Keith, with an enclosure from Captain Phillimore, dated H. M. ship Eurotas, off Plymouth Sound, March 1st, 1814, II. 196
——— from Captain Palmer of the Hebrus, dated March 29, 1814, II. ccviii
——— from Captain Hillyar of the Phœbe, dated Valparaiso Bay, March 30th, II. ccix
Dispatches from Lord William Bentinck, dated Genoa, April 20th, II. ccxx
——— from General Stewart, dated Fere Champenoise, March 26, II. ccxxv. Colomiers, March 27, ccxxviii—Bondy, March 29, ccxxix—Heights of Belleville, March 30th, ccxxxi—Paris, April 1st, ccxxxv
——— from Lord Viscount Cathcart, dated Paris, March 31st, II. ccxxxii
——— from Colonel J. Murray, dated Fort Niagara, Dec. 29th, 1813, II. ccxxxvii
——— from Major-General P. Rial, dated Fort Erie, Jan. 1, 1814, II. ccxxxviii—Lewiston, Dec. 19th, 1813, ccxl—Chippawa, July 6th, ccxliii
——— from Sir George Prevost, dated Quebec, March 12th, with an enclosure from Lieut.-Gen. Drummond, II. ccxl.—Montreal, July 10th and 14th, with enclosure from the same, ccxlii—Another 5th August, with enclosure from the same, ccxlvi—Another 27th August, with enclosures from the same and Lieut.-Col. de Watteville, ccli—Plattsburgh, 11th Sept., cclv—Montreal, 30th Sept., with enclosures from the same, ccxciii—Another, 4th Oct., with an enclosure from Lieut.-Gen. Drummond, ccxcv
——— from Lieut.-Col. A. Pilkington, dated Moore Islands, 12th July, II. ccxlv
——— from Sir J. L. Yeo, dated Kingston, 24th Sept., with an enclosure from Captain Priny of the Linnet, II. cclix
——— from Major-General Ross, dated Tonnant, in the Patuxent, 30th August, II. cclix
——— from Sir Alexander Cochrane, dated Tonnant, in the Patuxent, 2d Sept., with enclosures from Rear Admiral Cockburn, II. cclxii—Chesapeake, 17th Sept., with enclosures from the same, and from Captain J. A. Gordon, cclxxiii
——— from Colonel Broke, dated H. M. ship Tonnant, Chesapeake, 17th Sept., II. cclxix
——— from Sir J. C. Sherbroke, dated Castine, 27th Sept., with an enclosure from Lieut.-Col. Henry St John, II. cclxxxii.—Halifax, 28th Sept., with an enclosure from Lieut.-Col. Pilkington, ccxci
——— from Rear-Admiral Griffith,

dated his majesty's ship Endymion, off the Castine, Sept. 9, with an enclosure from Captain R. Barrie, II. cclxxxvii
Dominica, Island of, war between the colonists and the Maroon negroes, I. 343
Dover, visit of the Prince Regent to honour the embarkation of Louis XVIII. and the other Bourbon princes, II. xliv. Farther particulars, lxxxii. Violent storm there, clxvi
Dover mail coach, uncustomed goods taken from, II. cxxxii
Downie, Captain, killed in an action on Lake Champlain, I. 339
Dresden, dreadful explosion there, II. xcvi, xcvii
Drummond, Colonel, his account of the battle of Niagara, I. 334. He is killed at Fort Erie, 335
———, General, destroys Fort Oswego, I. 332. He defeats the Americans near Niagara, 334. He directs an unsuccessful attack on Fort Erie, 335. He repels a sortie made by the garrison, 340. He retreats to Chippawa
———, Mr, M. P. obtains damages against the keeper of the Preston Bull Inn, II. xxviii
Drury Lane theatre, copy of the first English play bill, II. lxvi. Mr Whitbread's account of dramas submitted, cxxxi
Dublin, a proclamation of the lord lieutenant issued declaring the catholic board contrary to law, II. lvii. Violent storm there, clxvi. Tumult in the theatre there, clxxiii-clxxvi Extraordinary tumult there, clxxii-clxxvi. Reflections on, ib
Duel in Jamaica between Captain Stackpole and Lieutenant Cecil, II. lvi
Duke of Montrose packet engages by mistake the Primrose sloop of war near Lisbon, II. xxxii
Dundas, Mr William, his bill for fixing the yearly number of seamen and marines, I. 28. Replies to Mr Baring, 29, 30. Re-elected member for Edinburgh, II. cxii
Dundee, singular marriage there, II. xx
Dunn, — surgeon, Bath, convicted of crim. con. with the wife of Major-General Dyott, II, clv
Duterich, Adjutant, shot in a duel with W. H. Souper, II. cxx

E.

Eaton, Daniel Isaac, is tried for publishing a deistical book called Ecce Homo, II. lii
Edinburgh, freedom of the city presented to Lord Dalhousie and Walter Scott, Esq. II. v. Apprehension of Colonel de Burgh, 38. Meeting of the General Assembly, lii. The magistrates contract for finishing Nelson's monument, liv. Meeting of the Pitt club, lv. Address voted to the Prince Regent on the return of peace, 64. Peace proclaimed there, lxxxiii. Address of the magistrates to the Count d'Artois, cxxiii
Elba, Island of, ceded to Buonaparte as the place of his exile, I. 276. His arrival on the island, 288. Further particulars, II. xlix
Erie, Fort of, blown up and abandoned by the Americans, I. 341
Execution of John Ashton and five others, II. cxvi
Exeter, storm of snow there, II. viii
Exmouth, Lord, receives a grant from parliament in consideration of his services, I. 553

F.

Falmouth, loss of the transport Queen, and most of her crew, II. vii
Fanning, Miss, of Waterford, takes the white veil, II. cxii
Ferdinand enters into a new treaty with Buonaparte, I. 214, 216—He is restored to Spain, 320. His aversion to the cortes, ib. He dissolves the cortes, and arrests the principal members, 321, 323. He restores the Inquisition and all the corruptions of the old government, 323. Elected a knight of the garter, II. cxii.
Festivities for the entertainment of the populace on the return of peace, I. 356
Finances, annual statement laid before parliament for Britain and Ireland, I, 148-158.
Fire, in paper mills, near Dover, II. vi—At Eckford, near Kelso, xi—In St Giles,

ib.—In Holborn, ib.—In the Custom House, Thames Street, xvii—Of the Pagoda at London, during the jubilee, cix—In Blair Atholl House, cxiv—In the Ship tavern, Leith, cxv—In Lingard and Jones' mustard mills, Southwark, cxvii—In Mr Dun's machinery work, Glasgow, cxxiv—In the house of Mr Andrews, at Shadwell, cxxxv—In the house of Mr Lewson, London, cxlviii—In Mr Scott's house, Hawick, clii

Fitzwilliam, Lord, objects to the measures of keeping the militia embodied after the peace, I. 89

Fontainbleau, departure of Buonaparte from, II. xliii

Franckfort, council of war held at, to settle the plan of invasion, I. 174.

France refuses to abolish the slave-trade in less than five years from the date of the treaty of peace with Britain, I. 123. Prepares to defend herself against the threatened invasion, 171, 172. Napoleon becomes unpopular, 182, 183. Legislative body dismissed, ib. Negociations for peace, 184. Revulsion of public opinion in favour of Buonaparte, 200. Experiences those evils her armies had so often inflicted on other nations, 204, 205. Invaded by Lord Wellington, 206. Conspiracy in the south in favour of the Bourbons, 218, 220. Bourdeaux declares for the Bourbons, and opens its gates to the English, 228. Negociations for peace continued, 231. Napoleon's offers of peace rejected by the allies, 242, 243. A large convoy surprised and taken, 254, 255. The allies in sight of Paris, 256. Consternation of the Parisians, and flight of the empress, 258, 259. The capital surrenders to the allies, 262, 263. Provisional government named, 274. Abdication of Buonaparte, 275. The senate forms a new constitution, and proposes to proclaim Louis XVIII. 285. Return of the king, 288, 289. Peace concluded betwixt the king and the allies, 291. The legislative body receives a new charter of rights, 293. The Moniteur declared the only official journal, II. xxxiv. Ordinance regulating the naval service, xcviii. Treaty of peace with Spain, cxxiv. Constitution, copy of, cccxliv

French armies, decay of their discipline, I. 166, 167. They are attacked with an infectious distemper, ib.

Freemantle, Mr, insists on the necessity and practicability of reduction in the army estimates, I. 146

Ffrench and Co. bankers, Dublin, suspend payment, II. cxiv

Ffrench, Lord, coroner's inquest on his body at Dublin, II. clxi

Frost, observations on, II. xiii

G.

Geneva surrenders to the Austrians, I. 175. Accedes to the Helvetic league, 309

Genoa, capitulates to the English, I. 312. Is adjudged to Savoy, 314

General assembly, meeting of, II. lii

Germany, affairs of, 295-297

German soldiers, their enthusiasm on first seeing the Rhine at the opening of the campaign, I. 171

Ghent, appointed the rendezvous of the British and American commissioners to treat for peace, I. 331

Glasgow, melancholy accident there by the falling in of a house, II. xxii. Theatre sold, liv. Opening of the Lunatic Asylum, cliv. Case of punishment by pillory there, clxxii

Gloucester, thunder storm there, II. cxxviii

Gordon, Major, he accidentally kills Gregory, a private, II. xxxi

Goualt, De, shot at Troyes for favouring the Bourbons, I. 203

Gottingen university, receives a rich present of books from the Prince Regent, II. cxlviii

Grant, Mr C., seconds the address to the Prince Regent, in a striking and eloquent speech, I. 14-17

Graham, Sir Thomas, takes command of the British troops in Holland, I. 210. Attacks Antwerp, 211. He fails in his attempt to take Bergen-op-Zoom, 211, 212. He is raised to the peerage, 355.

Greenock, account of a storm there, II. clxiv

Grenville, Lord, his able speech at opening of parliament, I. 6–12. Moves for papers regarding the slave trade, 130. His protest against the French slave trade, II. cccv

Grey, Lord, his speech on his motion for

petitioning the Prince Regent to interpose his mediation to rescue the Norwegians from famine, or subjugation to a foreign yoke, I. 131-139
Grey, Rev. J., of Dalmeny, convicted of a libel against the schoolmaster of his parish, II. xiv

H.

Hackney coaches, circular of the commissioners concerning, II. clii
Hague, arrival of the Emperor of Russia there, II. xc
Hampden, town of, taken by the British, I. 339
Hamburgh besieged by the Russians, I. 296. Evacuated by Davoust, 297. Exchange there re-opened, II. liii. Bank re-opened, lix
Hanover, the sovereignty of, reclaimed by England, I. 306. New constitution presented by the Duke of Cambridge, ib.
Harrowby, Earl of, replies to Earl Grey's speech on the injustice of transferring Norway to Sweden, I. 139-142
Hatchell, Counsellor, fights a duel with Mr Moseley, a Dublin attorney, II. xvi
Hay, Major-General, killed at Bayonne, I. 283
Helvetic league receives the accession of Geneva, I. 309
Hill, General, he forces, in concert with Mina, the French position near Hellette, I. 223. Compels the French to retire from Aires, 226. He is engaged in the battle of Toulouse, 282. He is created a peer, 355
Hinckley, John, Esq. of Gray's Inn, coroner's inquest on his body, II. cliv
Hogg, James, extract from his unpublished poem of "The Field of Waterloo, II. ccccxxx
Holland revolts from the French yoke, I. 210. Decree of the king against the slave trade, II. xci. Constitution, copy of, cccxviii Discourse of the Prince Sovereign, cccxx
Hope, Sir John, attacked by the garrison of Bayonne, I. 283. Made prisoner, ib.
Hope, Right Hon. Charles, his speech on disembodying his regiment of Edinburgh volunteers, II. xci, xcii
Horner, Mr, opposes Secretary Peel's bill for the better execution of the laws in Ireland, I. 86
Houston, George, is tried and condemned for a libel on the Christian religion, II. cl

I.

Indies, West, affairs of, I. 343
Indies, East, unusual tranquillity of, I. 343, 344
Inquisition, abolished by the cortes, I. 319. Restored by Ferdinand, 322. Decree for the re-establishment of, II. ccclvi
Inverness, ball given in honour of the Marquis of Huntly, II. iv
Ireland, disturbances in, I. 81-84. Bill to provide for the better execution of the laws, ib. Additional measure proposed on the 8th July, ib. Budget for the year, 153. Subject of the disturbances resumed, 361-363. System of Middlemen censured, ib. Reflections on the political history of the island, 364. Division of the Catholics, ib.
Irvine, scuffle and accident there, II. xxv
Isle of Man, celebration of the peace there, II. xc
Italy, affairs of, I. 311. The King of Sardinia enters Piedmont, II. 68.

J.

Jason frigate, arrives at Sheerness, with the Duchess of Oldenburgh and Duke of Clarence, II. xxxii Sails for the continent with the Princess of Wales, cxii
Jesuits, admission of novices into the society, II. cxlix
Josephine, ex-empress, celebration of her funeral, II. lvi
Jubilee in London, account of, II, civ-cx

K.

Kilwinning, fall of the steeple there, II. cx. Antiquity of the monastery, ib.
Kingston, Jamaica, building of a presbyterian church there, II. cxiv
Knights of the Bath, expulsion of Lord Cochrane from the order, II. cxiii

L.

Lamb, Lieutenant-Colonel, drowned on the Sussex coast, II. cxv
Lamberton, Mr, attempts to retain a negro-boy in slavery, II. cxlviii
Lanark cotton mills sold at Glasgow, II. iv
Langres surrenders to Blucher, I. 179
Lansdowne, Marquis, moves an Address to the Prince Regent expressive of the regret their lordships felt that the exertions of the Prince Regent for the abolition of the slave traffic had not been attended with more complete success, I. 130, 131
Laon, battle of, I. 236, 238
Larochejaquelein visits Lord Wellington's camp, I. 222, 223
Leeds, terrible storm there, II. clxv
Leith, trade increased there by the opening of the ports of Holland, II. xlv—Meeting respecting the slave trade, xci
Linnean Society, Doctor James Edward Smith president of, knighted by the Prince Regent, II. ciii
Linnet brig strikes to the Americans, I. 340
Liverpool, Lord, his remarks on the character of the war, I. 12-14—his reply to E[illegible] Grey on the cession of Norway to [illegible]eden, 142
L[illegible] Militia, a bill passed for extending their services, I. 24-26
Lock, Richard, his singular speech on being condemned to death for stealing, II. xxiv
London visited by the allied sovereigns, I. 350—enthusiasm and curiosity of the populace, 351, 652. Corporation of the city entertain the allied sovereigns at Guildhall, 352. Arrival of the Duke of Wellington, 353. Great fall of snow there, II. x. The Thames frozen over, xiv. Amusements on the ice, xvi. Burning of the Custom-house in Thames-street, xvii. The Berenger hoax, account of, 18-20. Arrival of the Duchess of Oldenburg, 33. Triumphant entry of Louis XVIII. after being called to the throne of France, xli. The corporation present Captain Broke with a sword and the freedom of the city, liii. Account of the arrival of the allied sovereigns, lx-lxiv. Review in Hyde Park, lxv. Day of thanksgiving, xcii-xciv
Longevity, remarkable instance of, II. xxii
Lord Dundas packet lost on Rattray-head, II. xxviii
Louis XVIII., he is called to the throne and leaves London for Paris, I. 288, 289. He is met by the Prince Regent, who accompanies him to Dover, ib. He presents the legislative body with a new charter, 293. Account of his procession into London, II. xlii, xliii. His reply to the Prince Regent, xliii. He invests him with the Order of St Esprit, xliii. He is congratulated by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, xliv. He arrives at St Owens, and signs an important document, xlvi. His triumphant entry into Paris, xlvii, xlviii. He appoints funeral service for the late King and Queen, xlviii. His speech on opening parliament, lxviii
Lunatic Asylum opened at Glasgow, II. cliv
Lynch, Mayor of Bourdeaux, his attachment to the Bourbon cause, I. 228
Lyons threatened by General Bubna, I. 180. Marshal Augereau throws himself into the town with a body of troops and compels Bubna to retreat, ib. Surrenders to the Prince of Hesse Homberg, 250

M.

M'Donald, Marshal, defeated at Bar Sur l'Aube, I. 238, 239. Evacuates Troyes, ibid.
Mackintosh, Sir James, opposes the adjournment in the House of Commons, I. 47. Supports Sir Samuel Romilly's bill in cases of attainder, 52-54
Madison, Mr, his proclamation to the Americans on the invasion of the capital, II. ccclxviii. His message to the senate on the finances and military events of the year, ccclxix-ccclxxiii
Madrid favours the despotism of Ferdinand, I. 322. Conspiracy in, 323. Decree for re-establishing the Inquisition, II. ccclxvii
Magdeburg, surrender of, I. 297
Manchester, accident there on preaching Dr Coke's funeral sermon, II. cliv

Man, Mrs, her mysterious death, II. vi
Maria Louisa again appointed Regent, and recommended to the protection of the citizens of Paris, I. 186. Flies with her son from the capital, 258, 259. She returns to her father, 297
Marmont retreats with Mortier before the grand allied army, I. 255. He is repulsed in defending Paris, and sends a flag of truce to the Russian general, 262, 263. Concludes a treaty for himself with Schwartzenberg, 275
Marne, expedition of, I. 195-198
Mars, ship, loss of by fire, II. cvii
Massy, Mr Hugh, killed at Limerick by the accidental discharge of a pistol, II. xxv
Melville, Lord, elected Chancellor of the University of St Andrews, II. xx
Mermaid, reported appearance of, at Archdeal in Argylshire, II. cxiii
Mery, skirmish at, I. 201
Methuen, Mr, his speech on the Princess of Wales being excluded from her Majesty's drawing-room, I. 94,95. His motion for extending her provision, 97-99
Metternich, Prince, visits Britain, I. 350
Meux and Co. brewers, St Giles, melancholy accident by the bursting of one of their vats, II. cxxxvii,cxxxviii
Mildmay, Sir Henry, his trial for crim. con. with Lady Roseberry, II. clviii-clx
Militia, bill for accepting of their services introduced, I. 17. Passed, 24. Complaints against their remaining embodied, 89. Motion on the same subject by Sir Samuel Romilly, 90
Mina, General, plots against the king and flies to France, I. 324
Mitchell, James, is tried and executed for the murder of Miss Welchman, II. cxi
Monsieur enters Paris as Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, I. 286. Resumes the title of Colonel-General of the Swiss Guards, II. xlviii. His reply to the address of the city of Edinburgh, cxxiii
Montereau retaken by Buonaparte, I. 200
Montgomery, Lord, sale of his stud, II. cix, cxx
Morpeth, Lord, censures a passage in the Speaker's address to the Prince Regent at the adjournment of parliament, I. 66-70
Mosely, Mr, fights a duel with Counsellor Hatchill of Dublin, II. xvi
Murat, his defection from Buonaparte, I. 207, 208
Murder, of a female pauper in Cornwall, II. iv. Of Mary Pritchard, committed 20 years ago by John Jones, xxiv. Of Mary Brian by her husband, xl. Of Mr William Fowler, farmer, near Bristol, lxiv. Of Mr Long in Tipperary, xcv. Of Mrs Noyce in Hampshire, cii. Of Miss Welchman, by Mitchell her lover, cxi. Of Bryan O'Reilly, Springfield, Ireland, cxviii. Of Elizabeth Doben[illegible]s, by Thomas Sharpe, cxxxiv. Of Gal[illegible]lavan and his son near Cork, cxxxviii. Of Mr Bloham, Essex, cxxxix. Of Hassan[illegible], reputed an Orangeman, near Londonderry, clv. Of Michael M'Nichol of Gl[illegible]ick, Ireland, ib. Of Mrs Eaton, London, by her husband, clvii. Of Hardy, a tithe farmer near Cashel, clxx. Of Mr C[illegible]orry Hurst in the streets of Ballyshannon, ib.

N.

Nancy entered by Blucher, I. 179
Napier, Lord, represents his Majesty at the General Assembly, II. lii
Narg, state of, II. iii
Nemours surrounded and taken by the Cossacks, I. 199
Newcastle, account of a violent s[illegible]rm there, II. 168
Newfoundland fisheries, Americans e[illegible]ded from by the treaty of Ghent, I. [illegible]
Newport, Sir John, his speech against the Orange associations, I. 86-88
Ney, Marshal, advises Buonaparte to abdicate, I. 275
Niagara, battle of, I. 354
Nicholas, Miss, of Rhymny in Wales, narrowly escapes death by her horse taking fright, II. 140
Nogent stormed and taken by the allied army, I. 199
Northumberland, great quantity of salmon caught in the rivers there, II. cxxi[illegible]
Norway ceded to Sweden—Motion and speech of Earl Grey against Britain adhering to her treaty with Sweden and assisting in the transference, I. 131-139. Replied to by the Earls of Harrowby and Liverpool, who defend the justice of the measure, 139-142. Affairs of [illegible]resumed, 296-299. Meeting of the diet, 301.

of the Swedes under Berna-
)1, 302. Defeat of the Norwe-
. United with Sweden, ib.
n, robbery of Mr Orgil's patent
ıufactory, I. 39. Disturbances
). Continuation of the practice
-breaking, II. cxxv

O.

illiam, designing himself Earl of
r, is incarcerated in the Canon-
, Edinburgh, at the instance of
ning, M.P. II. cxlvi
h, Duchess, arrives in the Jason
t Sheerness, II. xxxii. Her en-
London, xxxiii. She invites the
amily to witness the entry of
VIII. into the British capital, xli.
its the Bank of England, lxviii
Mr Serjeant, his bill for repealing
parts of the apprentice act.—
leave to bring in a bill for more
lly securing the liberty of the
, I. 90, 91
ssociations censured in parlia-
. 86-88. Orangemen attacked in
t Sherlock fair, II. lvi
Prince of, he unites Belgium with
l, I. 307, 308. He is unsuccess-
is addresses to the Princess Char-
64. His manly and delicate con-
366. Elected a Knight of the
, II. cxii
estimates for the year, I. 148,
battle of, I. 124, 125
, superseded by General Girard,
Appointed to watch the grand
232
ntertains the Prince Regent and
ied sovereigns, I. 352. Further
ılars, II. lxx-lxxiv

P.

Church robbed of its registers
e, II. cxv
Joseph, sullies his fame, by be-
g the tool of Buonaparte, I. 216
Colonel, is removed from his re-
, for joining in the accusation of
el Quintin, II. cxlv, cxlvi
ton, Lord, brings forward the ar-
timates for the year, I. 143, 146
reatened by the Cossacks, I. 199.
Defences of Montmartre, 257. The grand allied army under its walls, 258, 259. Flight of the Empress, 258, 259. Assaulted and capitulates, 262. Agitations of the populace—Alacrity of the royalists, 264-267. The King is recalled, and enters his capital, 288, 289. Discontent of the military, ib. Treaty of peace concluded at, 291. Particulars of the king's procession on entering the city, II. xlvii, xlviii. Meeting of parliament, I. 58. Ordinance for the strict observance of the Sabbath murmured against, 59. Audience of the Duke of Wellington with his majesty, II. cxvi. Fete given by the city to the king, cxix. Account of the drought there, clxii
Parker, Sir Peter, is killed in a skirmish with the Americans near Bellair, I. 338
Parliament assembled the 4th November, I. 3—Auspicious circumstances under which it met, ibid—Prince Regent's speech—Prorogued, 47. Prince Regent's speech upon the close of the session, 30th July, 165. Vote of thanks to Lord Wellington on his taking his seat in the House of Lords, 354. Grant for purchasing him a suitable palace and domain, 355
Parnell, Sir Henry, his speech on the Irish budget, I. 158, 160
Patents, list of, granted in 1814, II. cccvi-cccviii
Peace, proclamation of, II. lxv
Pedestrianism, instance of, II. lxviii
Peel, Mr, speeches on his bills to provide for the better execution of the laws in Ireland, I. 84-86—Replies to Sir John Newport—Never countenanced the Orange associations, 80, 81
Phœbe frigate captures the Essex on the coast of Valparaiso, I. 332
Pianca, C. a foreigner, tried for vending fire-balls called "fulminating pease," II. cxxxvi, cxxxvii
Picton, Sir Thomas, is engaged in the battle of Toulouse, I. 282. Reflections on his not being allowed to share the rewards distributed by parliament, 355.
Piggot, Sir Arthur, supports the bill for subjecting freehold estates to the payment of the owner's simple contract debts, I. 55, 56
Pillory of William Coil and wife, at Glasgow, for wilful perjury, II. clxxii
Pinkelton, Colonel, commands an expedi-

tion against Hampden and Bangour, I. 329
Pitt Club, meeting of, at Edinburgh, II. lv
Plague, frightful ravages of, at Smyrna, II. lvii. Farther particulars, cxl
Platoff, Hettman, visits Britain, I. 350. He is warmly greeted by the populace, 351. He receives an entertainment from the English officers in Paris, II. li
Plymouth, snow-storm there, II. viii. Violent gale there, clxvii
Poetry, the Guerilla, II. ccccix. The Stranger, ccccxiv. Isabelle, ccccxxii. Peter of Barnet, ccccxxv. The Morning Star, ccccxxix. Prayer of a dying Soldier at Waterloo, ccccxxx
Poland, affairs of, I, 302-304
Pope Pius is restored to Rome, I. 315. Re-establishes the Jesuits.
Popham, Captain, he is repulsed at Sackett's harbour, I. 333
Poor Laws, bill for amendment of, I. 59. Removal of paupers to their own parishes deprecated, 60. New plan of acquiring residence proposed, 61-64. Opposed by Mr Western and lost, 65
Portsmouth, grand naval review there, II. lxvii
Post-office, general, London, plan for robbing of, discovered, II. cxxxviii
Primrose sloop of war engages, by mistake, the Duke of Montrose packet near Lisbon, II. xxxii
Prince Regent, his speeches to parliament, I. 3, 47, 165. Accompanies Louis the XVIII. to Dover, 288, 289. He receives a visit from the allied sovereigns, 350. He attends them to Oxford, 352. His speech to Louis XVIII. 42. He threatens to differ with his daughter on the subject of her marriage with the Prince of Orange, 364. He breaks off the match, and is reconciled to her, 365. His court at Carlton House, II. lxxii. He gives a superb fete to the Duke of Wellington, c. His present to the university of Gottingen, cxlviii
Princess Charlotte, she rejects the suit of the Prince of Orange, I. 364. Her sudden and unauthorized visit to her mother, 360. Her return to Carlton House, and reconciliation with her father, who breaks off the match, ib.
Princess of Wales's letter to the Queen, I. 92, 93—To the Speaker of the House of Commons, 94—Discussions on, 95, 114. She departs for the co[ntinent] the Jason frigate, II. cxii. [...] tion in her native country, c[...]
Pring, Captain, strikes his flag to [the Ame]ricans, I. 340
Printing machine invented by [...] Donkin, adopted by the Uni[versity of] Cambridge, II. xxiii
Printing Press invented by Mr J[...] ven exhibited before the Edi[nburgh In]stitute, II. xxiii
Prendergast, Robert, Esq. darin[g ...] of his house of Greenmount, i[n ...] II. cxli
Proclamation of Monsieur to th[e ...] II. xxiii
Proclamation of Prince Christia[n Frede]rick to the Norwegians, II. cc[...] the King of Spain, on being re[...] the government, ccccxxviii—Of [...] of Sweden to the Norwegians, [...] —Of the Prince Royal to t[...] cccl—Of Prince Christian, or[...] from Norway, ccclix—Of th[e Prince] Regent to the Hanoverians, [...] being re-united to Britain, c[...] the same to the same, ccclxv-[...] President of the United State[s ...] invasion of the capital, ccclxviii[...] King of Sweden to the Norwe[gians ...] their acknowledging him king, [...]
Protest against the rejection of Lo[rd Gren]ville's motion on the French sla[ve trade,] II. cccv
Prevost, Sir George, commands [...] dition against New York, I. 3[...] is defeated at Plattsburg, and f[...] retreat, 340. His conduct cens[ured ...] He deprecates the American [...] making war, and threatens to r[...] 2, 21
Prussia, Prince William of, def[eats the] division of Marmont at Laon, I[...]
Prussia, King of, visits Britain, I[...] His manners, 352
Publications, list of, for 1814, *i

Q.

Quebec packet picks up the cre[w of the] Amphitrite in the western oc[ean, II.] clxxiii
Queen transport, loss of, II. vii
Queensberry, Marquis of, lays the [founda]tion of a new residence, to be [called] Kinmont House, II. xl

lonel, account of his trial and or abandoning his duty while ding officer, II. cxliii-cxlvi

R.

min, indicted for stealing, II.

oop of war captured by the ship Wasp, I. 331
nd military, in Hyde Park, II.

ens its gates to the Russians, I. ie Cossacks expelled, 243—Re- General St Priest, ib.—Again nd taken by Buonaparte, 244 stormed and retaken by Bluch-

rlock fair, II. lvi. At Down- xcviii. At Lynn, among the on a proposed reduction of lvii. At St Ives, Huntingdon- xiii. At the Dublin theatre,

f Robert Prendergast, Esq.'s Greenmount, Ireland, II. cxli— ry houses in the county of Wa- cxlii, cxliii—Of a poor girl near v, clxii—Of a poor woman in w Green, cliii—Of a gentleman Gallowgate, Glasgow, ib.—Of iel Crossland, London, clxi
oins found near Uppingham, II.

estoration of Pius, I. 315. Re- shment of the Jesuits, 316—Ad- n of novices into their society,

Sir Samuel, mover of a bill to way corruption of blood in cases inder for felony and high trea- . 50. Bill for subjecting the ld estate of debtors to the pay- of their simple contract debts, 54
ajor-General, he commands the tion against Washington, I. 335— feats the American army, 336— kes the capital, and destroys its buildings, ib.—He is mortally ed at Baltimore, 338
y, Earl of, prosecutes Sir Henry ay, for crim. con. with his wife, II. lx
am, festivity on board the Maase , II. cxxxv
llo, battle of, I. 312

Rutland Castle visited by the Prince Regent, II. iii, iv
Ruthven, Mr, invents a new printing-press, II. xxiii

S.

Sacken, General, his division defeated by the French near Chalons, I. 195-197. He attends the funeral of the ex-empress of France, II. lxvii
Sadler, Mr, ascends from Burlington house, II. lxxvii—From the Green Park, London, cvi—From Kettlewell Orchard, York, cxvi—From Pontefract, cxxvi—From Doncaster, cxxx
Saunders, Dr, of Suffolk, shot by the accidental discharge of his own gun while fowling, II, cxxiii
Saxony, affairs of, I. 304, 305. Declaration of the king on the occupation of the country by the Prussians, II. 373
Scheldt, declared open by the treaty of Paris, I. 308
Schwartzenberg, Prince, issues a proclamation to the Swiss on entering their territories, I. 175. Skirmishes with the French outposts at St Croix, ib. His proclamation announcing death to every French peasant taken in arms censured, 177. His army enters Dijon, 181. He advances with the grand allied army upon Troyes, 194. He unites with Blucher, 201. He retreats from Troyes, 202, 203. He defeats Marshal M'Donald at Bar-sur-L'Aube, 238, 239. He moves upon Arcis-sur-Aube and engages the French, 246, 247. He moves upon Vitry, 252. He rapidly advances to Paris, 256. The capital surrenders, 262, 263
Scott, Walter, is presented with the freedom of Edinburgh, II. v. His inscription at the Bell Rock, cxxiv
Sens stormed by the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg, I. 198
Sicily, affairs of, I. 316, 317
Sidmouth, Lord, accounts for the militia remaining embodied, I. 90, 91
Slave trade, Mr Wilberforce moves for petitioning the Prince Regent to exert his influence with the different European powers to procure its universal abolition, I. 118-122. This motion carried unanimously, 123. France refuses to abolish it immediately, ib. Discussions on, 131. Prohibitory decree of

the Board of Trade of Amsterdam, II. lxvi. Account of slave-vessels captured, cxvi
Smith, Dr James Edward, President of the Linnæan Society, created a knight by the Prince Regent, II. ciii
Smuggling, seizure by Custom-house officers at Glasgow, II. cxiv
Smyrna, ravages of the plague there, II. lvii—Farther particulars, cxl
Soissons taken by the Russians, and given up to pillage, I. 214. Attacked by Buonaparte, 234. Evacuated by the Russians, 235
Solway Frith frozen over, II. x
Soult, Marshal, kept in check by Lord Wellington, I. 216. He is defeated at Orthes, 224-226. He fortifies Toulouse, 280. He evacuates that city, 283
Southcombe, John, of Devonshire, rode down and killed by mail-coaches, II. cxlvii
Southcote, Johanna, account of, II. cx. Letter of S. Bradley concerning her, cxv. Her death, clxxi
Southey, Mr, "Peter of Barnet," a poem, ascribed to him, II. cccexxv
Spain, negociations for restoring Ferdinand, I, 214-216. Dissensions of the Cortes, 317, 318. The Liberales succeed in abolishing the Inquisition, 319. Return of Ferdinand, ib. Inquisition restored, 323. Conspiracies detected, ib. Punishment of the conspirators, 324. Insurrections in South America, 325-327
Speaker of the House of Commons defends himself from the motion of Lord Morpeth, I. 70-74. That motion negatived by a large majority, ib. Addresses the Prince Regent at the close of the session of parliament, 163, 164. His speech to the Duke of Wellington, II. lxxxix
St Andrews, the university of, elects Lord Melville Chancellor, II. xx
Stackpole, Captain, shot in a duel with Lieutenant Cecil, II. lvi
Stafford, dreadful storm there, II. clxv
Steel, Richard, byreman, Berwickshire, killed by a bull, II, liii
Stevenson, John, coroner's inquest on his body, II, clvi
Stock Exchange, account of fraud on, I. 345-350
Storms, accounts of, in the principal cities, II, vii-x. The effects of fresh storms described, clxiv-clxix
Sturman, Mr, is tried and con wilfully firing his house, II. x
Suicide of Mr Bagshaw, Du xviii—Of Henry Rogers, coachman at Glasgow, clii— ton, London, clvii—Of Lo at Dublin, clxi
Sweden, King of, issues a proc the Norwegians, I. 299, 30 claration to the same, II. l. with the same, cccii
Swindling, curious case of, a II. xxxi—At Paris, cxxxii-c Glasgow, cliii—At London, cl
Switzerland, affairs of, I. 308, 309 compact between the states, I

T.

Talleyrand, favours the retur Bourbons, I. 220. Convokes servative Senate, 274. He is plenipotentiary for France at 274. He opposes the partitio ony, 305. He signs the charter II. xxxvii
Thames frozen over, II. xiv
Thanksgiving, day of, appointed Particulars of, II. xcii-xciv
Thornton, Robert, account of his II. cxxxi
Tierney, Mr, speaks on the gran Princess of Wales, I. 96-111. at her retiring to the contine 115. Inquires if the property-ta be continued, 162. His speec civil list, 152
Tolle, De, commands the Russian investment of Paris, and trea Marmont, 261, 262. He visits 350
Toulouse, battle of, I. 280-282. Th ed with a siege, 282. Soult wi his army from, 280. Entry of th of Wellington, ib.
Tower, London, an ancient royal found in the jewel room, II. liv
Treaty between Austria, Russia, F and Prussia concluded at Chat 240—Between Britain and the E Alexander, 276-278—Between t and Louis XVIII. 291—Betwee den and Denmark, II. 304—B Austria, Russia, Great Britai Prussia, cccxv—Between the alli

[?] the Emperor Napoleon, cccxxvi
[...]een the allied powers and France,
[...]iii—Between Denmark and Prus-
[...]lxii—Between the Cantons form-
[...] Swiss Confederation, ccclxiii—
[...]en Denmark and Russia, ccclxvi
[...]Mr Sturman for wilfully firing his
[...]II. xi, xii—Of B. Ratty for steal-
[...]iii—Of Richard Locke, xxv—His
[...]r behaviour, ib.—Of Major Gor-
[...]or accidentally killing Gregory, a
[...], xxxi—Of Daniel Isaac Eaton for
[...]ing "Ecce Homo," lii—Of the
[...]s concerned in the fraud on Stock
[...]nge, lxxxiii-lxxxviii—Of Mary
[...]Adlam for petit treason in the wil-
[...]der of her husband, cxv—Of W.
[...]per for killing Adjutant Duterich
[...]el, cxix—Of William Bradley, a
[...] rear-admiral, for forgery, cxx—
[...] Bianca of Exeter Change for
[...]g fire-balls, cxxxvi, cxxxvii—Of
[...]Quintin for abandoning his duty
[...] a commanding officer, cxliii-cxlvi
[...] George Houston for being con-
[...]d with Eton in publishing "Ecce
[...]o," cl—Of Thomas Nott for swin-
[...], clxix-clxxviii
[...] College receives a loan from Par-
[...]nt for completing the buildings, II.

[...], evacuated by the allied monarchs,
[...]2. Retaken by Prince Schwartzen-
[...], 240
[...] river, melting of the ice there, II.

U.

[...]nted frigate sails with Buonaparte
[...]oard for Elba, I. 288

V.

[...]art, Mr, his speech on the new
[...] contracted 15th November, I. 31-
[...]Replies to Mr Whitbread's animad-
[...]ons on the vote of credit, 161. His
[...]sition of the civil list expenditure
[...] budget for the year, 149-154
[...] brig is driven ashore at Yarmouth,
[...]x
[...], meeting of the allied sovereigns—
[...]ing of the congress there, II. cxxxiv.
Grand fete given on the anniversary of the battle of Leipsic, cxxxviii
Vitry, summoned to surrender by Buonaparte, I. 270
Volunteers, 1st regiment of Edinburgh, disembodied, II. 91

W

Wallachia, dreadful avalanche there, II. lx
Wallerstein, Joseph, account of his swindling exploits at Paris, II. cxxxii-cxxxiv
Ward, Mr, brings forward the ordnance estimates for the year, I. 148, 149
Washington is taken by the British under General Ross, I. 335-337
Wellesley, Marquis, his speech at the opening of parliament, I. 6
Wellesley, Sir H., concludes a treaty with Spain, II. cxxiv
Wellington, Duke of, encamps near Bayonne, I. 216. He keeps up the strictest discipline among his troops. He gains a victory over Marshal Soult at Orthes, 224, 225. He is struck by a grape-shot, ib. He invests Bayonne, 227. His ignorance of the dethronement of Napoleon, 231. He gains the battle of Toulouse, 281, 282. He enters Toulouse, 283. Offers to serve in America, 333. His arrival in London, and reappearance in the House of Lords, 353. He receives the thanks of parliament, and replies to the Lord Chancellor, 354. His speech to the Commons, II. lxxxix. He is appointed ambassador to the court of France, xci. Superb fete in honour of him by the Prince Regent, c-cii
Western, Mr, opposes the proposed amendment of the poor-laws, I. 64. His speech on the new corn bill, 74-80
Westminster electors, their address to Lord Cochrane on his re-election, II. xcviii. His reply, xcix
Weymouth, account of the storm there, II. clxviii
Whitbread, Mr, supports the local militia bill, I. 26. Congratulates ministers on the emancipation of Holland, ib. His speech on the grant to the Princess of Wales, 110. Censures the vote of credit, on the ground that Britain was at war with no power but America, 161.
Wilberforce, Mr, his motions for petition-

ing the Prince Regent to press upon the continental powers the abolition of the slave trade, I. 118, 122, 123, 127
Wilson, John, the "Morning Star," a poem, ascribed to, II. ccccxxix
Wirtemberg, Prince Royal of, takes Sens, I. 98. He is compelled by Buonaparte to evacuate Montereau, 200
Wittenberg stormed, I. 295.
Wordsworth, Mr, the "Stranger," a poem, ascribed to, II. ccccxiv
Wreck of a transport on her passage to Quebec, II. clvi—Of the Am clxxii
Wrede, Count, assists Blucher at tle of La Rothiere, I. 191, 192
Wynne, Mr, supports the militi 24

Y.

Yorke, Mr, his amendment carrie to take away corruption of b 54

END OF VOLUME SEVENTH.

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